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NEW ASIA

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EDITORIAL

Every age has its special accent or emphasis, religious or cultural, political or economic. In our modern age, amidst the dim and bustle of its conflicting dogmas and bewildering ideologies, we notice an unmistakable similarity or rather monotony of jesture : nations no less than individuals are out to justify almost everything with the criterion of political efficiency and success. America entered into our consideration only with the discovery of the New World towards the end of the 15th. century. Up to that period, we find Asia not only an equal but even in some respects superior to Europe. But during the succeeding three centuries, 16th. 17th. and 18th., while Asia was passing from stagnation to decay, Europe was taking full advantage of Asiatic disintegration and enriching herself at the expense of Asia. To reach Asia the Europeans had to use Africa as their halting stage and Africa had to pay a heavy penalty. She was partitioned and repartitioned till to-day we have on the map of the world a geographical expression "Africa"—a mutilated continent where the autochthonous races are just "hewers of wood and drawers of water" existing only for the benefit of the European intruders and exploiters. For a while it seemed almost certain that the great continent of Asia will suffer a similar fate ; for the Portuguese and the Dutch, the French and the British spared no pains, if not to partition at least to dominate over the destinies of millions of Orientals. Less than a century ago, China had to learn the nutritive value of "opium" and Japan the economic value of "free-trade" through her bombarded

harbours. The enormous island group of *Insulinidia* was conveniently labelled as the Dutch East Indies and France was not very slow either to establish her Colonial Empire in French Indo-China. European merchant adventurers started this experiment of misappropriating the land and riches of the Asiatic nations and European imperialists came in due course to give the finishing touch, by arrogating to themselves the self-imposed function of "perpetual trustees." India was placed in the kindergarten class of local self-government, China was given advanced courses in the international law of "extra-territoriality," and Turkey, the "sickman" was advised to retire in some remote Asiatic asylum. Japan alone refused to enlist as a "school-boy" and probably that is how the Japanese could secure some of the trade-secrets of the European school masters. Tsarist Russia found it convenient to appear as a Pacific Power and condescended to use North China as the base of her Asiatic aggressions. Opium-drugged China was then too confounded and disorganised to block the path of Imperialist Russia just as she is pathetically helpless to stop to-day the slow yet none the less insidious march of Communist Russia. Japan was the first nation in the Orient to scent the danger, to engage Russia in a life and death duel and she emerged as a World Power. Unfurling the flag of the Rising Sun, Japan in 1905 heralded a new dawn and the birth of New Asia. In the world war the Allied Powers found it convenient to rely on Japan to guard their Eastern Front. They temporarily patronised Japan by offering her a seat in the Council of the League of Nations. But neither in the solemn Covenant of the European League nor in the Republican Forum of the Washington Conference could Japan introduce the fundamental concept of racial Equality, what to speak of Liberty of speech and Fraternity of soul. The whole atmosphere was poisoned by the Anti-Asiatic Bill (1924) of America which, with the other European powers continued to earn colossal profits out of the markets of the Asiatic nations whom they insulted and exploited.

Similar sinister moves of the Western Powers drove Turkey, under the heroic Kemal and Iran under Reza Shah to develop a new spirit of nationalism in the Near East. Thanks to their noble initiative Egypt and Iraq, Syria, Arabia and Afghanistan are showing from day to day a rare spirit of rejuvenation. Age-old Asia is again appearing after centuries with the halo of self-confidence and grace. Her sons and daughters are marching with a new rhythm towards the goal of self-realisation through Freedom.

The winning of freedom is a supreme privilege as well as a tremendous responsibility. The whole world may be gained but the soul may be forfeited. Gain for whom ? For the selfish few or for Humanity in general ? The Western nations no doubt showed a brilliant record of heroism and self-sacrifice in gaining political freedom and economic self-sufficiency. The British people in 1688, the American in 1772 and the French in 1789 marked the momentous stages in the human march towards freedom. But unfortunately the western nations failed to attain to that supreme realisation of human history were Liberty, like Light and Air, is the birth-right of all peoples, European or non-European, Christian or non-Christian. Slowly they fell victim to the morbid all-devouring *greed* which drove them to reckless aggressions and ruthless plundering of the lands and properties of the helpless and backward nations of the world. Violating the fundamentals of Law as well as of Ethics, the Western powers developed a new cult of "power politics" which led to the development in the 19th century of two dangerous factors subversive of equity and democracy : the *colonialism* of the 18th century slowly and inevitably developed into the warring *imperialism* of the 19th. The Western nations who took special pride in having liberty as the very foundation of their national life and constitution began to enslave nation after nation in Africa and Asia ! The history of this sacrilege and this betrayal of humanity has not yet been written. But there are clear indications today that all the plundered and the exploited nations of the Orient are going soon to organise themselves into a powerful Commonwealth of the Dispossessed. The Occidental greed and materialism has no doubt infected some groups here and there in the Orient ; but the New Asia of to-day and to-morrow will, we hope, shake off the poison and, through the purification of suffering, re-establish the reign of Justice and Security for all peoples and not for a few privileged groups or nations.

Dispossessed and degraded India through infinite pangs gave birth to the great message of Mahatma Gandhi and the entire Occident with its much vaunted civilization had to listen, may be with mixed disdain and discomfiture. For India as well as for all the dispossessed nations peace, to be permanent, must be based on justice and justice alas, lies crucified by the Occidental powers. Gandhi brought self-respect and self confidence to 350 million souls of India nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. India is the first nation of New Asia to

oppose the predatory politics of the Western powers with a new philosophy of life. The Orient is not any more on the defensive. . . .

A positive thought and social programme is sure to emerge out of the tragic clash and conflict of interests in China and the other parts of Asia. We are profoundly sorry for China and her awful ordeal resulting out of her abject dependence on Western politics and economics. The sooner she recovers her realistic sense and co-operates with Japan to eliminate foreign intrigues and illegitimate vested interests, the better for Asia. Western monopoly is fighting its last battle on the soil of China and the challenge of Japan is misconstrued and misrepresented systematically by the interested Powers of the West. But we hope that with the dispelling of the cloud of propaganda, the realities of the Far Eastern history will be clarified leading to better understanding between the sister nations of China and Japan, stabilizing the politico-economic life of Asia.

The New East is tense with a healthy agitation for greater solidarity and India in the Middle East is the best research centre and observatory whence, as we hope, the light of Truth and Humanity would illumine the path of millions of the benighted and exploited peoples. To serve this cause and to focuss this new vision, the New Asia will operate counting on the good-will and co-operation of all who share our sympathies and aspirations.

Yamato-Damashii—The Spirit of Japan

By T. Yoshida

Consul General for Japan, Calcutta.

At the present moment, Japan and the Japanese people are under the focus of serious attention of all countries and peoples in the world. On the part of Japanese themselves, it is their constant desire that Japan and the Japanese should be understood clearly and correctly.

No one can understand Japan's position in the international affairs, and the country itself, without having an ample knowledge of the characteristics of the Japanese. One who admires the speedy advance of Japan in the commercial, industrial and other spheres, should not overlook the real motive power of her progressive strides *Yamato-damashii*, or the spirit of Japan.

Yamato-damashii is the crystalization of Japan's centuries-old tradition, culture and racial spirit, which were enriched further by the development of the *Bushido*.

Bushido, the ethics of the *Samurai* class of people, has not died away with the abolition of feudalism ; but it developed so widely and deeply into the heart of the people that it became the most important element in the national character of the entire nation.

Bushido not only synthesizes, in perfect order, the virtues of all kinds, but it controls and transmutes all alien ideas. Coupled with *Bushido*, *Yamato-damashii* has assimilated the best of foreign elements and has succeeded in bringing those foreign ideas and its own into perfect harmony.

The doctrines of Confucius were introduced into Japan centuries ago, and as years went by, strange to say, while Confucianism has lost its dominant influence in China the land of its birth, it was digested and assimilated with the culture of Japan.

Later on, the *Yamato damashii* was influenced in a great measure by the Buddhistic principles of Equality and Fraternity. Then came Christianity, some three hundred years ago, and was partially taken in.

All the best elements of foreign ideas and culture have thus been ably adopted by Japan and been utilized by her to the fullest advantage,

as Mr. William George Aston writes : "The Japanese are never content with simple borrowing. They are in the habit of modifying extensively everything which they adopt from others, and impressing on it the stamp of the national mind."

Yamato-damashii is symbolized in our *Sakura*, the cherry blossom. In the Western world, the people admire roses which have sweet showy colours and heavy odours, but thorns are hidden beneath the sweetness. And roses rot on their stem as though afraid to die and drop. But *Sakura* has neither poison nor dagger under her beauty ; her colours are never gorgeous, her fragrance is light and simple, and she is always ready to leave the tree whenever it is required, even at the height of her glory.

Up from the highest down to the poorest class, the Japanese always hate to cling to life effeminately and prefer to die beautifully.

The Japanese are ever ready to respond to the call of duty and to surrender themselves to the General Good.

The Japanese moreover are the most united people in the world with the idea that the Emperor is the personification of the race. This sentiment for and this respect to the Ruling Family comes from the fact that our dynasty has never been broken from the time of the birth of the nation, twenty six centuries ago. While the European dynasties have fought with rival families, our Imperial Family has never waged dynastic wars simply because there were few rivals. Therefore, the relation between the Ruler and the People in Japan should not be considered from the European point of view ; for *loyalty* in the European sense and our *Yamato-damashii* are not quite the same.

In the fundamentals *Yamato-damashii* embodies all kinds of virtues, loyalty, self-denial, responsibility, sincerity, fidelity, honesty, resoluteness and humanity—all woven in a perfect harmony.

Kemal the Patron Saint of New Asia

By Subhas Chandra Bose

President, Indian National Congress.

There are few biographies which have enthralled and inspired me more than that of this great son of Turkey. I believe there is not a single man or woman in the whole of the civilized world who will not bow his or her head to the memory of this great man. It was with the feelings of a pilgrim, therefore, that I flew from Bukharest to Istanboul four years ago to see something of his work for Turkey and for human civilization. It was not the domes or the minarets of Istanboul, nor the beauty of the Golden Horn and the smiling Bosphorus that attracted me so much as the emancipated men and women moving about in the streets of Istanboul. The first thing that struck me as I alighted after my air journey was the fact that the men and women whom I met there appeared to me just the same as the men and women of Bukharest or Sofia or Vienna. So far as the women of Turkey were concerned, one could notice that they move about with an ease and grace which would give one the impression that they had been used to their freedom for centuries. But we do know, as a matter of fact, that the emancipation of Turkish women took place only after the Great War. The script which they were using was not the old Persian script, but it was the Roman script, and a stranger had, therefore, no difficulty in reading the names of the streets or the signboards which one met with on both sides of the streets of Istanboul. And I confess that it was this experience of the practical utility of the Roman script which induced me to change my own ideas with regard to the future common script of India. It was after I had seen the great utility of having an universal script in an Asiatic country like Turkey that I became convinced that the same universal script could be of immense benefit to our country. Then there was another phenomenon that one could not help noticing. Not only were the men and women dressed in European costume, but the characteristic *fel*, which was the Turkish head-dress in pre-war Turkey, had disappeared entirely. Along with that had disappeared the characteristic dress of the priests and *Mullahs*. The priests were allowed to use a

particular head-dress of their own only when they were on duty, as priests. These few external indications which one noticed immediately after setting foot on Turkish soil were enough to convince one that Turkey had changed beyond recognition.

We all know something of the greatness of Kemal Ata-Turk. We all know that he will live in history not merely as one of the greatest sons of Turkey, but also as one of the greatest men of this century. But I think, as students of history and as students of politics, we ought to analyse some of the elements in his greatness. I think it would be admitted on all hands that he was responsible more than anybody else in Turkey for saving his country from the jaws of European Powers. Secondly, it was he who built a modern state out of a feudal, theocratic empire. This transition from feudalism and theocracy to a modern state was accomplished within a remarkably short time, and I think this could be re-regarded as one of the marvels of modern history. Thirdly, he was a great revolutionary figure, not merely on the battle-fields of Gallipoli and Anatolia, but also in the domain of national reconstruction. And last but not the least, he will be remembered for trying to work out the experiment of building up a State on the basis of a single party. This experiment of building up a State on the basis of single party is now a common phenomenon in Europe. We see it in Soviet Russia, in Nazi Germany and in Fascist Italy. But we do not always remember that this experiment—whether it is good or bad is a different matter—was also tried by Kemal in his own country, and if one is to judge by the results, one has to admit that, in spite of the manifest evils that are inherent in Dictatorship and in this single-party-system, this experiment has done a world of good to modern Turkey. There is another aspect of his character which will appeal to civilized men and women all over the world. He was great not merely as a general, as I have just remarked, but also as a builder. There was no department of national life that did not receive his attention. I remember when I was in Vienna in 1934 Kemal Ata-Turk sent for a very famous Viennese musician in order to modernise the Turkish system of music on the basis of notation. Then, if we turn to his linguistic reforms we find that he devoted a great deal of his time and energy to purifying the Turkish language. He carried on a persistent campaign with a view to ridding the Turkish language of all foreign words and expressions. And he did not spare even Arabic words and expressions. This attempted

reform was carried to such a length that even old Turkish names were revolutionised. We all know, for instance, that Kemal was formerly known as Ghazi Kemal. But after this linguistic reform he came to be known as Kemal Ata-Turk. This habit of thorough-going reform was one of the characteristics of this great man.

We are all aware of his great love for architecture. He was a modernist to the very core of his being and structures that were built in his favourite town of Ankara were of the modern style. Although he was a great lover of architecture and preferred the modern style of architecture in building up new cities, he did not neglect the specimen of the old Turkish architecture. Though he was the greatest enemy of religious fanaticism, though he had no love for traditional religion, still he treasured the ancient mosques of Turkey as works of Art and these ancient mosques are looked after with great deal of care, thanks to the inspiration which his country received from him.

I think these few remarks will serve to bring out the outstanding traits in his character. I believe that his life and achievements will be an inspiration not merely for the people of his own country, but for the whole humanity. He was one of the most romantic figures which the Great War threw up. He was great not merely as a general and a strategist ; he was great not merely as a diplomat and statesman, but he was also great as a builder, and the new Turkey that he has left behind him will be an object-lesson to the whole humanity, and particularly to the peoples of Asia. I think those who are steeped in communalism in this country will do well to pay a visit to modern Turkey. I shall go so far as to say that every Indian, whether Muslim or Hindu, Christian, Parsi or Sikh, should regard Ankara as the political Mecca of the people of this country.

Recent Italian Explorations in Tibet.

By His Excellency Prof. Giuseppe Tucci,

Vice-President, Institute of the Middle and the Far East

I have been asked to write for this review an article on the scientific expeditions which during the last years Italy sent to Tibet. I shall therefore limit myself to the researches undertaken within the geographical boundaries of Tibet proper, omitting the very many investigations which Italian scholars have made in Little Tibet or Western Tibet. These territories having no political connection with Lhasa but being included in India, I regret that I shall have no opportunity to refer in this place to the great results, chiefly of geographical import, which were obtained by His Royal Highness the Duke of Abruzzi, De Filippi, His Royal Highness the Duke of Spoleto and Dainelli during the expeditions which they led into Ladak and Karakorum. It is certainly due to them if the work of the British explorers has been completed or perfected, and if our geographical and ethnographical knowledge of one of the most important places of the East greatly increased.

I should have liked somebody else to speak of Italian researches in Tibet Proper, because recent investigations in that country have been made by myself; but since I had no Tibetan scholar as my collaborator I cannot help speaking in the first person. Why have I undertaken Tibetan studies and spent some years exploring the monasteries of Tibet? In fact I can speak of years and not of months considering that four times I crossed the Tibetan frontier and lived in Tibetan territories for about six or seven months each time.

Having been chiefly interested in Buddhism and Indian culture I soon realized that a better and deeper knowledge of Tibetan literature and religion could have helped us immensely in solving many problems still under discussion. After all, Buddhism is practically dead in India; but in Tibet it is still a living faith, and in spite of a very poor opinion which in general European travellers seem to have of Lamaism (as Tibetan Buddhism is usually but inexactly called)—it can hardly be doubted that in Tibet there are to be found some of the best interpreters of Buddhism: the study of their works seemed therefore to me to be absolutely necessary for the right understanding of Indian Buddhism,

mysticism, esoterism and dogmatics. This was only too natural, because while Buddhism when introduced into China, met there a highly developed civilization and was therefore likely—as it was—to be influenced by that, in Tibet it found almost nothing which could be compared to a high culture : this explains why not only Buddhism has educated and moulded Tibetan mind and soul, but had great chances to remain there unchanged.

Moreover when Buddhism began to decline in India—this is not the place to investigate why—Tibet was the place where Buddhist *Pandits* took shelter : and in Tibet they were not inactive, but taught their pupils Indian speculations and sciences, translating into Tibetan some of the most important works of Buddhism, and in some cases of a more general import as books on logic, mathematics, medicine, art, rhetoric and so forth. Even artists followed the pandits on their way to the “abode of snow ;” Tibet thus preserved and continued Buddhist thought, which we cannot expect to find either in China or in Japan. Take for instance some of the most important works of Buddhist thought, I mean the treatises by Dinnāga or Dhamakīrti or the deepest manuals of meditation like the *Abhisamayāṅkāra* : only in Tibet we find that these books are commented upon and thoroughly studied even now : the Tibetan literature affords us a huge series of works intended to explain their meaning. On the other hand Buddhist esoterism is still living in Tibet in its manifold and most important manifestations : this is a very delicate point because we know how many misleading ideas are current in the West as regards the Tantras. The investigation of Tantric literature as preserved in Tibet and even the personal acquaintance of some of the Tibetan ascetics and mystics is likely to bring to a revision of the current opinion on the Tantras. I frankly confess, anticipating what I am going to explain in detail in a volume almost ready for the press, that as a rule Buddhist esoterism when interpreted according to the authorized tradition, is one of the deepest religious systems of the East worth our best consideration : nor can we ignore the immense psychological value of its doctrines and liturgies. Of course these things which I say were dimly present in my spirit when I began my Tibetan researches : but now are fully evidenced by my latest travels and researches. I began exploring—I use this big word in the sense of studying what is new and what is already known, but under different angles—Western Tibet—that is the province which centres round the Manasarovar and the

Kailasa. In Tibet it is called miaris and its chief town, where the governors reside, in Gartok. Now the country is almost abandoned : I found there nothing but ruins or deserted places—but in these places there are artistic documents and monuments of first importance. This country was once an independent kingdom, called the kingdom of Guge, with its kings who were responsible for inviting such a man as Atisa' from India into Tibet to spread there Buddhism, or for sending such a gifted spirit as Rin c'en bzan po to India to study there Buddhism and to be the apostle of that religion into their country. These kings built great temples and magnificent chapels : artists from Kashmir worked in them and taught Indian art to their Tibetan pupils : some of their works I discovered in Tabo—in the country of Spiti, in Toling, which was the royal temple, and in Tsaparang which was the capital : a complete chapel, that of Man nan, as I showed (1), is fully covered with frescoes painted by unknown Indian artists, most probably hailing from Kashmir. These temples are not greatly cared for : the population is too scanty or too poor for that. It was therefore urgent to have all these pictures photographed in order to preserve these most important documents of the first spread of Indian culture into Tibet : it was then necessary to interpret them in the light of Tibetan literature. These paintings have no decorative purpose : but an esoteric meaning : they are a kind of pictographic language which conveys to the uninitiated men the visions of super-normal planes supposed to be reached in meditation and thus symbolically expressed. This implies that every picture must be connected with a certain section of the Tantric literature of which they are a translation into visible forms. The volumes on Tabo and Tsaparang which I have already published (2) can give an idea of the importance of these places for the history of Tibetan art and culture in general and also as the architectural and pictorial expression of mystic experiences. The temple of Toling which also contains monuments of great importance has been studied in a volume which is to be published shortly : but it is quite unnecessary to insist on this part of my researches since beside the scientific volumes already referred to, the reader may get a general idea of what in those parts of Tibet is

(1) In *Artibus Asiae* Vol. VII

(2) *Indo-Tibetica* Vol. I, II, III, I, III, II the IVth on Gyantze is in the press.

worthy of notice from the two Diaries which I published of my Travels of 1935 and 1937 (3)

• Even as far as Purang (Kojarnāth) there are important monuments of Indian origin, thus showing the great wave of Indian culture which spread in these parts of Tibet about the XIth. and XIIth. centuries when took place that revival of Buddhism in the Land of Snow called by Tibetan chronicles : "the second propagation of the Law ;" this began and developed first in Western Tibet and chiefly through the pious endeavours of the Kings and the Holy Men of this part of Tibet. These temples are real galleries in which we find not only one of the best expressions of the cultural link which united India to Tibet, but also one of the most complete graphic representations of the mystic experiences of Māhayana Buddhism, centred round Vairocana and its Tantric liturgy.

But besides investigating the archaeological and artistic remains, the traveller must also collect as many documents as he can which are apt to bring a new light on the history and literature of Tibet : our knowledge of Tibetan literature is in its infancy : but on the other hand it should be remembered that this literature is extremely vast. Each monastery of a certain renown has its press, each monk of high rank and sound culture has written some books : on liturgy, dogmatics, grammar, briefly on every possible subject. To dress a list of these works and to prepare therefore the materials for a history of Tibetan literature is a very urgent task : I contributed to it, collecting many thousands of volumes which greatly supplement the collection of Tibetan books available in the Western libraries. Nor should we forget that in the Tibetan monasteries are deposited Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit : and that from the exploration of these monasteries we can expect far more important discoveries than from the sand-buried ruins of Central Asia : here we are generally confronted with fragments, there with complete manuscripts of collections of manuscripts. The researches by a great Indian traveller and pandit to whom all scholars should be indebted, I mean Rakula Sāmkṛtyāyāna show what rich material of sanskrit manuscripts is laying unsuspected in the libraries of Tibetan monasteries. In three successive travels in

(3) Diario della spedizione 1933 edit. by R. Accademie d'Italie. English edition Secrets of Tibet. American Edition : Santi e Briganti nel Tibet ignoto (Expedition 1937) (Hoepli)

Western Tibet I brought to an end my archeological exploration of that country visiting accurately every place, taking notes and photographs of every monument and collecting as much material as I could. Then I began the investigation of Central Tibet. Here there is apparently nothing to explore because the road Sikkim-Gyantzé along which one is obliged to travel is well-known. British officers come and go through it every now and then and occasionally foreign visitors are allowed to travel by that same route. When in 1937 I asked for the permission to go as far as Gyantzé, my intention was to collect books and new materials for my studies in the large field of Tibetan literature. But as a matter of fact this travel proved very important for the history of Tibetan art. In Western Tibet I had discovered, as we saw, Indian Paintings and there I could trace the evolution of a particular school of painting which followed closely the Indian models and though developing later into what we may call Tibetan art proper with peculiarities of its own never forgot the original Indian influences. I called therefore this art from the country where it spread and lasted for many centuries, the art of Guge. In Central Tibet on the contrary we are confronted with an art which is still partly influenced by Indian models, but partly shows to have followed Central Asian models. We know from the Tibetan chronicles that there was an influx of khotanese monks into Tibet : we are aware of the fact that Saskya high Lamas receiving the investiture of Tibet from the Mongol dynasty of China was largely influenced by Chinese culture. Along the road Sikkim-Gyantzé we find documents which testify to these facts : and it is very strange indeed that they passed unnoticed until now. In the monastery of Iwang there are even inscriptions which show that whilst some painters followed the Indian style (*rgyu lugs*) others painted according to the Khotanese method (*li lugs*) ; most probably in this case we are confronted with Central Asian artists. In Gyantzé itself, a place so well known, nobody noticed the great importance that the chief temple gtsug lag k'an and the stūpa (Kumbum) have for the history of Tibetan art. And for many reasons : not only because their paintings represent the real beginning of Tibetan art which, though largely influenced by Indian and Chinese traditions, has at last found its own way giving expression to a peculiar Tibetan inspiration but also because for the first time we can attribute them to special schools and definite painters. In fact many inscriptions have preserved long lists of painters and artists so that Tibetan art is no longer blank and anonymous. More-

over with the help of these inscriptions supplemented by the study of the chronicles and other documents which I found, we are in a condition to know the date when those monuments have been erected and those paintings made. That happened under the sway of a feudal prince who ruled Gyantzé in the fifteenth century. Then we have a certain and definite repair for attempting an eventual essay on the beginning of Tibetan art.

These monuments point to the great importance of the schools gathered round the Saskya monastery when its chiefs were overlords of Tibet : and they therefore show that next researches should be directed towards that place.

It therefore appears that the scientific travels in Tibet promoted by the Royal Academy of Italy have chiefly aimed at studying the archaeology, history of art, epigraphy and history of the development of the country : geographical enquiries occupy only a subordinate place, though the contribution which they have brought even to this field specially in Western Tibet is not negligible. New places not marked on the maps have been found, encampments of nomads, when met, have been recorded, because these *brog*, as they are called, have a long tradition and are likely to have been the summer pasture grounds of the *alrog pa* since the very beginning of Tibetan history. Moreover the right spelling of proper names of places, rivers and villages has been accurately established with the help of literary and written evidence. Even in Central Tibet within the country from Ralung to Gyantze and from Gyantze to Shigatze many places ancient as well as modern not marked on the maps have been located on the authority of all Tibetan chronicles and their history and most important events have been recorded. In this way an indication is given for further researches.

These travels have been so successful because I was always given the required help by the British authorities who did what they could in order to facilitate my researches for which I express to them my heartiest thanks. Moreover I acknowledge that the Tibetan monks and laymen as well, as soon as they realized that I had come to their country with a deep respect for their beliefs and their culture and that I took a keen interest in the investigation of their art and doctrines, proved my best friends and collaborators.

Buddhist Studies in Japan and The Taisho Edition of the Chinese Tripitaka

Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi M.A. Dr. ès Lettres (Paris)

Japan is the only country which can boast of a continuous tradition of Buddhist studies that has been zealously preserved during the last 15 centuries. Buddhism was introduced in Japan from Korea in 552 A. D. Prince Shotoku Taishi welcomed it as the greatest religion that had ever been preached. He is said to have written to his father in the defense of Buddhism ;

“*Shinto*. expounds the origin of human beings. Confucianism, being a system of moral principles, is coeval with the people and deals with the middle stage of humanity. Buddhism, the fruit of principles, arose when the human intellect matured.”

Buddhism once established in Japan, attracted some of the greatest intellects of the country and inspired them so much that they found it necessary to go over to China to make a deeper study of the religion and its philosophy. The first and probably the greatest of them were Dengyo Daishi and Kobo Daishi. Dengyo Daishi, also known as Saicho, went to China in 803 on an Imperial order to study Buddhism from the famous Chinese teachers. One of the most influential Chinese schools of Buddhism was the *T'ien tai* (Jap. *Tendai*) school founded by Tche-yi in the 6th century A.D. T'ien T'ai was the name of the place where the seat of this school had been established. Although it was a purely Chinese sect its principal doctrines were based on such authoritative Indian Buddhist texts as the *Mahaprajna-paramita sastra* and the *Saddharma-pundarika-sutra*. Dengyo Daishi was initiated into the doctrines of the school and returned to Japan in 804 with a large collection of books. The Tendai sect of Japan was founded by him at Hieizan near Kyoto which still continues to be the headquarters of the Tendai school in Japan.

Kobo Daishi, also known as Kukai, went to China in 804 and studied the doctrines of a mystic school which had been founded in China in the beginning of the 8th century by Vajrabodhi. Amoghavajra, the disciple of Vajrabodhi, further elaborated the doctrines of the school

and translated a large number of Sanskrit texts into Chinese which were of great use to the followers of the sect. Kukai was initiated by Houei kuo, a Chinese disciple of Amoghavajra and returned to Japan in 806. He propagated the doctrines of his school and at last in 853 founded a temple on the Koyasan mountain which gradually developed into a large Buddhist institution. The sect which was founded by Kukai is called *Shingon* and its chief seat Koyasan is still one of the largest and the most influential Buddhist establishments in Japan.

In Japan there are at present twelve Buddhist schools and of these the other ten are the *Kusha*, *Jojitsu*, *Ritsu*, *Hosso*, *Sanron*, *Kegon*, *Zen*, *Nichiren*, *Jodo*, and *Shinshu*. Many of these schools have been and are still playing a very important part in the national life of Japan and have contributed to the advancement of learning for many centuries. This is why, inspite of the introduction of the western method of teaching, the Japanese have zealously preserved the ancient institutions which have contributed so much to the growth of the Japanese civilisation. Not only have they kept alive the ancient educational institutions but they have also kept up an unbroken tradition of study of ancient Buddhist literature.

The names of the Japanese Buddhist scholars are not without importance to the students of Chinese Buddhist canon. The works of these authors consisting mostly of commentaries, compilations and catalogues have long gained a place in the collections of Chinese Tripitaka. The works of Dengyo Daishi, Kobo Daishi, and Jikaku Daishi (714-864) which have now been included in the Tripitaka are of no mean importance for the study of the canon.

The Japanese scholars have made a still greater contribution by carefully preserving the ancient Chinese Tripitaka-the *san tsang* (Jap. sozo). This Tripitaka consists primarily of the ancient Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist texts belonging to almost all the schools except the Theravāda. Important works of Chinese authors comprising mostly of catalogues of the translations, biographies of Indian authors, and translators, dictionaries, indices, and commentaries were also included in the collection from time to time. Various editions of this collection were printed in China at different times and of these three were the most important : the Song edition (1239 A. D.), the Yuan edition, (1277-1290 A. D.), the first Ming edition (1368-1644). Besides there was a Korean edition which was published in the 11th century in Korea from old Chinese copies. So far as the preserva-

tion of the texts was concerned this edition, though the oldest extant, proved to be the best of all.

These old editions of the *Sau tsang* were however soon lost in China and Korea. Complete copies of these editions were preserved in different Japanese monasteries. The best collection was found in the library of the *San yen zan* monastery at Shiba in Tokyo. A short history of these Japanese collections has been given by the late Prof. Nanjio thus :

"In 987 A. D. when a famous priest called Chio-nen returned from China to Japan he first brought with him a copy of the edition of the Buddhist canon in more than 5000 fasciculi, produced under the Song dynasty (960-1280). Afterwards copies of Chinese and Korean editions were gradually brought over to Japan and deposited in the large temples or monasteries...In 1624-1643, a priest of the Tendai sect Ten kai by name first caused the great collection of the Buddhist canon to be printed in moveable wooden types. Copies of this edition are still found in the libraries of some old temples. A few years latter there was a priest of the Wo-baku sect, Do-ko, better known by another name, Tetsugen. In 1669 he first published a letter expressing his wish to receive donations for his intended reproduction of Mi tsang's edition (= Ming edition of 1586) of the Great Canon...For the third time he got fresh donations in 1681 and then published his long delayed edition. Copies of this publication issued by Tetsu-gen have been preserved in many Buddhist temples or monasteries throughout the whole country of Japan. There is a special building within the gate of a temple for keeping this large Collection. This building is called in Japan Rin-zo or revolving repository because it contains a large eight-angled book-case, made to revolve round a verticle axis."

At the request of the India Office in London a copy of Tetsu-gen's edition of the Chinese Tripitaka printed in 1681 was presented by Japanese Ambassador in 1875 to the India Office Library. The famous catalogue of Buniyo Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, published in 1883 was a catalogue of this Japanese collection, which was again a reproduction of the first Ming edition of the Tripitaka.

In the meantime studies in Buddhist literature advanced in Japan and the necessity for publishing a more complete edition of the Tripitaka was felt. The lead was taken by a Japanese publishing society called the *Ko-kio sho in* and a complete edition of the Tripitaka

was brought out by them between 1880 and 1885. This edition was a great improvement on all previous editions as it was based on a careful collation of the four previous editions of Canon viz. the Korean, the Song, the Yuan and the Ming from copies preserved in the *Sau yen zan* monastery at Tokyo. The complete name of this collection is *Dainihon Koteidai:okyo*. It consisted of 318 fasciculi in 40 boxes printed on Chinese paper. As this edition contains a larger number of texts than that of the Ming edition and as the arrangement of the texts is a little different, the Catalogue of Nanjio is not of much use for the consultation of this edition. But as the catalogue was rich in other materials it still continues to be of use to us.

In 1902 another Society, the *Zokyoshoin* of Kyoto undertook the publication of a new edition of the Canon from collections preserved in the monasteries of Kyoto. This edition was called *Dainihon kotei:okyo* and consisted of 347 fasciculi in 36 boxes. The publication was completed in 1905. It however did not take away the great importance of the Kokyoshoin edition as it was based only on a single collection.

The *Zokyoshoin* however rendered a greater service in bringing out between 1905 and 1912 an unique publication which is generally known as the *Kyoto Supplement* but of which the Japanese title is *Dainihon zoku:okyo*. It consisted of 750 fasciculi in 180 boxes. This supplement contained texts, commentaries and compilations otherwise unknown. This marked a distinct advancement on the famous Kokyoshoin edition.

The Japanese scholars were not evidently satisfied with what they had already done for the preservation of the Canon. They were long contemplating to bring out an edition of the Canon which would not only be critical but would also be the most comprehensive. They also thought of enriching the value of the proposed edition by adding references to available Pali and Sanskrit texts corresponding either literally or generally to the Chinese translations contained in the Chinese Collection. The publication of this edition was commenced in 1924 under the able editorship of two great Japanese scholars, Junjiro Takakusu and Kaigyoku Watanabe. It was completed in 1929. The Canon was printed this time not in the old fashion in fasciculi and boxes but in the modern way in big well bound volumes. The edition thus consists of 55 volumes covering about 60,000 pages. It is based on a careful collation of all previous editions. The editors

far from depending only on the previous printed Japanese editions went directly to the manuscript collections in different Japanese monasteries, and consulted the manuscripts discovered in course of archaeological explorations in Central Asia. They also made a searching investigation of manuscripts preserved in different collections in Japan and were thus able to include in their edition a number of important texts not noticed before. A greater portion of the Kyoto supplement consisting of the more important texts were also included in the edition. As it was published in the Taisho period the edition was called *Taisho Issaikyo*.

The *Taisho Issaikyo* is therefore the most comprehensive collection of Chinese Buddhist texts hitherto known. As the most elaborate critical apparatus was used in its preparation we may safely take it to be the most reliable edition that has ever been published of the Chinese Buddhist literature. This monumental work will bear a lasting testimony to what Japan has done in the preservation and propagation of an Indian wisdom which was delivered to her by China in the past.

Meditation

Alas ! the colours of the flowers
 Have faded in the long continued rain ;
 My beauty aging, too, as in this world
 I gazed, engrossed, on things that were but vain.

— *Kokin Shu*, Vol. II.

Art and Archaeology in Japan

By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt (Paris)

The individuality of Japanese genius in the domain of arts is an admitted fact to-day though some Occidental writers exaggerate its derivative character. But even there Japan showed the strength of her limitations by conserving clear traces of the sources from which she derived suggestions and inspirations of art from age to age. Thus consciously as well as unconsciously Japan was serving the cause of Oriental art as its loyal and painstaking art historian and that tradition she carried down to our modern days. For in no other Oriental country do we find the same ardour for and organised study of Art on a nation-wide scale. I shall try to demonstrate this by referring to Japanese institutions and publications which were brought to my notice by my learned friends of Japan. I am specially thankful to Yutaka Tazawa of the Department of Education, Tokyo, for publishing heaps of precise information in his "Orientation in the study of Japanese Art," in the volume on *Japanese Studies*, published by the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (Tokyo, 1937). Drawing as she did the main inspiration of art from Buddhist China of the T'ang period, Japan has conserved the most valuable pictorial documents of this epoch in the Horyu-ji frescoes. These remained, till the recent discovery of the Tuen Huang paintings, the most important link between the Buddhist art of India and that of the Far East. Innumerable art treasures and traditions of the Sung, the Yuan and the Ming schools were faithfully preserved from destruction by Japanese admirers. Already in the 11th century romance *Genji Monogatari* we find critical discussions on painting and such criticisms also in a 13th century compilation. These were most probably influenced by the art studies of the Sung scholars, as we find from two valuable Chinese publications of the 11th and the 12th centuries : Lu Ta-lin's *Illustrated treatise on Antiquities* in 10 Vols (K'aoku-t'ou, 1092 A. D.) and Wang Fu's *Illustrated record of Antiquities* in the Hsuan-ho palace in 30 vols (Po-ku-tu-lu, 1107 A. D.). In 1751 was published in 42 vols., the *Survey of Antiquities* in the Hsi-Ching palace (of Emperor Chien Lung) and while the Chinese and the world at large cared little about these valuable sources

of Far Eastern art, the Japanese published an abridged edition *Seisui-Kokau* in 1892.

From the 17th century writings on the lives of painters and essays on painting greatly increased in number and as in the Sung and Ming periods, veritable dictionaries on painting came to be compiled by persons who were antiquarians, artists and historians. Two such outstanding works are *Fuso Meiga Den* and *Koga Biko*, the latter completed about 1850. When the Tokyo Imperial Museum was instituted in 1872 we find two American scholars invited to collaborate with the Japanese: Prof. Morse started with the pre-historic antiquities of Japan and finished by taking over to America the most remarkable collection of Japanese pottery now in the Boston Museum. So in 1878 came Prof. Fenollosa who inaugurated a national movement in art in collaboration with Okakura who started their magazine *Kokka* in 1889. In the same year was established the Bureau for investigating National Treasure Preservation Board (1928). In 1912 the *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese art*, a posthumous work of Fenollosa, was published. So the valuable studies and criticisms of Okakura was published (1922) in his collected works *Tenshin Zenshu*.

With the progress of the technique of reproduction, specially of photography, there began to appear a series of documentary studies on art: The selected relics of Japanese art (*Shimbi Taikan*, 1899-1908, 20 vols.); selected master pieces from the arts of the Far East (*Toyo Bijutsu Taikan*, 1909-1911, 16 vols.); catalogue of the art treasures of Horyu-ji (1913-18, 64 vols.); catalogue of the art treasures of the temple of Nara (77 vols.)—such are some of the monumental publications of art—loving Japan. On the occasion of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition of 1910, the Department of Home Affairs arranged to publish a most comprehensive work "Japanese Temples and their Treasures" in which the best Japanese scholars collaborated. In 1913, the Tokyo Imperial University established a chair on history of art with Dr. Seuchi Taki as the first professor. He as well as Dr. T. Sekino not only furthered the cause of art study in Japan but ungrudgingly helped foreign scholars in their studies on Far Eastern Art, as often acknowledged by scholars like Siren and Waley. Dr. Sekino's researches are in the domain of architecture and sculpture while Dr. Taki who retired from the University in 1934 but is still editing the *Kokka* which he took up from Okakura in 1901, is a veteran authority on many departments of art both ancient and modern. His writings show a

rare combination of synthetic treatment and descriptive survey and his articles on sculpture and painting are quoted widely. Like him Prof. Toyozo Tanaka of Keijo Imperial University shows a profound knowledge of Chinese literature and painting. Similar tendencies of synthetic treatment are noticeable in the studies on Sino-Japanese architecture by Dr. Chuta Ito and in the department of ceramics and industrial arts by S. Okuda.

Early Japanese art, both sculpture and painting, is intimately connected with Buddhism. To ensure the precise dating of Buddhist sculptures, the Archæological Society of Japan published a most valuable work, "Inscriptions on Buddhist Images". Several Japanese scholars applied themselves to the study of Buddhist iconography. The importance of the subject is manifested from the fact that the huge Taisho edition of Tripitaka (edited by Dr. Takakusu and Prof. Watanabe) devoted 12 volumes to iconography. A pioneer in this branch of study is Prof. Seigai Omura who lectured at the Tokyo school of Fine Arts and being well-versed both in Chinese and Japanese documents, Prof. Omura published and promoted researches into the history of Chinese art and the development of Tantric religion (Mikkyo Hattatsu-shi) and representations of iconography in Relics of Old Buddhist Paintings in 18 volumes. Prof. Omura's work was supplemented by Dr. G. Ono and also by T. Naito who published his History of Japanese Iconography (1933) and the History of Japanese Buddhist Painting (1934), tracing back to the original sources of India, Central Asia and China. Another profound scholar in this line is Prof. Toyozo Tanaka of the Keijo Imperial University who emphasises the historical and comparative treatment with reference to Chinese and Indian Buddhism. Prof. T. Minamoto of the Kyoto Imperial University studied the pre-Kamakura Buddhist paintings. The Yamatoe (chiefly picture scroll) of the 12th and 13th centuries, the Kanga (based on the Sung and the Yuan styles) of the 15th and 16th centuries, the screen painting of the second half of the 16th century are being vigorously studied. The Tokugawa period of art (17th and 18th Century) represented by the Kanga, the Ukiyoe and other forms of popular art are finding enthusiastic admirers. The Bureau of Historiography in the Tokyo Imperial University as well as its pre-historic department fosters researches in various departments of art and archæology. So Dr. Kosaku Hamada (whose untimely death we are regretting) developed under his expert guidance a new school of Japanese art and archæology in the Kyoto University. The

Department of Education, Tokyo, is also helping the progress of art studies by appointing Mr. S. Maruo as the appraiser of the National Treasures and Mr. T. Myochin to be in charge of repair work and conservation. Both the scholars have published valuable studies on Buddhist sculpture. The department has also sponsored the studies on temple architecture by one of its officers, Minoru Ooka.* Recently several scholars are devoting their attention to the Japanese black and white paintings and its relation to the Sung and Yuan school. Prof. R. Fukui of the Tohoku Imperial University is an authority on these paintings of the 15th and the 16th centuries, studied also by S. Wakimoto of the Taisho College.

The cause of art, however, is not exclusively furthered by specialists for we see here in Japan as elsewhere, a group of amateur art historians who helped in diffusing art ideas and publications on a large scale. Dr. S. Fujioka's *History of Modern Painting*, published in 1903 marked an epoch by initiating a comparative study of Japanese literature and painting. He traced also the influence of social conditions on painting from the 17th to 19th centuries. Equally inspired by literary interest Dr. R. Takayama published in 1914 *A History of Japanese Art* which exerted tremendous influence on the public. A similar book by Dr. T. Watsuji is entitled *Pilgrimage in Ancient Temples* (1919). There he discusses the merits of Buddhist art in the 7th and 8th centuries with reference to the social and cultural background of the time, tracing their origin to arts of China, India and Greece.

Owing to the influence of the Shirakaba school, European art came to usurp the attention of the younger generation. But a significant change came after the great earthquake and most of the learned magazines of Japanese art, published after 1924, started their study from the ancient Buddhist arts. *Kokka* of Tokyo, of course, was the oldest monthly journal founded in 1889. In 1910 the Archæological Society of Tokyo published *Archæological Review*. In 1921, the Bukkyo Bijutsu (Buddhist Art) was published by Prof. T. Minamoto of the Kyoto Imperial University. Between 1924 and 1930, three art journals came to be published somewhat irregularly from Nara, thanks to the enthusiasm created by Dr. Watsuji among the young monks of the temple. The Toyo Bijutsu (Oriental Art) was started in 1929 from Nara and in 1931

*The department is publishing since 1923 a complete illustrated catalogue of the National Treasures of Japan.

Kyoto art lovers began to publish two journals on the historic remains and arts.

• Art research proper is fostered by (1) The Oriental Ceramic Research Institute, Tokyo (2) The Ancient Cultural Research Institute, Tokyo (3) The Fine Arts School, Tokyo and (4) The Institute of Art Research, Tokyo, the last publishing from 1932 its monthly Journal of Art Study or Bijutsu Kenkyu which encourages young scholars to base their observations on concrete documents. Each number of the Journal publishes excellent photographic reproduction of art objects together with quotations from or reprints of relevant documents as materials for study. Thus the Bijutsu Kenkyu of the Institute of Art Research directed by Yukio Yashiro, together with the Kokka and the quarterly Report of the Japan Fine Arts Society furnish us with the most authoritative studies on art in contemporary Japan.

The Department of Education, Tokyo, maintains several organisations for the preservation and examination of art objects. With Marquis Moritatsu as chairman, the National Treasure Preservation Board attends to the collection of Paintings and Sculptures, Applied Arts, Swords and Arms, Architectural specimens and Historic Monuments. So the Committee for preserving important specimens of Fine Art works under its learned chairman Seuchi Taki. The Bureau of Religion also attends to the conservation works through the National Treasure Appraisal Section financed by the Department of Education. Such official initiatives apart, there are many rich and influential non-official organisations furthering the cause of art and archæology, as we found in the case of the missions of Count Otani and of the University named after him. Art lovers and collectors in their personal capacity have sunk enormous fortunes to acquire valuable objects. Through the study of Japanese architecture many engineering colleges and technical schools have come to organise courses on art and architecture, as we see in the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto (Engineering Department), the Waseda University and the College of Technology, Tokyo. Regular professorships in art are instituted in the Imperial Universities of Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, Keijo, Kyushu, also in the Koyasan College, Komazawa College, Kokugakuin College and Waseda University. Many other colleges have regular lectures, making substantial contribution to art and archaeology.

It is necessary in this connection to remember the valuable work done by our Japanese Buddhist friends whose solid contributions were

described by Prof. Sylvain Levi in his *Matériaux Japonais pour l'étude du Bouddhisme* (1927). Outside the big Imperial Universities Prof. Levi found excellent arrangements for the study and research into Buddhism and Indian culture, provided by several free institutions, religious and secular. In the latter group may be placed the big Keio University under its learned President Koizumi; the Free University of Nippon (Tokyo) where Prof. Nagai lectured on Indian Philosophy; the Free University of Toyo and the Taisho-Daigaku where our esteemed friend Dr. J. Takakusu works with rare devotion backed by his learned colleagues. So the Raisho-Daigaku at Osaka, the Komazawa Daigaku near Tokyo, the Ryukoku University and the Otani University in Kyoto, the Koyasan University, among several others are veritable nurseries of scholars who through their studies and researches are bringing Japan and India nearer from day to day. The greatest achievement of the Japanese Buddhists is the completion of the Taisho edition of the Buddhist Tripitakas, edited by Prof. J. Takakusu, Prof. K. Watanabe and Prof. G. Ono. It is complete in 100 volumes with 1000 pages in each; 85 vols. devoted to Chinese Buddhist texts; 12 vols. to Buddhist iconography and 3 vols. to the general and comparative index of authors and subjects.

I remember with pride how, thanks to the generous hospitality of Dr. Takakusu, I could watch from his quite home in Tokyo the progress of this grand edition through the devoted collaboration of his friends and pupils who handled the Indian, Chinese, Korean and Japanese texts, including the latest Buddhist Mss. and fragments discovered in Tuen Huang. Prof. Takakusu also collaborated with Sylvain Levi and Paul Demieville in publishing the Encyclopædic Dictionary of Buddhism (*Hobogirin*) under the patronage of the Imperial Academy of Japan. The Academy also contributes generously towards the researches in art and archaeology. The Asiatic Society of Japan since 1872 and the Japan Society of London since 1895 are making valuable contributions through their *Transactions*.

FAR EASTERN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY : BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In course of previous discussions we have occasionally referred to Japanese publishing activities. But most of the publications being in their national language, the outside world, except a few specialists,

generally ignore them. Books in European languages reflect imperfectly and often distort the rich contents of the native publications of Japan as of China, India and other Oriental countries. A most necessary corrective in this field has been fortunately supplied by the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai which is now publishing classified lists of works written in Japanese as well as in Western languages on Japan and the Far East. In their Bibliographical Register we find not only the publications on Japan but also on Asia in general, China, Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Siberia, Central Asia, Tibet, India and Burma, South Eastern Asia and Western Asia. Such a comprehensive programme of survey is not to be found in any other University or research society of Asia. So we are thankful to our Japanese colleagues for showing us the way and we hope that their example would inspire the creation of a permanent bureau of Asiatic culture and regional committees of Asiatic Bibliography. The History of civilisation, ethnography, religions, history, archaeology are studied in Japan systematically and Japanese arts and crafts are surveyed from the point of view of painting and colour prints, sculpture and industrial arts, architecture and gardening, music, dance and theatre. Thanks to the inborn love of art in the Japanese, they succeeded in rousing the interest of many distinguished Occidental art lovers. That is how we got valuable documented studies like those of Arthur Morrison (*The Painters of Japan*, 2 vols. 1911), of Fenollosa (*Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 2 vols. 1913), of Otto Kummel (*Die Kunst Ostasiens*, 1922), of Serge Elissev (*La peinture contemporaine au Japon*, 1923, 1925), and of Langdon Warner (*The Craft of the Japanese Sculptors*, 1936) among others.

Japanese scholars and publishers are no less active in exploring the field of art and archaeology in China, Korea and Manchuria. We give below a brief inventory of valuable articles and studies by Japanese scholars : Problems relating to the Neolithic Age in North China [S. Mizuno], On the copper cutleries in ancient China and On the Funeral wares in ancient China [S. Umehara], On the Propagation of Cowries in the Far East [N. Egami], Bodhi-Dharma : Historic remains at Sung Shan, Honan [J. Washio], Ancient Han tombs with mural paintings [S. Hamada], Ancient Chinese mirrors in Europe and America [S. Umehara], A collection of photographs of Chinese industrial art [Teikoku Kogeikai, ed.] A collection of photographs of

Chinese clay-figures [Otsuka Kogei-sha, ed] Illustrated catalogues of ancient Chinese prints [Bijutsu Kenkyu Shiryo, ed]

Recently a subject catalogue of Chinese and Japanese books on Manchuria in the 24 libraries of Manchukuo have been published (Dairen, 1931). So the Tokyo Imperial University published between 1915-1931 in 12 vols., the Report of the Geographical and Historical studies of Manchuria and Korea. The extremely rich collection of Chinese tapestries and embroideries treasured by the National Museum of Manchoukuo has recently been studied and edited (Mukden 1935, 2 vols., with 139 plates including 68 in colour with texts and notes in Chinese, Japanese and English) by Prof. S. Okada and the late Mr. K'an To. So the Tokyo Institute of Oriental culture have published illustrated volumes on Architectures and Buddhist Images of the Liao and Kin Dynasties. Similar catalogues (in Japanese) have been published on the Chinese paintings from the T'ang to the Ching dynasties with over 300 illustrations. The Han and Pre-Han sites of Manchuria are being excavated by eminent Japanese archaeologists like Hamada, Komai, Harada, Mori and Shimada who are publishing valuable reports and monographs in *Archaeologia Orientalis*. At the same time we find that the first scientific expedition in Natural History to Manchukuo was organised by S. Tokunaga (1933).

Books and publications on Korea are most systematic and copious : The Governor-General of Chosen patronises the Art Exhibition Association of Keijo publishing (1922-1931) 10 vols of illustrated catalogues of Korean art ; the Archaeological Survey of Korea, 12 vols. 1915-1931 ; Illustrated Catalogue of Exhibits in the Museum of Keijo, 4 vols. : Archaeological report on the excavation of the ancient Korean tombs (S. Umehara, Keijo Museum, 1934). The Keijo Imperial University also publishes many important things on Korean art and archaeology revealing the history of Man in Korea from the Neolithic Age down to the historical period, publishing, among other things, the Collection of Rubbings of Korean Inscriptions. The works of Japanese archaeologists in Korea, Manchuria and the Far East must now be followed by all students of Asiatic History and that is why Mr. G. B. Sanson, in the Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan (December, 1929) gave "An Outline of Recent Japanese Archaeological Research in Korea." The Japanese scholars are going beyond China into Mongolia and Central Asia : Count Otani led an expedition into Serindia and Mr. Haneda collaborated with Prof. Pelliot in editing the

Tuen-Huang manuscripts deposited at the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris.

FAR EASTERN ARTS IN AMERICAN MUSEUMS

The economic and political isolation of the Far East was put up an end to by Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan in 1853. Perry returned to U. S. A. with collections illustrating Japanese ethnology because interest was roused in America "in the manners and customs of the people of the strange lands on the other side of the world." Mr. Benjamin March, Curator of Asiatic Art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, traces this history in his useful book *China and Japan in our Museums, 1929*. He compiled this report for the third general session of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Kyoto, 1929) with the support of the Carnegie Corporation. He takes us back to the very end of the 18th century when in 1799 the Peabody Museum of Salem was founded. There were deposited miscellaneous objects of Far Eastern art and ethnology brought by the American merchant vessels. Chinese objects were brought to this Museum as early as 1801 and when, after Commodore Perry's expedition, American educationists were invited by Japan, two great collections were built up by Prof. E. S. Morse. He was invited to teach Zoology (1870) in the Tokyo Imperial University. He contributed some of the earliest papers on pre-historic Japan and before retiring, he gave a most valuable collection of Japanese ethnology to the Peabody Museum of Salem and of Japanese pottery to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts which has published voluminous catalogues of great scientific value.

Another American scholar, Ernest Fenollosa, came in 1878 to teach in the Tokyo Imperial University. He was a man of rare intuition and enthusiasm and he boldly argued to prove that the Japanese deserved to stand in the first rank among the nations of the world in the field of Fine Arts. He began to acquire Japanese paintings and prints and with the expert help of Okakura developed the wonderful collections of Far Eastern paintings in the Boston Museum. *The Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* posthumously published, are monuments to Fenollosa's devotion to Oriental Arts. Japanese and Chinese art were represented in the Centennial Exhibition of Philadelphia (1876), the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago (1893), St. Louis Exposition (1904) where for the first time the Chinese section received indepen-

dent attention, at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of St. Francisco (1915) and at the International Exposition of Philadelphia in 1926. With wider publicity the American Museums awoke to the need of acquiring authentic treasures of Oriental Art and although many mediocre or even faked objects crept into the museums through the trickery of rapacious dealers, yet the result was on the whole satisfactory. We agree with Mr. March when he says. "The ready availability of works of Far Eastern Art in the Western Museums has had a large share in raising the West's appreciation of Eastern cultural attainments." Chinese and Japanese art directly influenced the decorative art of Europe and America was indirectly influenced through Europe.

That Chinese art is the mother of the Japanese came to be realised by Charles L. Freer who was a pioneer in the collection of Chinese Art in America. He was followed by two other eminent scholars Dr. B. Laufer and Dr. J. C. Ferguson who have written copiously of Chinese art archaeology. The Universities of Harvard, Columbia, California and Chicago among others have got special Chinese libraries and in 1927-28 Mr. Arthur W. Hummel gave a new impetus as the chief of the division of the Chinese literature of the Library of Congress, Washington. It has over 135,000 Chinese vols., 130,000 Japanese, 1000 Korean and considerable materials in Manchurian, Mongolian and Tibetan. Thus China and Japan are the first two representatives of Oriental art and culture, securing their places in the museums and universities of U. S. A. (*Vide China and Japan in American Universities*, Chicago University Press).

The University of Michigan has a special Chinese collection in its Museum of Anthropology. About 6000 ceramic objects from the Sung dynasty downwards were recovered from Chinese burial grounds in the Philippine islands, explored by Dr. C. E. Guthe, Curator of the Museum. The Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters publishes studies on Far Eastern subjects.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts holds probably the richest and the most comprehensive collection of Far Eastern Arts. Its library of Chinese and Japanese books number over 28,000. Its Japanese collection goes beyond 88,000 and with its Chinese and Korean specimens nearly total 100,000. Prof. E. S. Morse served as a keeper of Japanese pottery and he published an authoritative catalogue of his collection at the Museum in 1901. Prof. Fenollosa sold his collection of Japanese paintings to Mr. Weld and it came to be the property of the Museum as the

Weld-Fenollosa Collection. While serving as the Curator of the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art, Fenollosa brought in 1906 Okakura to the Boston Museum as an advisor. Later on he became a Curator and continued to enrich the Museum till his death in 1913. His place is now taken by Kojiro Tomita who is the Oriental colleague of Dr. Coomaraswamy in charge of Indian art.

The Fogg Art Museum of the Harvard University is fortunate in having as its Curator Langdon Warner, a real enthusiast in Oriental arts who has made a substantial contribution to the study of Japanese Buddhist sculpture. The Museum has a modest but choice specimens of Chinese and Japanese paintings, sculptures, bronzes and ceramics. Mr. Warner led two archaeological expeditions for Harvard to Western China.

The Art Institute of Chicago has a rich collection of ancient bronzes and Japanese prints. Pottery of the Han and the T'ang period and a collection of Korean pottery are noteworthy. It is specially rich in Japanese prints numbering over 4000. Out of the 118 galleries of the Institute, 7 are devoted to Chinese and 2 to Japanese art. Its Buddhist Stele (551 A. D.) of the Wei Dynasty has been described in a special monograph by C. F. Kelley (1927).

The most remarkable and systematic Chinese collection (totalling over 12,000 items) is found in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. Dr. Laufer built up this collection through his expeditions in 1908-10 and in 1223. While serving the Museum Dr. Laufer published valuable studies on jade (1912), Turquoise in the East (1913), Chinese Clay-figures (1914), The Diamond (1915), The Beginning of Porcelain (1917), Sino-Iranica (1919), The Pre-history of Aviation (1921), The Chinese Gateway (1922), Oriental Theatricals (1923), Chinese Baskets (1925), Ivory in China (1925), The Giraffe in History and Art (1928). The Japanese collection of the Museum has been described in a series of leaflets by Helen C. Gunsaulus.

The Cleveland Museum of Art has a small but interesting collection of Chinese and Korean art: a T'ang dynasty mural painting of Buddha preaching, Wei dynasty stone sculptures, a Korean painting and the head of a wooden Bodhi-sattava of the Sung period.

The Detroit Institute of Arts, Michigan, is under the care of Mr. Benjamin March, Curator of Asiatic Art. He made special study of Chinese and Japanese paintings and mentions as special items in the Museum: a 13th century Chinese water colour by Ch'ien Hsuan, a

large Chinese Buddha-head in wood (12th century), a screen painting attributed to Korea, about 1000 Korean specimens and samples of Japanese textiles from the 14th to 19th century. Between 1919-1929, the Museum spent over \$ 94,000 in purchase of Chinese and Japanese materials. In California the Mills College for girls has built a decent art gallery with Chinese and Japanese objects valued at \$ 14,000. Moreover, the college sponsored lectures, on Oriental art and history, of T. Kawasaki, Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Cousins and others.

The Museum of History, Science and Art, Los Angeles, has a decent collection and has published bulletins from time to time. The South West Museum of Los Angeles developed under the direction of Mr. James A. B. Scherer who spent about 7 years in the Orient and published several books on Japan.

The Yale University School of the Fine Arts has a nice collection of Chinese porcelain collected by Mr. and Mrs Williams in Peking between 1857 to 1876 when they were attached to the U. S. A. legation. We find also a group of Chinese, Japanese, Cambodian and Siamese sculptures, bronzes and paintings.

The American Museum of Natural History has a rich collection of Chinese and Japanese objects, specially Chinese pottery of the Han dynasty described by Dr. Laufer (1909). The Museum financed the important expeditions under Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews to Mongolia. The Metropolitan Museum of New York has a representative collection of ceramics, jades, sculptures, bronzes and paintings from China, Japan and Korea. The Museum invited lectures on the Far Eastern Art by Baron A. von Stael Holstein on the Temples of Compassion and Peace ; by Prof. Paul Pelliot on Iranian Influence on Chinese Buddhist Art ; by Carl Whiting Bishop on Ancient Bronzes ; by Benjamin March on the Third Dimension in Chinese Painting ; and by Dr. Kalidas Nag on Indian Influence on Far Eastern Art.

There are a few special collections in New York like the distinguished collection of Chinese paintings, bronzes and potteries made by Mrs. William H. Moore. Mr. & Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. also have a valuable collection of Chinese porcelain, bronzes, paintings and sculptures. The New York Public Library has the famous Brinkley Collection of 1517 pieces of Japanese prints,

The Pennsylvania Museum of Art is rich in Chinese collection of the Han, T'ang and Sung periods. A remarkable group of Eastern Wei marbles was purchased from the Oswald Siren collection. In 1929

the Museum purchased some 300 Chinese paintings from the splendid collection of Dr. V. G. Simkhovitch. The Museum spent (1928-29) about \$ 42000 in developing its Chinese collection and \$ 60,000 for Japanese purchases.

The University Pennsylvain has developed a selected and valuable collection in the Far Eastern section of its Museum. It spent a large sum in developing the Chinese collection : Chou dynasty bronzes, Han wine-jar, a pair of life sized *Bhikshus* of the Sui dynasty, T'ang sculptures, Turfan fragments from the Von Le Coq expedition and also art objects of the Sung and Ming periods.

The Princeton University is developing a Far Eastern collection in its Museum of Historic art. The Rhode Island School of Design has over 2000 items of Chinese and Japanese art which are used extensively by the student of the school. The school invites lecturers from outside and arranges gallery talks on the art of the Far East. The City Art Museum of St. Louis, Missouri spent about \$ 300,000 on its Chinese and Japanese collections.

The Toledo Museum of art has a valuable collection of Chinese and Japanese ceramics, paintings and swords. It arranges a course of the Art of the Orient for credit in the University of Toledo,

Worcester Art Museum is located in Massachusetts and has collected a few select Chinese, Korean and Japanese materials chiefly from the point of view of decorative arts, the textile collections being fairly extensive. Moreover, the Bancroft collection of about 2000 Japanese prints, catalogued by Mr. F. W. Gookin, includes some unique Japanese primitives. There is also a miscellaneous collection of jades, lacquers, enamels, bronzes and jewellery. Lastly in the capital city of Washington we find some valuable collections in the United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution. Commodore Perry brought in 1853 some specimens to illustrate the economic life of Japan, specially ceramics and lacquers which we find here. The Japanese Government later on presented to the Museum an industrial series and groups in costume. The technology of Japanese wood-block cutting is illustrated in the Division of Graphic Arts. The exhibits of Japanese musical instruments and of pre-historic archæology are also noteworthy. The Chinese collection is mediocre but some ancient grave-ceramics were collected for this Museum by Rev. D. C. Graham in Szechuan. *The Annual Report of U. S. National Museum* is publishing occasional bulletins on Chinese and Japanese art and culture.

The Library of the Congress has in its Print Division over 2000 items illustrating the Graphic Arts of Japan and China. The collection originated with the Division of Prints organised in 1897 and was enriched in 1905 by the gift of the Noyes Collection of Japanese prints, drawings etc. which have been catalogued. The works of Utamaro, Kuniyoshi, Hokusai and others are represented. Of the Japanese silk paintings there are the "Eight Views of Fuji" by Hiroshige.

The Freer Gallery of Art collection is the most valuable and carefully catalogued by its able Curator J.E. Lodge. According to him, up to 1929 there were 3429 Chinese, 1862 Japanese and 455 Korean objects chiefly being painting, sculpture, ceramic, metal work, textile, jade, glass etc. The collection originated with Mr. Charles L. Freer of Detroit who began to collect about 1880 coming under the influence of Fenollosa. Retiring from business in 1900 Mr. Freer devoted his energies in exploring China which was the original source of the Far Eastern art creation. It is mainly due to him that the American attention was diverted from Japan to China and when the Government agreed to care for and maintain the collection at public expense, Mr. Freer made a gift (May, 1906) of his precious collection to the nation and created an endowment not only for the expansion of the Oriental sections of his collection but also for furthering scholarly researches on the subject. The year he completed the building for the collection, he died and the Gallery was opened to the public in 1923. The motive behind his collection is best illustrated by the following extract from the Official Report : He believed "that the more nearly a cultural object of any civilisation expresses the underlying principles of artistic reduction in soundness of thought and workmanship, the more nearly it takes its place with other objects of equality produced by any other civilisation ; and with that in view, he was intent upon bringing together such expressions of Western and Eastern cultures as seemed to him to embody at their best those characteristic which he believed to be inherent in all works of art."

Canadian Collections.

Montreal (Quebec) and Toronto are the two cities of the Dominion of Canada which possess some valuable collections. About 80,000 volumes of Chinese texts, specially rich in Ming works formed the Best Chinese Research Library in the Mc Gill University of Montreal. The

Art Association of Montreal founded in 1860 developed in 1916 the Far Eastern wing of its Museum. Chinese paintings, sculptures, tomb-figures, textiles and ceramic specimens together with Japanese art objects of real value form the main collection enriched in 1927 by the gift of the Japanese ceramics and bronzes from Lord Strathcona.

The Royal Ontario Museum of Archæology, Toronto, contains the most valuable specimens of the mortuary art of China; Neolithic hand-made potteries, early painted wares, metal objects, weapons and implements, early bronzes, ritual vessels excavated near Honan-fu and other objects of the Chou period, Han dynasty metal work, Sung and later copies of early bronzes, glazed T'ang figures, tomb figures of the Ming dynasty, iron-figures of the Ming and Ching dynasties, Sung paintings and textile objects collection from Ming to the Modern times. These rare specimens go to make the Toronto collection as the most important one in Canada, The Museum is associated with the University of Toronto and funds are supplied to enable two expert collectors to acquire valuable objects: Dr. George Crofts and the Right Rev. W. C. White, Bishop of Honan, were responsible for this unique collection which affords ample opportunity for research and which are reported in the bulletin of the Museum.

Thus the New World is taking more and more interest in the art and culture of Asia.

Winter and Spring

It now is winter but behold !
White flowers come showering from the sky !
Perchance the spring reigns there
Beyond the clouds on high.

Kokin Shu, Vol. VI

Pan-Arabism and World Politics To-day

Asit Mukherji

Editor "Bishan" and "New Mercury"

The Arabs have become a very vital factor in world politics. They are playing to-day a strikingly important role in the contemporaneous rivalry among empires. This is mainly due to their steadily growing national feeling, to their peculiar geographical position, and to their numbers, which equal the population of all the Balkan States.

The Arab world is very much larger than most people imagine. Comprising the whole of North Africa and of South-West Asia, it is far greater in extent than the continent of Europe. At a rough estimate there are in the world 40,000,000 people who speak Arabic. Nearly half of the coast line of the Mediterranean Sea runs along Arabian territories. Arabia proper, that is the Arabian peninsula, is six times as large as Germany—which means that it would more than cover the United States, east of the Mississippi. The Arabs are thus divided into well over a dozen different independent countries, mandates, protectorates and colonies.

Most Arab lands are of vital interest not chiefly on account of their historical associations, but because of their geographical location. They actually lie athwart the grand highways of many Empires. The main highway of the British Empire passes directly through the Arab world. An India-bound traveller from London, whether by air, land or water, must have to cross Arab territories. The chief commercial air-lines of Great Britain to South Africa and Australia also have stations in Arabian states. The Suez Canal is an Arabian ditch, so to speak. Neither Italy nor Great Britain could keep in close touch with the most vital points of their Empires without the permission, voluntary or otherwise, of the Arabs. Two among the longest and the most important French and British pipe lines rise in and pass through Arabian countries.

Arab territory is divided into many States and Colonies, some of which are the following :—Palestine, Egypt, Sinai, Trans-Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Latakia, Iraq, Yemen, Hedjaz, Nejd, Aden, Oman, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco.

Of these lands France holds in the form of protectorates, mandates and colonies 1, 153, 752 square miles. Syria and Lebanon are republics, though not yet entirely free from French mandatory supervision. Great Britain holds as mandates Palestine and Trans-Jordan with 26, 320 square miles, exercises a control over Egypt with 383,000 square miles, exerts a dominant influence in Iraq, and keeps Arabia proper very strictly within its sphere of influence. Under British protection of one form or another are Koweit, the Bahrein Islands, the Trucial Sheikhdoms, and Oman—all on the Persian Gulf—and the Aden Protectorate (including Hadramaut) on the Indian Ocean.

The word 'Arab' is usually used as a rather loose and general term, classifying the Egyptians, Iraqis, Syrians and Hedjazis all as Arabs. All the people in the countries mentioned speak the Arab language and feel Arab unity. An Egyptian from Cairo understands a Syrian from Aleppo. The ways of life, the religions, traditions, and mental attitudes of all these Arab peoples are similar.

Any movement aiming at uniting all the Arabic-speaking peoples does not, therefore, lack ambition. And indeed, some of the Pan-Arab leaders are thinking in terms of just such a Greater Arabia extending from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. The Pan-Arab movement, reduced to its essence, is a nationalist agitation, and it appears to be gaining momentum. One important phase of this movement is the armed conflict between Arabs and the British in Palestine. And the British are increasingly aware that it threatens to affect, among other things, their primary imperial interest—the route to India. The truth of this was recognised by the British Royal Commission on Palestine, which admitted that "the problem of Palestine is the problem of insurgent nationalism." For that matter, the Pan-Arab leaders appeal for even wider support—that of the 250,000,000 Moslems throughout the world—less than a fifth of whom speak Arabic. This has been one of the most effective tactics employed by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

It was in Damascus, the Syrian capital that the Arabian renaissance began somewhat more than 50 years ago. The Syrians are closer to Europe than any other important group of Arabs, they have extensive contacts with Western Capitals, send their sons in large numbers to European schools and universities and have very progressive colonies of emigrants in America. In recent years, Syria has had the

advantage of being close to Palestine. The revolt in the Holy Land has been organized to a large extent in Syria.

Baghdad is another focal point for Pan-Arab propaganda. Iraqi politicians have been notable for their public support of the Arab cause in Palestine.

It should be noted that Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia and the Imam Yahya of the Yemen are a little circumspect about the Pan-Arabic movement. But their tacit sympathy is assured, so claim the leaders of Pan-Arabism.

Another important point not to be lost sight of, is that some of the prominent exponents of Pan-Arab thought are Christians from the Lebanon. Nationalism is becoming a great unifier, and it pushes religious differences into the background. One of the chief leaders of the Arab Nationalists has been a Protestant. The Druses and Moslems fight side by side against the French. The Roman Catholics of the Lebanon are becoming as vehement in their nationalistic strivings as the Moslems of Aleppo.

The Egyptians are physically not closely related to the Arabians, yet they speak Arabic and are largely Moslems; and their politicians are ready to give their patronage to the Pan-Arabic programme. The recent declaration of the young King of Egypt, King Farouk, as "Caliph", that is Leader of the Moslem world, promises to be an event of far-reaching consequences. It is rather early to assess the true value of this sudden step, as the details are so far lacking.

Pan-Arabism has to resolve a few knotty problems, namely, the political shape of the hoped-for Arab State,-- democracy or dictatorship, republic or monarchy; federation or unitary government. Where would the State's capital be? Should it strive to include all Arabic-speaking peoples of Asia and Africa? These problems moreover, do not include those created by the international situation:-- Britain's determination to hold the short and quick route to India; France's decline, after Munich, to the rank of a second-rate Power; Germany's renewal of the 'Drang nach Osten' and its corollary, the Berlin-Baghdad idea; Mussolini's continued flirtation with Islam, and Turkey's renewed aggressiveness as shown in her thinly disguised 'Anschluss' of Alexandretta.

The very enumeration of these complications indicates what vast repercussions the uprising of a powerful Arab State would have on European power-politics. For England to allow such a State to

come under the political sway of another power—say Italy or Germany—would be fatal to her imperial connections, and to those of France. If Nazi Germany should succeed in fulfilling the pre-war Berlin—to-Baghdad dream of the Pan-Germans, or if Fascist Italy should find, in spite of the present assertions that she is satiated, that to protect her holdings in Libya and Ethiopia she must expand them, the question would become still more involved.

These important considerations make clear not only the strategic importance Greater Arabia would inevitably possess, but the reasons which the Great Powers may have for not looking upon Arab unity with unmixed joy.

The Path-way.

Although the pathway is hidden deep
By maple leaves in disarray,
See, winter, unerring, has come to my cottage,
without losing its way.

—*Zoku Gosen Shu, Vol. VIII.*

Jottings

We offer our hearty congratulations to Subhas Chandra Bose on the signal honour of his being elected, for the second time, President of the Indian National Congress. By boldly defying the oligarchy controlling the central machinery Mr. Bose vindicated the claims of millions of his countrymen who believe in democracy. The Congress is undoubtedly the biggest national party in India and we wish it all success and a great future ; but the Congress for that very reason should not be allowed to be exploited by individuals or by groups however important or well-meaning. We hope that under the lead of Mr. Bose the Congress will begin to take a realistic view of world politics specially from the Asiatic point of view.

* * * *

The Koa-in or the Asia Development Board is recently organised in Tokio to develop a political, economic and cultural co-operation between the Chinese and the Japanese peoples. They are related by thousand ties through centuries and although unfortunately there is a temporary crisis they may again establish the relations for their mutual benefit if only the out-side agencies stop their interested propaganda and what is more reprehensible, making unholy gains by selling murderous tools of war to both the parties.

* * * *

The United States of America is responsible for a doctrine (attributed to President Monroe) which effectively stopped the interference in America of European States. The latter resented no doubt but did not dare defy this policy which has been reiterated in the recent Pan-American Congress of Lima. But whenever there is any talk of formulating the Monroe Doctrine for Asia, the European Powers are horrified and we understand why. Asia is geographically large enough not only for Asiatics but for our friendly neighbours and colleagues as well. Uninvited Western guests, however, have seriously dislocated our domestic economy and it is high time that Asia would strive as one person to stop foreign exploitation and find food and shelter for nearly one half of humanity now on the brink of starvation.

* * * *

New Asia is inspired with a new hope with which we greet our friends at the beginning of the year.

WORLD OF BOOKS

A Glimpse of Japanese Ideals by Dr. Jiro Harada, Published by Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokio, 1937.

The author is well-known to the students of Oriental arts. Nearly 30 years ago he was sent by the Japanese Government to London as an *attache* to the Japanese Commission to Japan British Exhibition of 1909-11 and also to Panama Pacific International exposition of 1914-16. Since 1911 Dr. Harada has been the corresponding editor of the 'Studio', London and since 1925 a member of the staff of the Imperial Household Museum, Tokio.

The work under review is the result of his lecture-trip to the United States at the invitations of the University of Oregon and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts where a special loan exhibition of Japanese art was held in connection with *Tercentenary* of the University of Harvard (1935-36). His valuable lectures are now published by the Society for International Cultural Relation which is rendering signal services to the cause of propagation of Japanese art and culture through various publications. Chairman of the Society Count Kabayama strikes the key note of the volume in his forward : "Many have been led to think that the civilizations of the East and of the West are opposed, being independent entities incapable of harmonization. This is untrue. We tend to forget that the differences of the two cultures are not absolute but relative, that they are often complementary and that they contribute to the enrichment of human relationships".

Starting with the survey of Japanese archaeology and architecture we are taken by Dr. Harada gradually into the beautiful maze of Japanese gardens, Noh drama, Lacquer work and the Imperial repository of the Sho so-in (Nara). Each chapter is illustrated with selected pictures in half-tone running to 145 plates ; over and above we are presented with 11 reproductions in full colours of some of the rarest National Treasures of Japan. Thus the author and the publishers have collaborated in giving to the public at large an exquisite book as well as a handy museum guide of Japanese Art for which they deserve our hearty congratulations. Those who have the good fortune to witness the master-pieces of the Imperial Household collections will agree with us that the reproduc-

tion of Fugen Bosatsu (painted in colour on silk in the later Heian period, 898-1185) has done full justice to that masterpiece of oriental painting. Buddhist religion and philosophy as well as Chinese classical art have been assimilated by the artistic genius of Japan and have thus enriched the civilization of the world. Japanese passion for beauty is so profound and generalised that we run the risk of taking them for granted. Count Okakura towards the beginning of this century was the first to express in words the innate scenes of beauty and harmony in the Japanese soul and Dr. Harada carries on that tradition by writing this illuminating commentary on Japanese art both from objective as well as subjective point of view.

His exposition is illuminating and exhaustive and in this documentation of materials he shows himself a past master. We recommend the book to all lovers of art.

The Drama of the Pacific by Major R. V. C. Bodley. The Hokuseido Press. Tokio.

The author served as an officer in the Indian Army before entering the Pacific field ; he gave his first survey of the Japanese Empire in his *Japanese Omellette* with chapter on Manchukuo, Korea and the Mandated Islands. In his *Drama of the Pacific* he gave a more intensive study of the Japanese Mandates which consists of 1400 Islands and which Major Boadley knows more intimately than any one else could pretend to do. He wisely gave up the ambitious plan of writing a book about the Pacific from the time of its discovery by Balboa in 1513. Condensing the history of the past 400 years into a few pages, the author traced the Drama of the Pacific through Sino-Japanese War of 1893-4, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 to the Great War of 1914 and after. The little Island Kingdom on which the American Commodore Perry served the ultimatum in 1853 and whose coasts could be bombarded in 1863 by the British Rear Admiral Kuper in the battle of Kagosima, rose within 50 years to be one of the leading Naval Powers of the world annihilating the Russian Fleet as well as the Far Eastern army of Czarist Russia. General Nogi and Admiral Togo and their successors since that glorious epoch have seen the development of a new generation of Japanese officers and strategists who could hold their own against any power in the world.

Yet this very Power was shamelessly treated, along with other Orientals, as inferior human-beings by the American and other Western

powers. At the inception of the League of Nations as well as at the Washington Conference Japan was insulted simply because she pleaded for racial equality unknown to and unacknowledged by the so-called democratic nations of the Occident. The worst offence has been given by America through her Anti-Asiatic Bill of 1924 which is a libel to all oriental nations. Thus the offensive was really taken by the Christian nations of the West and it is for them to make proper amends, as the author argues in his chapter on 'The Plea for Peace'. He follows the interesting problems of Japan's rôle in the Pacific of to-day and to-morrow through the last four chapters of the book: War in the Pacific, Naval Ratio, Possibilities of Anglo Japanese Alliance and the Conclusion. More than half of the book is devoted to an exhaustive and critical description of the Japanese Mandated Islands and the author gives legitimate praise for what Japan has achieved in that most unpromising Island group of the Pacific. We recommend the book to all serious students of Pacific history for it treats "the Pacific to be a gigantic stage with the equator as the foot-lights, China as the backcloth, the Panama Canal and the Singapore Base as the exits in the wings."

Hawaiian Tapestry by Antoinette Withington, Hapner & Bros. Publishers, New York, 1937.

Beautiful Hawaii is on the select list of experienced tourists and naturally has paid the penalty of being charming and attractive through holiday publicity and cheap literature. Fortunately for Hawaii and for the Hawaiian people there are sincere lovers with profound sympathy and understanding. Antoinette Withington is one such lover of Hawaii and things Hawaiian. Those who have the privilege of coming in personal contact with her know that during the last 20 years of her life she was gathering silently the 'warp and woof' of Hawaiian life and lore which she now has woven into this Hawaiian Tapestry. It is the work of love and of love based on day to day observation and communion. That is how she has not only given the concrete strands of Hawaiian life but also the elusive charm of the complicated pattern of its present history. Accidentally she produces the book, really she was weaving in a trance as it were scene after scene of Hawaiian life as we read through the 29 chapters which should be read and re-read so as to catch the spirit in which they are composed. "Pele, the Goddess of Fire" takes us to remote geological epoch in the heart of the Pacific when Fire Goddess was creating this

lovely Island. After millions of years the author writes in her chapter on 'Friendly Craters': "We live among dead volcanoes. Day by day, we ride over their ridges, sleep in their shadows." Dr. H. E. Gregory the learned Geologist, of Yale and Dr. T. A. Jagger the renowned volcanologist of Hawaii who are friends of the author have deepened her interest which go far beyond the problems of contemporary Hawaii. So her friend Dr. Peter Buck, (Director of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu) as the author acknowledges, has enriched her minds with authentic information on Polynesian history and culture. Those songs and dances, the flowers and garlands, sacred stones and drums, dolls and paper-gods of Hawaii live once more in our imagination as we read this mature production. Modern ethnic texture of Hawaii and its obvious realities like sugar, pine-apple also have been discussed with characteristic thoroughness. Over the whole piece there hovers the rare atmosphere of profound sympathy and understanding of her own. We recommend the book to all lovers of good literature. Photographs and illustrations excellent for which we congratulate the publishers as well as the author who have helped in bringing the far off Islands very near to all of us.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Year Book 1938.

When in 1936 The Endowment celebrated the 25th Anniversary of its foundation the cause of World Peace was far from being stabilised. But thanks to the generous provision of Andrew Carnegie the Endowment is continuing to render signal services to Peace Education. 6720,806 dollars were expended in maintaining the Division of Intercourse and Education, the Division of International law, Division of Economy and History and other branches of activities. Director Nicholas Murray Butler gave us some staggering figures relating to World Peace: Expenditure for military purposes, said he, was 3 times as great as it was before the outbreak of the World War in 1914; 8500,000 were in arms and 7000,000,000 dollars were being spent in 1937 on armaments and those are but a fraction of what actual war expenditure would involve.

The Endowment, however, with characteristic optimism participated in many international conferences in the New and the Old world. Under its auspices an unofficial economic conference was held (March 1935) at Chatham House and the International Chamber of Commerce participated in the proceedings. Secretary of State Mr. Hull wrote in that connection "in promoting economic disarmament and liberalisation

of world trade we help to lay the most important ground work for peace". Few world politicians however realise that the monopolistic and militaristic tendencies of European powers are mainly responsible for the disturbances of world peace. Not satisfied with Europe, the Powers have been propelled by avarice to partition the entire continent of Africa and also to create serious complications in Asia. Peace Education above all is needed for the colonial and imperial powers of Europe who are the real disturbers of World peace. We hope with the Director of the Endowment that the policy of "wait and see" would be discarded for ever and that the motto "act with intelligence, courage and moral purposes would take its place".

We are grateful that the Endowment have been sending its publications to about a dozen universities and libraries of India and for presenting to the Federal Court Library, New Delhi, collection of books on American History and Federal Constitution.

Malay by Swami Sadananda. Published by Suhrid Kumar Mitra, 15, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta.

The author is a learned *sannyasin* (Hindu monk) who overcoming numerous difficulties, financial and otherwise boldly undertook three historical excursions into Malaysia : the first one in 1932, the second in 1934 and the third in 1936. He visited progressively Burma, Malay Peninsula, Siam, Cambodia, Champa (Annam) and the Dutch Indies. Over and above his numerous articles published in Bengali periodicals and his two excellent books also in Bengali on the Ceremonies and Rituals of Greater India and on Cambodia, he published in English : "Pilgrimage of Greater India," "Suvarnavipa", "Champa" and "Malay". Dr. P. C. Bagchi of the University of Calcutta in his foreward to the volume observes "The essay on Hindu Malay will be of great interest to the students of ancient Indian colonisation. It will serve as a good introduction to the subject and will induce students to go deeper into various problems connected with it".

The author not only travelled through Malay intensively but worked also assiduously at the Raffles Museum with its splendid collections of books, periodicals and Indonesian antiquities. There he was befriended by Mr. H. D. Collings, the learned curator. After giving a brief but highly interesting survey of the Hindu Malay, the author continued through successive pages to describe Malacca of old, historical Singapore, Johore, early 18th century Malacca and Baling. He refers

at the end of the book to the caves in the *chalk hills* near Baling within the Unfederated States in Kedah where valuable pre-historic materials are being unearthed. These have been catalogued and discussed by Mr. Collings and should be of great interest to Anthropologists and Ethnologists of India, for we know, that the Aryan races while entering Malaysia followed in the footsteps of the pre-Aryan races of India who used Malay Peninsula as the most convenient land bridge to Indonesia. Several interesting old cities of the Hindu Period have recently been unearthed by Mr. H. G. Quaritch Wales and therefore we should devote more attention to Malay. Swami Sadananda has earned the gratitude of all Indian scholars by boldly drawing their attention to this important yet much neglected field of historical investigations.

Citizen : Singapore—Singapore is the gateway of the Far East and one of the most important Free Ports of the World. When Sir Stamford Raffles (born July 1781) dreamed of its great future, Singapore was a mere swamp and yet fulfilling his silent prophesis, it claims to be now one of the most prized cities of the British Empire in the East. Raffles considered Singapore to be the centre of the Malay world and by mastering the Malay language he became 'perfect Malaya'. His name is proudly borne by two leading cultural institutions : Raffles Museum and the Raffles College, the latter may develop some day into a university for Malaya. There is already a movement in that direction as a Committee of Enquiry has been appointed by the Colonial Office. When realised the Singapore University may partially follow the example of its elder sister the University of Hongkong. At present, owing to the absence of a University students leave the colleges with diplomas and no degrees ; but there are some very fine secondary schools and one of the best is the City High School. It was founded by a veteran Bengalee educationist, Mr. M. N. Samadar, Principal, who has developed within 5 years this school into a truly international organisation, supported by enlightened Indians like Mr. S.C Goho, the well-known barrister of Malaya and by other Indians, Chinese, Malayas, and Europeans. Some of the old boys of the school got admitted into the schools in England, some joined the universities of Hongkong, Amoy and Bombay. The Principal is ever eager to develop the international spirit in the future citizens of this cosmopolitan city and the students are fortunate to receive a harmonious fusion of the physical and cultural growth. We wish the new Institution the success that it eminently

deserves and we congratulate the Principal and the patrons of the institution on their achievements in erecting the fine permanent buildings of its own on the beautiful Sofia Road of Singapore. We hope that this school would serve as the cultural link between the Indian and Malay world by encouraging its teachers and students to publish books and articles that would help to develop better understanding and good-will between the Indian and Malay races. Our Indian Universities also should develop friendly relations with such institution and foster the study of Malay language and literature that would be indispensable for the proper appreciation of the history and culture of Greater India.

Japanese Literature Since 1868 by Tadao Kunitomo, M.A. of the Oriental Institute, University of Hawaii. Published by the Hokuseido Press, Tokio.

Classical Japanese texts, often mistranslated even now, are however getting more and more attention of devoted and competent translators and commentators both Japanese and Occidental.

The modern Japanese literature on the contrary, paradoxical though it may appear, is practically inaccessible and unknown to modern readers outside the Japanese family. Yet, to make modern Japan, the thoughts and feelings of modern Japanese men and women, known to the world outside is most urgently needed. We glibly discuss Japanese political and economic organisations, forgetting that the source of Japan's creative life is in her social adjustments and activities. These can only be adequately studied through her vast modern literature periodical and permanent. It is an enormous task, and Prof. T. Kunitomo has, with rare courage and devotion, collected and digested for the benefit of those who do not know Japanese, the gigantic collection of Japanese prose literature. It extends over the Meiji (1868-1912), Taisho (1912-1926) and Showa (1926-c. 1931) periods covering over half a century of the phenomenal growth of Japan in world polity. Starting from the effete transitional schools of Robun and Ransen, passing under review the imported political novels and translated literature, Prof. Kunitomo took us boldly to the middle Meiji period of realism, "the Storm and Stress (1885-1905). Koyo, the master craftsman in style and Guchi Ichiyo, the short-lived and talented woman realist, are gradually shown to give place to the writers of romantic and idealistic schools.

Prof. Kunitomo next shows how after the Russo-Japanese war we find a wonderful development and transformation of naturalism, through the latest "Schools of leisure", under great writers like Shimazaki Toson, Tayama Katai, Natsume Soseki and Mori-ohgai, to mention only a few of the really great and original writers of modern prose fiction and short stories, criticism and caricature.

With equal clearness Prof. Kunitomo brings out the agony and struggle of the Japanese nation as reflected in the literature of Taisho and Showa eras when Japan kept pace with critical developments of the West : Neo-idealism, neo-realism, the rise of Proletariat literature which at a time, seemed to capture the greater part of the nation, and the present ultra-conservative nationalistic swing, are brought to light without any bias, and with perfect objectivity of a historian of literature.

An experienced teacher of Japanese literature as he is Prof. Kunitomo has spared no pains to make his survey as clear as it is comprehensive. We hope that his book would find the widest publicity it fully deserves. A good index and a synchronistic table of the Occidental and Japanese authors, their books and reciprocal influences, would add to the reference value of this pioneer work in contemporary Japanese literature.

Siam-Nature and Industry, issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Communication and

Siam General and Medical Features, issued by the Executive Committee of the Eighth Congress.

The Hon'ble Mr. Purachatra, Minister of Commerce and Communication, has succeeded in giving us in a clear and engaging style, an account of the natural features, industry and commerce of Siam. The volume is composed of 22 chapters giving us an up-to-date descriptive survey of the different departments of this progressive Asiatic Kingdom. We are sure that chapters on lac cultivation, rice industry, co-operative movement etc, will be read with interest and profit not only by the Siamese people but also by their friendly neighbours of India, China, Persia, etc passing from mediaevalism to modernism in their economic life. By the side of Japan and Persia, Siam is another power of the Orient which has shown a remarkable capacity to develop along modern lines while preserving substantially the continuity of her ancient

culture. To give only a few illustrations, we note that H. M. King Chulalongkor commanded H. R. H. Prince Bhanurangsi to organise a system of modern Postal Service in the year 1881, and by 1931, within half a century, Siam has come to occupy a key-position in the International Air-way communication of the West with the Far Eastern World. Siam joined the Universal Postal Union in 1885, while the electric telegraphy, which was introduced by the Minister of War as early as 1875, came to be utilized for the Siam Public Service from 1883. The first Telephone Exchange was established in Bangkok in the year 1886, and soon the Government hopes to have the most up-to-date telephone system in the capital city.

Wireless Telegraphy was first demonstrated in Siam as early as 1904. Siam joined the International Wireless Convention in 1906 and enacted a Radio Telegraphic Law in 1914 to regulate the use of Wireless in the country. In 1929, the International Radio Service was opened to the public at lower rates than the Telegraphic cable charges and direct communication was established with Germany, England, France, Indo-China, Java, the Phillippines and Hong-Kong. Weekly air-mail service also has been inaugurated for the purpose of improving the communication with the large and rich section in North-Eastern Siam, while commercial aviation came to be patronized by the Government from June 1922, and has been in operation ever since. The safest and most economical air communication from Europe and America to China, Philip-pines, Australia, Dutch East Indies etc., is through Siam which, therefore, naturally occupies today the position of unique advantage in the International Aviation.

The volume on Siam : General and Medical, is composed of 25 chapters, running like the other volume, to nearly 350 pages packed with most interesting informations. One half the book is devoted to public health, medical services. Siamese Red Cross Societies, veterinary service, leprosy and snake venom researches and such other subjects relating to the science of health and hygiene which has received the fullest attention of the progressive government of Siam. The first and the foremost title of any government or administration in the Orient should be the prompt and adequate organisation of such life-saving institutions as well as of free primary education for the general public. The Siamese Government, by the last fifty years of its achievements, has fully justified its title to govern.

The Far East, an International Survey by Harold Quicley and George H. Blakeslee, Published by World Peace Foundation, 40, Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

It is as difficult to describe the Far Eastern World during the last five years as to have described objectively the history of Western Europe during the Great War. Apparently the war in the Far East is between China and Japan but really there appears to be a series of warfares, mostly veiled and silent, between Japan and the Western Powers struggling to maintain their special privileges and monopolies in China. Joint authors of the volume under review have tried to give a picture of the treaty relationship of China and Japan with the Western States. The authors through their documentation tried to prove that Asia for Asiatics is a Japanese doctrine but they do not realise sufficiently that the doctrine may have its root in the new born national consciousness of the whole of Asia exploited by western powers. Weakness of China is undoubtedly deplorable but Japan is not the only power or for that matter the first power to take advantage of that weakness. The authors have given a very useful *resume* of China's relations with Japan prior to 1931, and of Manchukuo and its foreign relation, of the treaty rights in China etc. They have given also the relative strength of the positions of U. S. A., the British Empire, Soviet Union, of France and Germany, of the Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines. The last two chapters of the book dealt with the navies, naval bases and air routs as well as agreements for preserving peace. Sixty closely printed pages are devoted to the printing of important documents illustrating the policies of the various powers and so the handbook is quite exhaustive and useful.

The World Court 1921-1938, by Manley O. Hudson, Published by World Peace Foundation, 40, Mount Vernon St., Boston, Mass. Price 75 cents. Pages 345, 5th. Edition.

This a hand book of the Permanent Court of International Justice published by World Peace Foundation which was founded in 1910 by Edwin Ginn who started a series of publications for the purpose "of educating the people of all nations to full knowledge of destructiveness of war...and to promote international justice and brotherhood of man". The Foundation operates upon the policy "that the actual facts concerning international relations and official international co-operation constitute the best possible arguments for lasting

peace." The first part of the book running to 234 pages presents the best available description of the World Court, its members, its statutes, its publications, its judgments and advisory opinions. The second part gives a brief survey between 1923-1938. President Roosevelt in his message to the Senate dated Jan. 16, 1938 observes : "The sovereignty of the United States will be in no way diminished or jeopardized by such action. At this period in relationships, when every act is of moment to the future of world peace, the United States has an opportunity once more to throw its weight into the scale in favor of peace." The resolution was defeated in the Senate (Jan. 29, 1938) for while 52 voted for 36 voted against the resolution and therefore two-third majority being not registered U. S. A. could not participate. In spite of that this admirable survey of Prof. Hudson will furnish the general public with valuable informations relating to the progress of arbitration in the settlements of international disputes.

The fifth edition of this model handbook would be indispensable to the students of International Law.

Oriental Institute Series Nos. 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, University of Chicago.

The late lamented Prof. James Henry Breasted was the soul of the now famous Oriental Institute maintained by the progressive University of Chicago. Up to 1934 Prof. Breasted edited the series of the valuable "Communications of the Institute." One of the most valuable contributions to Oriental art is the book of Prof. Breasted "Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting". After his death Dr. Albert Wilson is carrying on his noble tradition. At the beginning the Institute led explorations in Hittite Asia Minor under the direction of Dr. H. H. von der Osten who is now serving the archæological department of the Turkish Government at Ankara.

The new series of reports of the exploration work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq under the direction of Dr. Henry Frankfort formed valuable contributions to our knowledge of Asiatic Archæology. First season's work was confined to Tell Asmar and Khafaje in Eshnunna. The brick inscriptions and seals clarifying the history and religion of the archæology were discussed by T. Jacobsen. The excavation report of Khafaje was prepared by Conrad Preusser. Chronological comparisons of Eshnunna, Elam and Annerri (2300-1900 B. C.) were ably discussed by Mr. Frankfort who recently rendered a great service to Indian

Archæology by establishing the synchronism of our Indus Valley finds with those of Babylon of 3rd millenium B. C. The architechural details of the Akkadian buildings at Tell Asmar together with the cylinder seals and other objects were carefully compared and contrasted by Dr. Frankfort with the Sumerian and the Sind School of arts and it was due to Dr. Frankfort's bold and convincing suggestions that an expert of Mesopotamian archæology like Sir Leonard Wooley is coming to examine personally the Indus Valley sites. Iraq and India appear now to be intimately connected and the intermediary region of ancient Iran must necessarily enter into the line of archaeological collaboration. We hope that in near future the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago will send a special mission to examine the prehistoric sites of Indus Valley so as to lay solidly the foundation of Indo-Mesopotamian archaeology.

We have followed with keen interest Dr. Frankfort's fifth preliminary report (1934-35) describing discoveries concerning the early dynastic period at Tell Asmar and Khafaje as well as excavations at Ishchali and Khorsabad. Gems and ornaments potery designs and muriel decorations are excellently illustrated in the accompanying plates enhancing the value of the reports.

Japanese Wood-Block Prints by S. Huzikake, Tokio.

The Board of Tourists Industry, Tokio has undertaken the task of providing foreign tourists with accurate information regarding various phases of Japanese culture. They propose to publish about 100 volumes and has already within the remarkable short period published many charmingly illustrated book-lets on Drama, Architecture, Gardens, Castles, Hot-springs, Floral art, Music and Education of Japan. The volume under review traces the history of Japanese Prints from 11th century down to the present date. Names, dates and other accounts of the career of the outstanding artists have been given in appendices. With 38 reproductions in colour and in half-tones the volume is sure to attract the attention and sympathy of thousands of readers who are interested in Asiatic art. We congratulate the publishers on their excellent publication.

Japan in Advance (2 volumes), Tokio.

To commemorate the 2600 anniversary of the coronation of the first Emperor Jimmu it was projected to hold in Tokio in 1940 the Universal Exhibition. The project has been abandoned owing to "China

Emergency" but the society to prompt that commemoration brought out two nicely printed illustrated volumes giving an up-to-date survey of the different departments of its national activities : political and social organisations, its sports and museums, arts and crafts, its industry and agriculture, its economy and foreign relations and many other subjects have been ably discussed in clear and concise style for the benefit of the outsiders. Tourist Industry is well developed in Japan and the Board of Tourist Industry and Japan Tourist Bureau have earned well merited renown by their excellent services and beautifully illustrated booklets on Japanese Culture. The photographic illustrations in volumes will naturally rouse the interest of foreigners desiring to visit the Island Empire. Modern Japan is always eager to cultivate friendly relations with the civilized nations of the world as we find from her active participation in most of the international exhibitions ever since 1873 (London and Vienna), 1875 (Melbourne), 1876 (Philadelphia), 1878 (Paris) 1880 (Berlin), 1884 (St. Pittsburg), 1893 (Chicago), 1902 (Hanoi), 1911 (Rome), 1914 (Semarang, Java), 1922 (Rio'de Janerio) (Brazil), 1933 (Chicago). Very naturally the Mayor of Tokio, in introducing the volume under review wrote : "We the Japanese, are ever thankful that the advanced countries of Europe and America opened the way for Japan to freely absorb Western civilization thereby motivating her to elevate herself to the present state of culture. Of course, Japan was qualified to absorb it because her special historical background and traditional spirit provided the fundamentals. Had Japan unfortunately not come in touch with European and American civilization, her status would have been substantially different from what it is to-day".

Japan is the veritable melting pot of the Eastern and Western cultures and in course of the fusion there may be manifestations of occasional disturbances in the pulsations of her national life ; but Japan offers most striking example of the adjustment of the apparently conflicting elements in the Oriental and Occidental politics and societies. Japan's capacity for assimilating foreign culture has roused the curiosity of many foreigners but they have not made any intensive study of Japanese psychology and of the spirit of Japan. In discussing the future of Japanese civilization the book states with characteristic clearness "Japan's position has an important bearing upon all Asia, which with a population of one billion and a history of 5000 years, is going through a transitory stage, preliminary to the construction of New Asia. Asia has yet to establish perfect control and order. In the birth of New

Asia Japan is destined to play an important rôle. Japan is ever in the van in the movement to build New Asia”.

Cahiers de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient Nos. 14, 15 (1938). Hanoi.

The French School of the Far East, Hanoi, Indo-China is famous throughout the world for its splendid contribution to the History, Ethnology and Archaeology of the Asiatic Continent. Its learned contributions are published as special monographs and also through its Bulletin. Recently the learned director of the school Mon. Georges Coedes has started a periodical *Cahiers* to keep in touch with the recent activities of the School. Two latest numbers give useful and entertaining narrative of the exploration work, museum activities, periodical lectures, discussions etc. during the first six months of 1938. The veteran archaeologist M. H. Parmentier published the first part of his book “Classical Khmer Art” and after the retirement of Mon. Marchal, M. J. Y. Claeys is going to be the chief of the archaeological department inspecting several important monuments and attending to other conservations. The School was well represented at the 3rd. Congress of Pre-historians of the Far East held in Singapore in Jan 1938 and the 4th. Congress will be convened in Hongkong in 1941. Mlle M. Colani who has made the Pre-histories of Indo-China her special study and who attended the Singapore Congress gave a brilliant *resume* of the debates on the *Fossil Men* of Asia through her lecture (28 Feb. 1938) on *Pithecanthrope, Sinanthrope et chasse au singe*. Two other important lectures were delivered by M. V. Goloubew and Director M. G. Coedes on Angkor and its archaeological problems. Touching references were made to the demise of two of its honorary members : L. de la Vallee Poussin (born Jan. 1869, died Feb. 1938) studied Sanskrit, Pali and Zend under Prof. Harlez ; then studying in Paris for sometime under Prof. Sylvain Levi and Victor Henry he returned to Leiden to work under the illustrious Dutch Sanskritist Kern. Between 1893-1929 Prof. Poussin occupied the chair of Comparative Grammar at the University of Ghent and pursued at the same time intensive researches on Northern Buddhism for which he studied Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese publishing numerous articles, History of Pre-muselman India in 3 volumes, the Kosa and the *Vijnapti matratasiddhi of Hiuun-Tsang*.

The Dutch archaeological Survey lost one of its able colleagues Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, who died in April 1938. He published

his first important article in 1924 on the *Krishnagayana* represented on the temple of Panataran (East Java). In 1926 he published the collections of old Balinese excavations in *Epigraphia Balica*. He visited Indo-China in 1929 and in 1932 also while participating in the Congress of the Pre-historians. Towards the end of his career he felt more and more drawn to the Pre-historic study of Asia and with the co-operation of the Carnegie Corporation of New York undertook several explorations in Malaya Peninsula, in Java, in Celebes and even in Japan. Over and above he published several articles in the Dutch and Javanese periodicals. He also published many papers in English, in the Federated Malaya States Journal, in the Bulletin of the Raffles Museum and in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malaya Branch. Called by the new government of Burma to organise pre-historic research there he expired in Rangoon 27 April, 1938. We are thankful to the Director Coedes, Editor of the "Cahiers l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient" for arranging to supply us with such useful informations.

Mouseion : Published by the International Office of Museums, Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris.

Most permanent cultural treasures of the nations are conserved in their museums and libraries. So one of the noblest branches of the activities of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation is represented by their endeavour to co-ordinate the data relating to museum movements of different countries. Paris is undoubtedly the centre for the study of arts and artistic relations, and from the latest issues of the Institute's organ *Mouseion* we get many valuable information : specially regarding the inauguration (20 June, 1938) of the 'Museum of Man' with its library of about 80,000 volumes, 15,000 projection slides and 2,000 specimens classified and exhibited in different galleries dedicated to the peoples of Africa, Asia, Arctic Zone, America and Oceania. Prof. Paul Rivet the director of the museum is worthily trying to develop the museum simultaneously into a centre of research as well as of diffusion of popular education.

The special issue of the 'Mouseion' is dedicated to the "conservation of paintings" which would serve as an indispensable handbook for those who deal in pictorial documents, their conservation, restoration and remedying other defects. There are valuable illustrations attached to the volume.

Museum News—This useful organ of the American Associations of Museums keeps us informed of museum activities not only in the New World but also in other countries. The people of the United States should be proud of a new National gallery of Art which they are building at Washington. The Gallery is 784 ft. long and 305 ft. wide costing about 15 million dollars. The journal records with regret to the death of Leo Frobenius the eminent German historian who was the Institute for the study of Morphology of Civilisation in Frankfort. He director of the led twelve expeditions into Africa collecting facsimiles of pre-historic rock paintings. He also explored pre-historic 'art centres in North Spain, Norway, Libyan desert, Transjordan and South Africa. Editor of the Museum News is Mr. L. C. Eyerard while Mr. Lawrance V. Coleman is the director and Dr. Wissler is the President of the American Association of Museum.

Chinese Social and Political Science Quarterly—The cause of historical and economical research in China has been served through the Review which completed 20 years of its useful career (April 1916 to January 1937). Most of the Presidents were learned Chinese scholars like T. T. Lou, V. K. W. Koo and Hu Shih, while the Vice-presidents were mostly Europeans like P. S. Reinch, J. G. Shurman and J. C. Ferguson. It co-operated with the China Foundation for the promotion of education and culture and fostered bibliographical research and the foundation of a library. This Review published important studies, by competent writers from the East and the West and articles and memoirs like : Bibliography of Chinese Sociology, Twenty five years of Modern Education of China, Chinese Rural Economy, Chinese treaties with Foreign Powers, Rural Education in China.

The Japan Year Book. 1938-39. Octavo. 1300 pp. The Foreign Affairs Association of Japan.....15 Yen.

The new edition of the Japan Year Book is just published, and it shows many notable improvements over the previous editions. A map of Japan and Manchoukuo is given with each volume.

The Japan Year Book has already been recognized as the best reference book on Japan and things Japanese. No year book is perfect as it is impossible to compile all informations to satisfy every buyer. Yet, this revised edition has improved tremendously year after year, and it now contains information on all important matters concerning

the country and its people, and also the latest and authentic statistics. There is no other single volume which contains such a wide range of subjects concerning Japan.

It is, in short, the best reference on this country with an up to date review and statistics. Its chapter on Manchoukuo is equally valuable as it is necessary to understand that nation in knowing various activities of Japan.

Culture Element Distributions : V. Southern California By P. Drucker, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 1-52 ; **Culture Element Distributions : VI, Southern Sierra Nevada** By H. E. Driver, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 53-154 ; **Culture Element Distributions : VII, Oregon Coast** by H. G. Barnett, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 155-204 ; **Anthropological Records**, University of California, California, 1937.

The anthropological department of the University of California have developed a new line of field investigations methods and they have proved its worth by the publication of the above records from different geographical areas. The distribution of culture elements can be studied by no better methods than this and Prof. Kroeber in his preface to Vol. I, No. 1, of the records has very ably put forth the advantages of such a method of enquiry over the customary method of monographic treatment. It is not possible to cover a wide area by the monographic method and the distinctive patterns of culture into its basic and its secondary constituents is very difficult to obtain by old-line ethnographic methods. The essential aspect lies in its definition of isolable elements and henceforth the fantastic historical reconstructions in Anthropology will not be possible in this method.

(1) The data from Southern California was collected by Mr. P. Drucker through 18 informants and 1935 culture elements were recorded on the following heads :--Subsistence, Houses, Navigation, Tools etc., weapons, Pigments, Body and dress, Basketry, Weaving and netting, Cradles, Pottery, Games, Money, Pipes, Musical Instruments, Calendars and counting, Astronomy, Social organization, Life crises, Dances, Pole climbing rites, Eagle sacrifice, First fruits rite, Rain ceremony, Shamanism, Miscellaneous religious traits. These are followed by a summary of the traits denied by all informants and another chapter containing ethnographic notes on some important elements.

(2) In Vol. I, No. 2 of the series Mr. H. E. Driver has also carried out similar investigations in Southern Sierra Nevada. The data

was collected through 23 informants and 2307 culture elements have been isolated. In the Introduction Driver has given some useful details regarding the actual collection of the data from the informants, so that the inferiority complex, the fatigue factor, indifference, etc. of the informant could be avoided. He has also added a short note on the reliability test of the data and is of opinion that there are more errors in negative answers than positive ones and the former tends to increase with the decrease of culture. Driver's account is of special interest in having a list of Yokut Kocheyali kinship terms and a comparative vocabulary.

(3) In Vol. I, No. III of the series Mr. H. G. Barnett has recorded the culture elements of the ten almost extinct Athabascan and Non-Athabascan groups inhabiting the Oregon Coast. Nothing exists beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitants. These people were primarily fishermen and they have been therefore designated by appropriate river names. The data was collected from 9 informants, one from each of the tribes, and the Tolowa data was taken from Drucker's notes. This volume has been of special interest in having not only a comparative treatment of the ten tribal groups but also their statistical treatment showing the co-efficient of association. In Table I. Barnett has shown the absence and presence of the total number of culture traits and the average proportion of the negative elements to positive ones in each of the two tribes. The simple plus and minus for the presence and absence respectively of a culture trait have been taken as a mathematical unit to calculate Yule's Co-efficient of Association (Q). The Q co-efficients of the ten tribes are given in page 158. This analysis by Q co-efficients shows:—(1) a very close coincidence between the two Galice Creek samples, (2) an association with some differences between the Alsea and the Tillamook, (3) a fairly homogeneous block comprising Chetco, Tutumi and Sixes, and (4) the segregated Coos-Siuslaw relationships. Barnett has also rightly pointed out the significance of the mathematical analysis of any culture, which always leads to an interpretative element, thence its easy application in arts and crafts. In an Appendix to the above work Prof. Kroeber has discussed the comparative significance of Barnett's findings and specially the reliability of the element survey method. He has graphically shown the tribal relationships from Barnett's Q co-efficients for comparisons, both of which have yielded a very close similarity. In checking the reliability of the element survey method Prof. Kroeber has

taken up the Q co-efficient of 86 for the two Galice Creek samples recorded by Barnett. The figure shows close association no doubt but on ideal conditions this value should approach as close as 100. Whether this 90% accuracy can be reached by the old method of enquiry is a question which Prof. Kroeber asks (P. 103) and he concludes as such :—"We cannot tell, because in most monographs there is little indication whether a given statement rests on the authority of one or several or many informants and whether it represents their unanimous or their majority opinion. Where conflicting evidence is given at all, it is usually rather variable in detail."

S. S. Sarkar

The Tolows and their Southwest Oregon Kin By P. Drucker, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 4, 1937.

The Tolows are one of the groups of the Athabaskan speaking peoples inhabiting the coasts of the Smith River in Northwestern California. They are a coastal people depending upon fishing and hunting as their means of subsistence. They are good and neat workmen and wood working was at one time the chief craft of men. The author has given us a fairly complete idea of the Tolowa culture under the following heads :—Subsistence, Material culture, Money and property, Social life, the life of the individual, Religion and ritual. Apart from the Tolowas, notes on the other Athabaskan groups inhabiting the Chetco River, Lower Rogue River, Upper Coquille River and Galice Creek are also given for purposes of comparison with the Tolowas. In a separate chapter on "The position of the culture" the author has pointed out some essential features of the Athabaskan culture and its difference from other neighbouring cultures. The Athabascans are culturally on a lower level than their coastal neighbours to the north and south. They have borrowed a large number of traits from their neighbours, such as the structural features of the dwelling house, the sweat-house complex and the dug-out canoe. The shamanistic patterns vary greatly among the various Athabaskan groups. The shaman among the Tolowa derives power by the notion of "pain" and they have no trace of the guardian-spirit concept. Among the Oregonians however the latter plays an important role and is also found among the Northern Kus, Alsea, Tillamook and Chinookan. The Athabascans were dependent on their advanced neighbours in almost

every phase of culture and beyond their language they had nothing peculiar to their own. They undoubtedly did not come without a culture but somehow they were lacking in conservatism and borrowed from their cultural superiors indiscriminately to replace their own. Some valuable notes on the upland Takelma, collected from a last member of the tribe having any recollection of the culture, are given in Appendix 2.

S. S. Sarkar

Tahirh the Pure : Iran's Greatest Woman by Martha L. Root. Available at the Baha'i Hall, Deepchand Ojha Road, Karachi, India.

Martha Root is an ardent internationalist and as a protagonist of Bhaism has travelled all over the world with admirable devotion. She has succeeded in piecing together in this excellent book all the available information relating to the career of Qurratu'l-Ayn or Tahiri who was the noblest pioneer of women emancipation in modern Iran and for that matter of whole of Asia. She was born most probably in 1817 the very year which witnessed the birth of Baha-ullah. Her career was as inspiring as it was tragic and eloquent tributes to her have been paid by no less an authority than Abdul Baha who wrote : "She threw aside her veil despite the immemorial custom of the women of Iran, and although it was considered impolite to speak with men, this heroic woman carried on controversies with the most learned men, and in every meeting she vanquished them. The Iranian Government took her prisoner ; she was stoned in the streets, anathematized, exiled from town to town, threatened with death, but she never failed in her determination to work for the freedom of her sisters. She bore persecution and suffering with the greatest heroism ; even in the prison she gained believers. To a Minister of Iran, in whose house she was imprisoned, she said : 'You can kill me as soon as you like but you cannot stop the emancipation of women.' At last the end of her tragic life came ; she was carried into a garden and strangled. However, she put on her very best robes as if she were going to join a bridal party. With such magnanimity and courage gave her life, startling and enchanting all who saw her. She was truly a great heroine."

It is generally agreed that she was 36 years of age when she suffered martyrdom in Teheran. And within ten years of that tragic events we find Dr. J. Pollak an Austrian physician of the Shah and professor in the Medical College in Teheran recording in his book in

1865 that he actually witnessed the execution and that she endured her lingering death with "superhuman fortitude." About the same time was published the famous book of M. Le Comte Gobineau "Religion and Philosophy in Central Asia" (1865) where the French author states that the executioner first strangled her and then the body was burnt. Since that time many lovers of Iranian culture have paid tribute to her, from Lord Curzon to Sir Francis Younghusband, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Sir Muhammad Iqbal. We pay our homage to this great daughter of Iran by quoting a few lines of her poems from Prof. Edward G. Brown of Cambridge University :

"The thralls of yearning love constrain in the
bonds of pain and calamity
These broken-hearted lovers of thine to yield
their lives in their zeal for Thee.
Though with sword in hand my Darling
stands with intent to slay, though I sinless be,
If it pleases him this tyrant's whim, I am
well content with his tyranny.
As in sleep I lay at the break of day
that cruel Charmer came to me,
And in the grace of his form and face
the dawn of the Morn I seemed to see."

Education in Pacific Countries by Felix M. Keesing. Published by Kelly and Walsh Ltd, Shanghai, China.

This is the first intensive survey of the problems of education in the Pacific countries resulting out of the conference invited by President D. L. Crawford of the University of Hawaii. President Crawford requested Dr. F. M. Keesing Professor of Anthropology of the University to organise the conference in which 66 educators and social scientists, from 27 national racial groups Participated (July--August, 1936). The Yale University joined the University of Hawaii in sponsoring this seminar conference and we are thankful to Dr. Keesing for his admirable and scholarly presentation of the problems in the volume under review. Of the Oriental countries there were three members from Japan, one from India, four from China, and four from the Philippines. There were spokesmen for the Negro and the American Indian also.

The twelve chapters of the book have been devoted to the important topics like language and literacy, teacher and his method,

higher learning, race factor and education etc. Even when obliged to condense the papers as well as the trends of discussion, with the vision of a true anthropologist Prof. Keesing has given us a book which would make us think and grow with the problems of education in the Pacific World. Magnitude of the task would be realised if we draw the attention of our readers to the opening paragraphs of the book "Nearly fourteen hundred million people live in the countries within or bordering the Pacific Ocean. They include the most diverse types of humanity with almost infinite varieties in physique, speech, custom and belief. Of their number, close to one hundred and thirty millions (about 129,800,000) are to-day ruled by alien peoples who have occupied their territories in the course of modern empire-building. Holland has nearly one-half of these under her flag, while Japan controls about one fifth, France one sixth, the United States one ninth, Great Britain and her Dominions one thirtieth, and Portugal a much smaller fraction. Many millions of Pacific dwellers are very recent migrants to the lands where they now live, especially Chinese, Whites, Japanese and British Indians. Such is the numerical scope of Pacific education. Perhaps the fifth century B.C. saw the beginnings of modern forms of expansion. From early centers of civilization in India, China and the Near East, traders, missionaries of the great Asian religions, emissaries of government, and settlers spread into southeast Asia and the nearer islands, that is, the present Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines and Formosa. A rich commerce sprang up, carried by Arab and Persian dhows, Chinese junks, and Malayan vintas. Brahmanism, followed by Buddhism and much later by Mohammedanism, replaced to quite an extent the earlier faiths based on nature and ancestor worship. Many new inventions and ideas, including the working of metals, and the use of writing and the calendar, enriched the local cultures. A remarkable group of "Indo-Malayan" states and empires emerged: Sri-Vishaya in Sumatra, Madjapahit in Java, Khmer in Cambodia, and others, some of which have lasted to the present day. In these countries too, China and Japan took from. In reviewing and analysing these trends the members of the seminar-conference saw the Pacific to-day as having entered upon an entirely new era. Across its surface the East has become West, and the West, East. No people can remain wholly isolated."

The New Order In East Asia

By Dr. R. Ahmed, D. D. S., F. I, C. D.

With all the propagandist news going round in the Indian press, it is very difficult for the average reader to realize the important and epoch-making changes that have taken place in East Asia. We were fed on news regarding Abyssinia, dealing with the difficult terrain, the seasonal rains and the impossibility of a short campaign. Now we are being surfeited with news regarding the financial difficulties of Japan, the guerrilla warfare in the occupied regions and so forth. If Indian readers were to be a little less sentimental and a little more realistic in their attitude, they would be able to evaluate the position as it is and not as they would wish it to be. Let us then consider, without frills and fancies, the conditions in East Asia as we find it to-day. After seventeen months of the conflict in China, all the important towns such as Shanghai, Peiping, Nanking, all the Seaports, Hankow, Wuhan and Canton are in Japanese hands. The Customs are being controlled by the Japanese. Provisional Chinese administrations, with a Chinese Chairman and a Committee have been inaugurated at Peiping for North China at Nanking for Central China and at Canton for South China. The administrations are being worked by the Chinese with Japanese advice and help. Large sections of the Chinese population are co-operating with the provisional regimes. The peasants like their compatriots in India, are unconcerned with political changes and like peasants the world over, are busy with tilling the soil and raising their crops. No doubt there are guerrillas here and there, but that is to be expected. It would be too much to expect that China will settle down to the new conditions without incidents and happenings. Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek and his Kuomintang followers have been practically cornered and are compelled to take refuge in Yunnan province, the most primitive and undeveloped part of China. His writ does not now hold good for more than one-fifth of the territory which used to be called China. Is this a mean accomplishment for seventeen months of conflict against a fairly well-organized army, who had the moral and material backing of some of the great Western powers? The average Indian reader naturally feels sympathy for the Chinese, but this sympathy should not make him blind to the facts that are present before his eyes. Let us

again examine some of the bare facts, not hypothetical stories. General Hata, the then Japanese supreme Commander of the Japanese forces in China, showed a military feat of a nature unparalleled in the world's military history. The Japanese Navy transported about a million men from across the China Sea, methodically and without mishap. These huge armies, were landed, received their instructions and went like the proverbial steam-roller and accomplished what we see before our eyes to-day. We may like what has happened or may not, according to our ways of thinking. But it would be foolish to ignore facts and live in a land of make-belief. Could a bankrupt or about to be bankrupt government in Tokio accomplish what we see before our eyes? Could a disorganized, disunited people, blundering and bluffing their way through the world, bring the equilibrium, stability and orderly progress that we find in the new Chinese Provinces, now being administered, by the provisional governments? We will be met with the report that the Japanese Army is doing the governing and Chinese are the figure-heads. This is where the Indian public is being thoroughly misled. Most Indian observers are biassed by the theory that Japan has territorial ambitions in China. It is very difficult to disabuse our mind of this, due to the peculiar fact that we ourselves have been made a subject race by a foreign power. This colours our whole reasoning and we feel that Japan is trying to do exactly what another power has done to us. Repeatedly have the Japanese government reiterated that Japan does not desire to occupy China and make it a Colony, but Japan does want China to be a friendly neighbour, governed by an administration sympathetic towards Japan allowing Japan to have special facilities for trade and commerce, which is but due to a strong and powerful neighbor. We see the same conditions in relation to the United States and the South American Republics, but do not become aghast at it. We forget that China was being parcelled out by the European powers and would have ceased to exist, if Japan did not intervene at this juncture. No doubt Japan's aims are suspected by some interested powers, but that is no reason why the Indian public should see conditions through other people's glasses. More than once Prince Konoye and latterly Foreign Minister Arita have explained that Japan's aim is to establish a new order in East Asia whereby they desire an independent China, governed by the Chinese, friendly to Japan and Manchukuo. They have repeatedly vouchsafed that they have no quarrel with the Chinese people, but with the

Chiang Kai-Shek regime. The new order envisages a certain degree of economic cohesion and co-ordination among Japan, Manchukuo and China and formation of a single economic unit in view of the fact that there are similar units existing elsewhere and which are both powerful and self-sufficing. It is far from Japan's thought to aim at excluding European and American economic activities from East Asia. It is most natural and proper that two neighbour nations closely bound together by ties of race and culture, Japan poor in natural resources and without a large domestic market and China still economically weak, should work together in order to ensure their independence, vital supplies as well as their markets in times of emergency within those limits. It is imperative that economic activities of other Powers should be subject to certain restrictions dictated by requirements of national defence and economic security of countries grouped under the new order, and that no political privileges should be attached to those activities. Necessity for such restrictions is recognised by all modern States, including the British Empire and the United States. This argument of Japan, may be called selfish, but which nation in the world is not similarly interested in their own national development? When the world comes to realize the beauties of "Ahimsa" and Non-violence Japan will no doubt follow those ideals. But that time is not yet come. Then why not be practical minded and understand the significance of what has actually happened.

Looking at the Sino-Japanese problem from the Indian national point of view no one can deny that economic co-operation and political friendship between Japan, Manchukuo and China, will pave the way to similar co-operation between the Asiatic nations. When peace is established in East Asia on the basis of the new order envisaged by Japan, India stands to gain. Asiatic co-operation and solidarity need not be looked upon as inimical to Indian interests. When New China emerged out of the Chaos freed from extra-territoriality, treaty ports and spheres of influence, it will lend its weight to the struggle for independence in India. Indian politicians are obsessed with the fear complex but they will find on mature consideration that Japan's interest in India and the neighbouring countries is not political supremacy but freedom of trade and commerce. A great deal could be written on the subject, but for our present purposes, it is sufficient only to refer to the fact that as things stand, India is not a free agent as far as her trade and fiscal policy is concerned; neither can she order her

resources in the way best suited to her national development. How can she do that unless we see the dawn of a new day? That day is dawning in a nearby country, whatever propagandist news might say and that day will certainly dawn in India also inspite of the dark night we are passing through just now. Therefore, it behoves the Indian people to be realistic in their outlook, see things as they are in China and elsewhere and not be sentimental over what might have been or should have been, but try to take advantage of things as they really are.

Value

By V. Jean Thirkeld

If I can make one song
To be remembered
After I am gone—
Or paint one picture
Worthy of another's praise
Or say one word
To make some heart less sad
Then shall I have conquered
Life, and lived its hours
To the full.
I used to think that life
Must be accounted
By some measurement of wealth,
Or of success
But now I know
That life is valued
At the worth of happiness.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Internationalism Through Education.

Teachers of the world over have more or less the same problems—how to make education more creative and effective and also how to make individual men and women more conscious to the world order. Education from that point of view is both a privilege and responsibility and it is a sign of hope for us in India that both our provincial as well as All India Teacher's Organisation now meet regularly to discuss apart from regional problems wider issue of internationalism and World Peace. We take this opportunity to recommend strongly to various educational organisations of India the following institutions and their organs which are helping to the common cause :

International Bureau of Education, Geneva confirms its conviction in the preamble that "development of education is an essential factor in the establishment of peace and in the moral and material progress of humanity." The Bureau aims to promote international co-operation maintaining a completely neutral position with regard to national, political and religious questions. The Bureau also acts as an information centre for all matters relating to education and publishes the most useful Bulletin which completed 12th year of its existence. It gives the survey of educational world and up-to-date bibliography.

The Institute of International Education (2 west 45th St., New York) with Dr. Stephen P. Duggan L.L.D. as its director, is rendering most valuable service in developing student exchange between North and South America and between Europe and America. The Institute acts in close co-operation with the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, and with the Pan American Union and invites distinguished educationalists from the East and the West to address cultural organisation of U. S. A. as 'visiting professor' to the Institute. News Bulletin published by it gives information relating to educational conferences, scientific congress etc. in different parts of the world.

World Federation of Education Associations (1201, Sixteenth street, Washington, D. C.) is another influential organisation of America having their correspondents and collaborators in most of the progressive countries of the world. It held its International Congress for the first time in the East in Japan and Japanese Ministry of Education and allied organisations gave a splendid reception to international group of delegates. The next congress of 1939 will be held in the beautiful capital of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro offering a great opportunity to establish closer relations with educationalists of Latin America. The Federation publishes a monthly journal "World Education" (editor Dr. Paul Monroe) which we strongly recommend to the public.

Institute of Pacific Relations (129 East 52nd St. New York). To foster friendly relations between different nations in the Pacific Basin by conferences and meetings and to develop the tradition of dispassionate research into the causes of conflict, if any, the institute has been working for years from Honolulu and now has its new Head Quarters in New York with Mr. Edward C. Carter as Secretary General and W. L. Holland as Secretary of Research Division. This International Organisation has its national secretariats in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Soviet Union, Japan, China, Great Britain, France and Netherlands, some claiming the membership as definitely belonging to the Pacific World and some owning colonies or dependents in that area. The Institute publishes a valuable cultural Journal "Pacific Affairs" which gives exhaustive bibliography on current publications and learned articles and studies. The American Council of the Institute also publishes a fortnightly review of economical developments entitled "Far Eastern Survey". This Journal should be read along with another excellent cultural review "Foreign Affairs" published by the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, which gives a systematic survey of International relations.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs

The Royal Institute of International Affairs was founded in 1920 at the Peace Conference of Paris by members of the British Dominion Delegations (including Lord Sinha, Maharaja of Bikaner and others). They had come to realise in course of their work, the need in the post-war world of a more wide spread and accurate knowledge on international affairs. After its formal inauguration in London (July 5, 1920)

the Institute was presented with the famous Chatham House (1923) and it accepted as a gift by H. R. H. The Prince of Wales in his capacity as Visitor and Patron of the Institute. In 1926, just ten years ago, the late H. M. King George V granted the Charter. In 1926-27 the library of the Institute was opened with the generous grant from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees and benefactions from Sir Otto Beit, Mr. P. A. Molteno and Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr. enabled the Institute to initiate the system of research by Study groups. In 1928 Sir Abe Bailey assured an annual income of £5000 in perpetuity and following his example several business concerns and banks began to finance the Institute "in recognition of the close connection between the economic and political problems of international affairs and the deep concern of commerce and industry in their solution." In 1932 the Rockefeller Foundation granted about £40,000 to enable the Institute to finance an extension of its research by the study-group method and by individual scholars.

The publications of the Royal Institute are as numerous as they are valuable. In the periodical section it publishes a fortnightly bulletin, "International News" (founded 1924) and "International Affairs" (founded 1922), the latter supplying the most valuable commentary to current international politics as well as a critical bibliography. Reports of the discussions are sometime published like those on Germany and Rhineland, and the future of the League of Nations. Year to year the Institute publishes the Survey of International affairs under the editorship of Prof. Arnold J. Toynbee. Recently Prof. W. K. Hancock published the most sympathetic survey of the "Problems of Nationality," 1918-1936 discussing the status of India and the British Empire. The book should be studied carefully by all cultured Indians. Among the study-group reports of the Institute we find the volume on Colonial Problems, Republic of South America, on World Agriculture and the International Gold Problem. There are some outstanding studies published under the auspices of the Institute: The History of Change with the Modern World (Cruttwell), Colonial Population (Kuczynski), Labour in Agriculture (Haward), Eastern Industrialisation and its Effects on the West (Hubberd), the Study of History. (Toynbee)

The Institute co-operates with sister institutions like the Council on Foreign Relations (New York), the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (Paris) and the Institute of Pacific Relations

(Honolulu), keeping in touch with the New World and the Far East, including the Pacific Basin. Since the inception of the Study groups in 1931, it has undertaken, among other things, such important lines of study as "The Effects of Western Influence upon Social Life of China and Japan", "Reaction of the Islamic World to the Impact of Western Civilisation", "Comparative Study of Pre-War and Post-War International Relations" (to be completed by Prof. A. Zimmern). Mr. Gathorne-Hardy M. C. published in 1934 his "Short History of International Affairs, 1923-34" and Prof. Dr. Arnold Toynbee, Director of Studies, published his monumental "A Study of History." In 1934 Sir Herbert Goffe published after six years of voluntary labour the "Summaries of Leading Articles in the Chinese Press." Every fortnight the Institute publishes the *Bulletin of International News* and every two months a *Report on Foreign Affairs* which should be in every University and Public library (the annual subscription is 16s. 6d. and available at the Chatham House, 10 St. James Square, London). The *International Affairs* with its leading articles backed by summary reports of discussions and exhaustive reviews of current literature, will enable every serious student of world affairs to keep abreast of history.

The newly founded Indian Institute should aspire to develop its own International Laboratory to survey world problems with special reference to India and the Orient, including the Pacific Basin. The Canadian, the Australian Institute of International Affairs are already working actively for years. In 1934 the New Zealand and the South African Institutes were established. Recently the Carnegie Corporation provided the London Institute with funds to work out a "Survey of African Research." Why should we not have a similar research grant for the "Survey of Indian Research" or for an Indian Bureau of Race Relations under the Indian Institute of International Affairs? The clash of races and cultures of the East and the West on this sub-continent of India with over 350 million souls, should surely rouse the internationalists of any part of the world to co-operate in the sound organization and adequate development of the Indian Institute of International Affairs. India to-day, inspite of serious handicaps, is still the best symbol and interpreter of oriental humanity and the politico-economic no less than the cultural problems of the modern world cannot be solved without reference to India.

Colonial Institute of Amsterdam.

63 Mauritskade, Amsterdam, Holland.

The Colonial Institute of Amsterdam collaborates with the Netherlands Pacific Institute in publishing an excellent *Bulletin* which we recommend to all serious students of Pacific affairs. A few of the articles are written in Dutch but most of them are in English, mostly from the pen of Dutch experts. To illustrate the variety and attractiveness of the articles, we quote below a few titles from the last year's issue : Malaria in the Netherlands Indies : Air Transport Means to the Pacific Area : Japanese Mandates : Popular and Rural Credit in the Indies : Royal Batavian Society : Javanese Music : Netherlands Indies and Australasia. Dr. K. H. Hidding gives a very important survey article on 'Bureau for Popular Literature' which is under the Director of Education and Public Worship. The Bureau in fostering literary movements prints books chiefly in three languages : Sundanese, Javanese and Malay the *Lingua Franca* of the whole Archæplago. It reprints old classical texts, translations, oriental versions of western standard books, technical papers and books on medicine, Hygiene, Agriculture, co-operative movement etc.

The Board distributes these publications through about 3000 popular libraries under its control. It is a welcome news that thanks to this cultural stimulation there appears to be the birth of Native Modern Novel.

The complementary article is supplied by Dr. H. Kræmer while reviewing the thesis of Dr. C. Hooykaas (over maleische Literatuur, Leyden, 1937). Such articles and authoritative journals like Bulletin will go a long way to bring Malanesia, its peoples and cultures nearer to the heart of the nations abroad and we wish the Bulletin all success.

Mahatma Gandhi's Message to Japan

In an Associated Press Report, dated Bombay Dec. 24, 1938., Mahatma Gandhi observed :

"I do not subscribe to the doctrine of Asia for the Asiatics," says Mr. Gandhi in a message, through Mr. Takaoka, a member of the Japanese Diet, to the new party in Japan which stands for that doctrine.

"How can we have an Asia for the Asiatics," asks Mr. Gandhi, unless we are content to let Asia remain a frog in the well? But Asia cannot afford to remain a frog in the well. It has a message for the whole world, if it will only live up to it.

"There is the imprint of Buddhistic influence on the whole of Asia, which includes India, China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon and the Malay States. I said to the Burmese and Ceylonese that they were Buddhists in name; India was Buddhist in reality. I would say the same thing to China and Japan.

"But for Asia to be not for Asia but for the whole world, it has to relearn the message of Buddha and deliver it to the world. Today it is being dreaded by the Moslems. But why should anyone, who is a true Buddhist, be dreaded by anyone?"

Proceeding Mr. Gandhi says: "You will, therefore, see that I have no message to give you but this, that you must be true to your ancient heritage. The message is 2,500 years old, but it has not yet been truly lived up to. But what are 2,500 years? They are but speck in the cycle of time. The full flower of non-violence, which seems to be withering away, has yet to come to full bloom."

II. G. Wells on World Situation

Mr. H. G. Wells was a through passenger by S. S. "Comorin" to Australia, where he is going to attend the meeting of the Australian Association for the advancement of Science. This meeting will discuss the possibilities of a scientific treatment of political questions.

Mr. Wells drove round the city accompanied by Madame Sophia Wadia and expressed great interest in the ceremonies observed in the Walkeshwar Temple where many devotees were offering morning worship.

Regarding the international situation Mr. Wells declared that it would be a difficult thing for him to explain the position in a few words in view of its complications. Mr. Wells was not prepared to discuss political characters but only ideas. He remarked that the persecution of the Jews in Germany was "most cruel and monstrous." He added that the world situation would form the theme of his next book entitled "Holy Terror" which would deal with democracy *vis-a-vis* dictatorship and would probably form the basis of a film.

Asked of his opinion of modern trends of literature in the West, Mr. Wells observed that this was more a matter for the critics.

"We writers" he said "are so egotistic that we don't bother what other writers say. However I think that on the whole better work is being done in America where there are a great deal of young and vigorous authors rather than in England".

On the Indian situation Mr. Wells did not consider himself competent to pronounce any opinions. However he asked, "What are you doing in India, four hundred millions of you? Have you got something constructive or do you want to go back to the past?" When the interviewer referred to India's aspirations for political independence Mr. Wells remarked "What do you mean by 'aspirations. I am concerned only with 'intentions' and not 'aspirations'."

"You have tremendous lot of brain" Mr. Wells added "but how many of you are thinking what the world is going to be like when the present storm is over. I hope you are not going to leave it to someone else's brains to do things for you."

"Non-violence is the policy of the vegetable kingdom and I cannot agree that it is a panacea for the world's present troubles" declared Mr. H. G. Wells, the eminent author interviewed by the "Associated Press."

"Animals tramp on vegetables, and many eat them, and it is my opinion that in our present order of existence there must be some reasonable use of force even if only as a balancing factor."

Recent Educational Progress in Iran

In the last century French appeared to be the dominating language both in Turkey and Persia but English Language was slowly but steadily gaining ground thanks to the activities of the two American institutions : one developing into the American University of Beirut (Syria) and the other the American College of Teheran. The American Mission was established in the capital city in 1872 when a primary school for boys was opened and it was raised to high-school standard in 1887 enrolling students exclusively from Zoroastrian, Jewish and American communities. Gradually the Muslim families also began to send their sons and in 1913 a site of about 27 acres was purchased outside the North-wall of the city. From that year the school began to function as a junior college. In 1924 the main college building could accommodate between 600-700 students and between 1928-32

the college enjoyed all the privilege of a charter from the University of New York.

The new regime in the history of education in Iran was inaugurated by the Imperial Iranian Government under its enlightened ruler Reza Shah Pehlevi. It is an epoch of intensive activity along the line of nationalisation of education and as the government desired all educational institutions to adopt Iranian names, so the American College altered its title to Alborz College of Teheran. With its departments of Literature, Philosophy, Education, Commerce, Biology, Chemistry and Pre-medical courses the American College is nobly co-operating with the State Departments of education to develop the institution for patriotic citizens aspiring to make Iran in every sense a great power in Asia. Western science through America thus came to supplement the legacies of Iranian Culture. Intensive courses are arranged in Iranian language, literature, history, geography ; and the interest in Iranian Art and Culture that we find in America may be due to the activities of this excellent centre of American Education in Iran.

Teheran University

The University of Teheran was founded by an Act of Parliament (June 29, 1934) and His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah Pehlevi laid the foundation stone on Feb 4, 1935. The University aims to provide the course of instruction in arts, science and engineering ; it aims further to "collaborate with the important academic centres of the world for the advancement of knowledge and the service of humanity."

Faculties comprising the University are : (1) Medicine (2) Law and Political economy (3) Theology (4) Science (5) Arts (6) Engineering. The Faculty of Arts is housed in the National Teachers' College which was founded as early as 1919-20 as the Central Normal College and elevated to the status of the National Teachers' College in 1928-29. In 1934-35 the Faculty of Engineering was created and in 1935-36 the course of Archaeology came to be added to the courses of the study in the Faculty of Arts.

Licentiate degree in Archaeology is granted to students who completed the studies of following subjects : (1) History of Iran before Islam (2) History of Iran after Islam (3) General History (4) Archaeology (5) Advanced course in Foreign Languages. Two other institutions

operate under the University : the School of Music founded as early as 1870-1 and the School of Nursing and Midwifery for lady graduates incorporated in 1919-20, under the joint supervision of the Ministry of Education and the Department of Public health. We wish all success to the National University of Teheran and hope that it would foster academic exchange and cultural collaboration with our Universities and scientific institutions of India.

Progressive Writers' Conference: Rabindranath Tagore On Kemal Ata-Turk.

There was a time—and we might say it was Asia's golden age—when Asia led the world in civilisation. India and China, Arabia and Persia all contributed to that great and ancient festival of cultures ; for religion, action and knowledge were theirs. The Western world lit up its own torch from our Eastern illumination, and more specially, the light of religion came from the East. And then a time came when the lights went out one by one, and Asia found herself plunged in a dim twilight. It was then that we wanted to hide the deep shame of our hearts in re-iterating the names of Bhishma, Drona, Bhima and Arjuna with those of the brave Hamir and Rana Pratap thrown in. Even our very own Bengali hero, Pratapaditya, was not exempt. If we seek into its cause, we may see the suffering which our past glories and present insignificance meant for us. This habit of clinging to the past has led to endless misery and humiliation. And in course of time the impact of the West destroyed our own civilisation, uprooting the culture that had once spread into the remotest villages.

Sitting at the feet of foreign school-masters, we grew more and more convinced that our powerlessness and ignorance were inherent, and that our destiny was to bear the chains of stupidity, superstition and subservience to the West. Then we took it for granted that we have got to be guided by foreign rulers, else we cannot move at all. To lift up folded hands of supplication for their favour—that seemed to be the sole purpose of our existence. Not even the Congress heroes of the day ever dared to think that our own strength must win what is ours by right. They went about with their begging bowl from the door of one official to another and they were turned out by the gate-keepers. To be satisfied with the minimum was, to us, the only way for as long as we could see. It seemed the rule for them to take by force, and for us to give without protest. Our boldest

aspiration, in those days, was to eat of the leavings of their banquets. Humbly we admitted that the West had climbed up to dazzling heights, and the East was wallowing in the mud. Trodden down by all, with eyes raised to the skies, with bells ringing and conch-shells blowing we have, from time to time, declared that we were spiritually supreme and the Westerners were no more than mere materialists. True, we are wasted with sickness, lean with starvation, plunged in ignorance, and helpless before all mishaps, great or small, but of course, we are not heretics as they are. Look at the mystic signs on our foreheads, see how fervently we count the beads, and when the time comes for a sacred bath, look at the frenzied thousands yearning towards heaven. Shame on them whose ambitions and acquisition are all confined within the limits of this world ! Flayed in this world, we seek ointment for our bleeding backs in the other.

And then dawned a new age, apparently unpreluded. On the far eastern end of Asia, a new day glimmered. Condemned to darkness for centuries, we could not imagine that light may again flow from the East. But one day we saw to our amazement little Japan easily defeating her mighty opponent and occupying a high position in the hierarchy of civilisation. In an extraordinarily short time, Japan absorbed the power and knowledge of the tremendous West. The triumphant power that Europe had gained through the long, tortuous course of history, through bitter struggles and heroic efforts, Japan, free and self-reliant made her own in half a century. We could never have thought that it was so easy. Amazed, yet re-assured we concluded that it was not so difficult a matter, after all. It does not take long to acquire the mechanical power through which alone man can maintain and protect himself to-day. Certain it is that conscription will make excellent soldiers even of the Indian people. But what our old wise men called *Sreyā* or the better path is a path of hardship, which involves long period of preparation, and fierce struggle with ones own self. Mahatmajī ordains us to win freedom through soul force. Those who have accepted him are exerting themselves for greater spiritual energy. It is a long, long way to fulfilment.

This inner and stricter path apart, however, there is a high-way which leads to a different end. It is the road to material well-being. Along that road science is advancing, for science gives the man the powers to win in his struggle with Nature. This is a path, however where the Satanic aspect of human nature may not remain unchecked ; Satan

even makes himself an ally of science. But it is wrong to blame science for that, for its natural bond is with 'reason', and not with moral principles. We should rather blame those religious dogmas that insult and oppress humanity, blind the reasoning faculty, bring in dissensions, and heap dead conventions in the way of all progress.

It is over a century to-day that we are tethered by the domination of a powerful western race. Even in this present century, when mechanical efficiency has reached its highest point, we are famished, diseased and altogether crippled by poverty. We have a poor knowledge of the technique of science that protects man from humiliation and misery. Japan has learnt this necessary lesson thoroughly well and we not at all, though we are not inferior to the Japanese in intelligence. Even as we are looking, Japan has grown so powerful that the great nations of Europe are forced to lay down their pride to the people of that small island. Having seen that Japan has earned this honour through acquiring the Western industrial technique in less than a century's time, we were shocked out of our torpor, and we felt an impulse to wake up. On the other hand, we saw the Westernmost Asiatic land, Turkey, whom Europe contemptuously named "the sick man of Europe," shake off the bonds of dishonour—and with violent energy too. Turkey held high her triumphant head in the face of European hostility. These examples of self-reliance in different Asiatic lands inspired us with hope; it seemed a little light had at last penetrated into the dark days of our downfall. What we believed to be impossible may not be really so. Freedom, then, is not a fantastic ideal, perhaps we too shall achieve what we desire. But we shall have to pay a price, and there will be men prepared to pay it.

To-day the victorious banner of Turkey is flying high in Asian skies; and we who are gathered here to-day in the cause of progress, offer our salutations to the departed soul of that great, far-sighted hero and leader who saved that banner from all blasts and storms. Not that he has brought power to Turkey alone; the sound of the wheels of progress which he set going has stirred the ancient soil of India as well. A message has reached us from him: he has taught us that the most formidable impediments must give way before indomitable will, unfaltering hope and incessant struggle. Fearlessly Kemal Pasha set out on the perilous road confronted at every step with defeat, though he never allowed his determination to relax.

He met the European lion, fierce with tooth and claw, in its own den, and, what is more, got the better of it in the combat. This enthusiasm and courage—these are his greatest gifts to Asia.

We do not know all about his life, nor have we time to discuss his life here. Suffice it to say that the political independence of Turkey was not his greatest work. The most important thing was that he rescued Turkey from its inner degradation and dependence. Standing in the very vortex of Islamism, with blind religious passions lashing furiously on all sides, he vigorously repudiated the blind orthodoxy of religion. He over-threw the orthodoxy that is itself the greatest enemy of religion, and we wonder how he managed to remain unhurt in the process. The courage that he has shown is seldom seen in battlefields. He is greatest where he suppressed blind formalism with the glorious power of reason ; and that is the noblest example he has set for us.

It is not safe for us, perhaps, to speak of other communities. But a great despair sets in when we look at ourselves. The most significant lesson for the Mussalmans of India has been set by Kemal Pasha, himself the greatest Muslim hero, and by Reza Shah Pehlevi of Persia.

All Asia is mourning for Kemal to-day not merely because he made Turkey politically free, but mainly because he freed Turkey from the coils of ignorance and stupidity. The unfortunate nation that has not taken his lesson must decay and die. Perhaps the vitality that he has infused into the Turkish nation will not die out—but we, the most hapless of beings—whom in Asia shall we look up to ? Gone are the days when we could look hopefully at Japan. To-day our only consolation is in the hope that China, whipped up to life by pain, will become doubly powerful and defeat Japan. China, we know, will not be conquered even if she is defeated. Once that great Chinese people wake up, that awakening is bound to have repercussions on India. China's regeneration, therefore, is a great, though indirect gain to India.

You, young toilers on the road of progress, on this day of union, remember him who opened the path of progress for the whole of Asia, and whose triumphant career indicates a victory for the entire Asiatic continent. Once more, let us offer him our salutation, we who represent a new age in India.

Women Pioneers of New Egypt

An Egyptian Lady Journalist Zoe R. Badre writes in the *Christian Science Monitor* :

In less than a decade Egypt has made many advances, but perhaps the most decisive factor in the country's progress has been the emancipation of its women. The life of the Egyptian girl has undergone a revolution, and today the land of the Nile has before it immense possibilities, many of which are in the hands of its "new women."

The first importation of feminist ideas and aspirations into Egypt took place during the Turkish Revolution of 1908. This resulted in a ferment which spread throughout the Near East and proved to be the beginning of a new era in that part of the world.

- After these first seeds of discontent were sown, there came the Nationalist movement, which in many ways helped to emphasize women's rights and started to put women on an equal footing with men. By exhibiting an extreme patriotism they got their chance, their opportunity to come into the open and make themselves heard. One of the striking features of the political turmoil was the conspicuous part played by the women.

In 1911 the Ladies' Wafd, or Ladies Delegation, a Nationalist movement, was founded on the same basis as the Wafd (Nationalist Party). Their object was primarily Egypt's independence, but this Delegation originated other movements which had women's rights as their chief aim. The leader of the Ladies' Wafd was Mme. Sofia Zaghlul Pasha, wife of the first leader of the Nationalist Party, the late Saad Pasha Zaghlul. Her courage and dignity won the admiration of all, and her stirring speeches, delivered with quiet though dynamic air, were eagerly awaited by her audiences. Thus Mme. Zaghlul prepared for the introduction of a feminist movement into Egypt, and just before the World War, *La Femme Nouvelle* (The New Woman Society) came into being. The membership soon consisted of several hundreds. Its aim was to promote the welfare work of the nation. It established departments such as education, civics, hygiene, opened trade schools, dispensaries, and a social clubhouse in Cairo.

A prominent member of this movement, Mme. Esther Fahmy Wissa, while still in her teens, dreamed of a "New Egypt" and began to express her ideal in writing. At this time she was married and living on a houseboat just outside Cairo. Mme. Wissa dared to go into the streets unveiled, wearing a hat, when such an act took courage.

In 1919 she addressed 3,000 men in a Cairo mosque. This was a remarkable event, not only on account of her sex and religion—she is a Christian—but more particularly because, in accepting the invitation of the Sheik—a Moslem—she had made it a condition that she should be allowed to read from the Bible. The right of women to represent the country internationally already has been established. Mme. Hoda Charaoui Pasha, leader of the Movement today, and vice-president of the Associated Country Women of the World, was a representative at the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship held at Istanbul, Turkey, in April, 1935.

No longer can it be said that Egypt neglects women's education. After the secondary school, girls may continue to the university, where co-education has been established. Women are eligible to enter nearly every faculty at the modern university in Cairo.

Women of the middle classes have discovered, in law, medicine, art, nursing, and teaching attractive alternatives to early matrimony. Some are doing well as writers.

The film industry in Egypt during the last three years has done very good work. Among the few companies, the foremost the Societe Misr pour le Theatre et le Cinema, produced an excellent film "Wedad" which has been shown in London. The star of "Wedad" was 27-year-old Om Koolsoum, who has marked singing and acting ability. She comes of a peasant family and is reputed to receive £15,000 (\$75,000) a year.

So the "changeless" East changes. In Cairo's busy thoroughfares modern streamline buildings tower over mosques of an ancient loveliness. No longer does one frequently pass women in the black head-dress. The veil, symbol of the harem of past days, has been discarded and in its place, western frocks and hats are the fashion. Today Miss Egypt attends dances, cinemas, theaters, and clubs. She shops and travels unchaperoned, and drives her own automobile. Her interests may lie in politics, charity, and social work, tennis, or some other sport.

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EDITORIAL

• Old words often assume new significance and this could be very well illustrated with reference to the terms Colonies and Colonization. The Phoenicians colonies were commercial. The Greek colonies were cultural and the Roman colonies were partly legal and partly imperialistic. The Barbarian successors of the Roman Empire made, in due time, their own experiments with colonization. The new nations of Europe, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the French and the British, conducted their experiments through the 16th., 17th. and 18th. centuries and the results are wellknown to students of history. The only law, if it deserved to be characterised as law, was that of "Might is Right". The New World was discovered ; the Europeans began to colonise America and we know what price the children of the American soil had to pay. Not satisfied with the butchery of the American Indians, the European states began to crush with iron hand the spirit of freedom even amongst the European colonies in North and South America. The inevitable happened and the United States broke away from the British Empire towards the end of the 18th. century. Similarly, Latin America asserted its independence during the first quarter of 19th. century : Brazil broke away from the Portuguese Empire and Spain lost her enormous territory extending from Mexico and Peru to Argentine and Chile.

The New World thus proved itself to be somewhat unpropitious soil for European imperialism. The predatory European states instinctively turned to "fresh fields and pastures new"—to Asia and Africa. The triangular fight between the Dutch, the French and the

British left its fateful legacies to the 19th. century and towards the end of that century Germany and Italy also entered the list. Colonies and dependencies came to be considered as the insignia of big nationalism and the more powerful a nation came to be the more humiliated it felt in not having sufficient number of colonial slaves to prop up their throne of imperialism. The World War of 1914, euphemistically called "the war to end war," was really the prelude to a twentieth century tragedy which we may or may not live to assess properly. Italy and Germany may be mere prologues in this drama. Their rivals, cornering the bulk of the overseas dominions, are trying to argue with pathetic vehemence that "grapes are sour", that the colonies are far from being 'profitable', nay, even intolerably burdensome. Hence the cult of the "Whiteman's burden". Yet no one explains why the colonising powers spend so many years of their precious lives in the most uncongenial and unprofitable (?) soils of Africa and Asia. Not satisfied with the advocacy of their native attorneys and barristers, the European imperialists are paying heavy fees to American writers for arguing their case. They had to prove carefully that Germany's claim for the rendition of the colonies was based on "erroneous premises and inaccurate data". Hence the two volumes of the American writer Grover Clark: "A Place in the Sun" and "Balance Sheets of Imperialism." But neither Italy nor Germany were convinced by such arguments; and though they did not deserve any consideration, yet a new policy of "appeasement" is being slowly worked out before our eyes. The absurdity and the hypocrisy of the whole thing is too obvious to be analysed further and it will work out its own nemesis sooner or later. When peace ceases to be a principle and degenerates into a clap-trap of political expediency then there is very little hope for stabilization what to speak of appeasement.

While the claims and counter-claims of rival European powers are being thus discussed shamelessly, the unfortunate peoples of Africa and of the European dependencies of Asia must be ready to be transferred "like cattle or slaves as part of a bargain in Europe." A recent writer Barbara Ward in her book. "The International Share-Out" gives some staggering facts. A small country like Holland has a Colonial population of 65 millions while France has 63½ and Great Britain 61½ millions (leaving India of course out of account). The writers of this new school are desperately trying to prove "the unimportance of colonial acquisitions as a factor in a

country's prosperity." Why then, in the face of so much of profitless labour, the colonial nations are sticking to their jobs? They claim they have a great duty to perform towards the unfortunate natives whose trusteeship has devolved automatically on the colonising powers. Such disinterestedness and unadulterated philanthropy may prove to be the crowning glory of Twentieth Century Imperialism, only it seems to be a rare commodity in this Iron Age.

But Golden Age may be quite near and we in the Orient should not be sceptical about the dawning of that age of appeasement based on equity. May we only suggest that the self-ordained Board of Trustees retire from the field, for a while, enabling the rest of the world to appraise, in a disinterested way, the debit and credit balances of the European powers from the point of view of the starving, the diseased and the dying millions of their colonial empires. Before imposing upon them a political constitution let it be realised what awful damages have been done to their physical and social constitution. Democracy versus Totalitarianism are idle topics before the hungry millions whose blood cries up to Heaven, being robbed of food and education, social justice and freedom. Judged, from this point of view, by an impartial tribunal (if any such thing is imaginable to-day) most of the colonial powers will be condemned as forfeiting their titles of trusteeship.

Self-determination for the children of the soil is the only policy which would ultimately succeed and may yet save the world from a dire catastrophe. With this conviction we warmly endorse the dispassionate findings of a study group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs on "The Colonial Problem" from which we quote the following: "The Colonial Powers must therefore act on two fronts. They must prove to other Powers that their policy is not to exercise monopoly rights for themselves, but rather to administer colonial resources in the general interest; and they must prove to peoples in the colonies that the protection and the administration they offer is a fair return for the taxation and the other obligations they impose and is directed to ensure local prosperity. In other words, they have the difficult task of fulfilling the two aims of what Lord Lugard has called the Dual Mandate. Perhaps they must go even farther and so organise their administration, and in particular their educational policy, that it is directed not to *permanent domination*, but to the building up of a system which will eventually enable colonial peoples to achieve *independence*."

Count S. Okuma

A Builder of New Japan

By the Hon'ble Ryutaro Nagai

Minister of Communications, Tokyo, Japan

In attempting to treat of a great man we are struck with the same phenomenon which we experience in trying to picture a lofty mountain. We get different pictures of Mount Fuji according to where we look at it from. Similarly a great man impresses us differently according to our different points of view. Such a man was the late Marquis Shigenobu Okuma. His greatness, therefore, can never be fathomed unless it is studied comprehensively in all phases of his life-long activities ; that is to say, we have to study him not merely as a statesman but also as an educator and a publicist.

He was generally known in the West as "the grand old man of Japan." In that respect, he was like the late Mr. Gladstone of Great Britain. Dr. Thomas Baty, who is an Englishman, spoke of the Marquis, in this connection, as a great statesman who could be compared with Gladstone in respect of being a friend of the masses, an eloquent speaker and a man of many interests.

Political activities of Marquis Okuma began when he was still a young man, with his participation in the work of the Meiji Restoration. This greatest upheaval in the history of modern Japan meant, in terms of political organization, the overthrowing of the feudal system under which the nation had lived for approximately 700 years and the restoring of the original system of direct government by the Emperor. Ideologically, however, it had an import more significant for the life of the Japanese nation. It meant the elimination of class despotism in the form of the Tokugawa Shogunate which had existed as an intermediary institution blocking the direct relationship between the Throne and the people, and the realization of the great ideal of "government by the Emperor assisted by all His people," the basic principle of the national polity of our Empire.

In subsequent years, he used to inspire the students of the Waseda University, the institution he had founded, to be the vanguard of the forces for the reconstruction of Japan. Such an appreciation of the possibilities of young men and expectations of their greatness must have come from his own experience in the past.

Soon after his participation in the Meiji Government, the late Marquis found himself in disagreement with other leaders, mostly from the Satsuma and Choshu clans which played the leading parts in the Restoration. Those leaders began, as is the case with some reformers in other countries, to try to entrench themselves in the *status quo* with the political power which had fallen into their hands as the result of the collapse of the Shogunate. Thereupon, the young statesman, full of zeal for reforms, had to stand against that degenerating tendency and against those Satsuma and Choshu leaders.

Marquis Okuma, in March 1881, came to advocate the need of establishing the Imperial Diet, formulating the following programme : the Constitution shall be promulgated in 1881 : a general election shall be held in 1882 ; and the Diet shall be inaugurated in 1883. Furthermore he urged the Satsuma and Choshu leaders to strive for the realization of this plan. This caused the majority of the governmental leaders to stand against him, and a large-scale intrigue was planned for his elimination. Consequently the progressive statesman was compelled to resign from the position of the Councillor of State.

What the Marquis stood for, however, remained unshaken even after he was out of office. He began to exert himself all the more for the realization of his ideal. What he became aware of then was that in order to gain his end the cooperation of the masses had to be sought and that with the awakening of the masses the arbitrariness and despotism of the Satsuma and Choshu clans could be abolished. Accordingly, he organized the Kaishinto (Progressive Party) in April, 1882, and established the Tokyo Senmongakko (Tokyo College), predecessor of the Waseda University, in the October of the same year determining thus to push on the movement for political reform by mobilizing and aligning all his forces for a war against clannism. However, the ideal for which the leader of the Progressive Party had long fought for came to be realized by the significant decision made by the Emperor Meiji, the most illustrious Sovereign in the modern world, who discerned the cultural progress of the times, took decision to promulgate the Constitution in 1888 and to inaugurate the Imperial Diet in 1889, against which, of course, no clan leaders could do anything. Moreover, in February 1888, Prince Ito, then Prime Minister, who was the foremost Choshu leader, invited the Marquis to join his cabinet as Foreign Minister, in which office he remained also in the cabinet succeeding the Ito cabinet. The new cabinet, it is interesting to note,

was what can be called "the Satsuma Cabinet," being led by General Kiyotaka Kuroda, a Satsuma leader. While serving thus as Foreign Minister in the two successive cabinets, the Ito and the Kuroda, he actively participated, on the one hand, in various preparatory measures for the inauguration of the Diet and, on the other hand, took the responsibility for negotiating with the Powers to revise the treaties on a new, equal basis.

In those days Japan was regarded by the Western Powers as their inferior. Consequently commercial treaties concluded between Japan and the Powers were the so-called unequal treaties and of an inequitable nature unbearable to an independent nation. On this question, the Marquis frequently said: "This world is made not for White peoples alone but for the whole human race. Evil ways such as making discrimination against persons according to differences in races and religions have to be abolished by all means." With this in mind, he opened negotiations with the Powers for the conclusion of new treaties, including all legal and taxation rights, with a view to doing away with existing inequalities. When the negotiations were on foot, he was attacked with a bomb by a man who could not grasp his true intentions, with the result that he went out of office having lost one leg.

In the meantime, the consciousness of the nation of the need for constitutional government had become increasingly intense and the popularity of the Marquis has grown to such an extent as would overwhelm the clan leaders in power. Consequently the Marquis was called to head the cabinet. This cabinet, which he organized in coalition with the Jiyuto (Liberal Party) led by Count Taisuke Itagaki, a political party whose political views were not very far from those of his own, was in reality the first National Cabinet on the basis of political parties. His ministry, though short-lived due to lack of internal unity, had an epoch-making significance in the history of constitutional government in Japan.

After this untimely collapse of the first party cabinet, Okuma the foremost promoter of constitutional government never took up again the leadership of any political party, continued his endeavors to lead the masses and awaken them to the sense of their political responsibility so that a trend for reform in the political world might be promoted among them. For that purpose he always kept close contact with the masses. The publication of a magazine entitled "Shin-Nippon" (New Japan) on April 3, 1911, the day of the Anniversary of

the Emperor Meiji, was an attempt along the same line. This publication contributed in no small measure to giving guidance and light to the ideological life of the nation through illuminating reviews of home and international affairs, reviews by the Marquis himself.

During his ministry, the World War broke out, and the Japanese Government under his leadership joined the Allies in accordance with the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. When the Japanese forces occupied the Shantung Railway after taking the German fortress at Tsingtao, the far-sighted statesman said to me : "This Railway should be extended some day across the Asiatic Continent and be connected with the German-owned Baghdad Railway so that Japan may have a voice, a voice not merely consisting of words of mouth but founded on actual national strength. Western Powers have now been in conflict blinded by Imperialism born of the material phase of their civilization. The outcome of such blind movements in their diplomacy is the present major war in which practically the whole world is involved and from which the whole human race is suffering. To awaken them to the errors of their course of action and enlighten them on a better and truer way of life is the mission Japan is charged with for the establishment of the lasting peace of the world. For the performance of this mission Japan must have a strong voice in world affairs."

The greatness of Marquis Okuma as a statesman has been treated at some length. Studying him more closely, we find the interesting fact that he was more of a thinker than a statesman. He was not a utilitarian politician but an idealistic reformer. For the full seven years of the publication of "Shin-Nippon" he had never failed to write a leading article for each of its monthly issues ; even during the period of two years and a half when he was leading the busiest life as prime minister, never did he fail to write. The grand old man had read the philosophies of Tolstoi and Nietzsche : "They represent both extremes in philosophical views ; one stands for unqualified altruism and against all forms of resistance, in consequence denying legal sanctions even. The consistent practice of such a philosophy leads, in reality, to nothing but anarchy. The other stands for unqualified aristocracy, and maintains that the best mind has the right to disregard laws made by the ignorant masses. This theory also leads to anarchy. The extreme West and the extreme East meet not only on the face of the earth but also in the world of ideas."

Jottings

International law may very soon pass into the limbo of "legal fictions." European scholars took special care to build it up for the last three centuries. But European politicians (with mock courtesies to Hugo Grotius), in less than three decades practically dismantled the noble structure of the International Code. Mathew Arnold in the last century wrote a book on *Culture and Anarchy*. May we submit that the world competition for a substantial prize for a thesis on *Law and Anarchy* be instituted either by the Permanent Court of International Justice or by the Nobel Peace Academy. We are sorry not to mention the League of Nations, in this connection, because that body appears to be in a state of "involuntary liquidation."

In the Post-war period, we notice two terms : Haves and Have-nots, gaining phenomenal notoriety. The Orientals, most of whom have been cheated by the Western powers, of political independence and economic autonomy, are awfully intrigued to watch big powers like Germany and Italy in the rank of the Have-nots. What would be Soviet Russia's commentary to this unconventional definition of Have-nots ?

U. S. S. R. is the only country in the world negotiating (geographically at least) with three continents : Republican U. S. A. to the extreme East (touching Alaska), imperialistic Europe to her extreme West and unconstitutional (or rather should we say non-constitutional) Orient all along her Southern boundaries. With which group will Soviet Russia throw in her lot ? Future alone will probably decide because the present apparently fails to do so. Stalin in his recent address, has ruthlessly exposed the hollowness of the pretensions of the European Imperialists. The Soviet Paradise however seems to suffer from the unemployment of the wise and what is worse it seems to be very far removed from Paradise in the ordinary sense.

For Asia the path is clear—to follow the creative urge of her own soul reborn. She has a glorious past and her spiritual and cultural assets are of inestimable value. Utilising the opportunities of the present, the sons and daughters of New Asia may yet build a great future and a new World Order.

My Career

By His Excellency Manuel L. Quezon

President of the Philippines

I was born a poor man, the son of a school teacher in one of the smallest towns in the Philippines, Baler. My father had, besides his salary, a two-hectare rice-land which he cultivated. While I was a boy and during my early youth, my father saved as much as he could from his meager salary and from what he could get from his rice field, only to have a few hundred pesos with which to give me an education.

- During those Spanish days, a Filipino family could live in a small town with four pesos a month and rice. Thus did my family live for years. At the age of five an aunt of mine started to teach me to read and write. My own father and mother, and the priest of my town later, gave me primary instruction.

At the age of nine I was brought by my father to Manila and I began my secondary education at the San Juan de Letran College. First I lived in the Convent of San Francisco serving as a room-and-mess boy for one priest, receiving no salary, except my board and room. I could not stay too long in this service, because, being too young, I could not do my work as a room-and-mess boy and at the same time study and go to college without hurting my health.

I was then sent by my father to the house of an aunt of mine where for some pesos (I do not know much) I roomed and boarded. The house was located in Paco, too far from the Walled City for him who could only use his own feet as a means of transportation. My classes started at seven o' clock in the morning and I had to get up very early to get to my class in time.

Again this impaired my health and the following year I was taken by my father to San Juan de Letran as an *intern*. As an intern I remained until I graduated as A. B. with the highest honors. By this time the savings of my father had all been spent in my education. He owed money, and simply told me I had to stop my studies unless I could work my way through a university education.

Taken from "Quezon, The President", by Sol. H. Gwekoh.

A SELF-SUPPORTING STUDENT

I came to Manila, and spoke to my Dominican professors, who, by this time had become very fond of me, and told them of my situation. I wanted to be a lawyer but could not pay for any expenses. They secured a position for me as one of the helpers of the University of Santo Tomas with room and board and free tuition. Thus I was able to take up the study of the law.

Before finishing my law course, the revolution came, and soon after the hostilities between the American and the Filipino forces had started, I joined the Filipino army and took part in the war. I remained in the field until all organized resistance to the authority of the United States had been wiped out. I came to Manila penniless and sick and I was put and kept in prison by the United States Army for six months.

After my release from prison I stayed in the house of the Alberts (Alejandro) who had become my good friends during the revolution. With them I stayed without paying for my room and board for some time. There I fell sick and was admitted free of charge at San Juan de Dios hospital, thanks to the good offices of my Dominican professors and the generosity of Bishop Alcocer, then of the Metropolitan of Manila. For a long time I was in the hospital until Dr. Singian brought me to his house to live with him free of charge, and to be taken care of by him and I got well.

Then I was able to enter as a clerk in the Monte de Piedad, at the modest salary of twenty-five pesos a month and lived for a practically nominal sum at the house of an old couple, until I passed the bar examinations with a very high grade.

VICTORY IN EVERY CASE

Once a lawyer I did not go into politics at once. First I worked in the office of Judge Ortigas, the largest and most highly reputed law firm in the country at the time, at the invitation of Judge Ortigas himself who had known me as a student. I received a salary of P 150 a month, at that time a big salary for a lawyer who did not have any previous practice of the profession, and with the understanding that I could have my own clients and receive my own fees from them.

I stayed in the firm for four months, received my monthly salary, won in the courts every single case allotted to me by the firm, had my

own clients in association with another lawyer from Iloilo named Gay, and made for myself during that time about two thousand pesos from my practice with Mr. Gay.

Then I had to go to Tayabas to file a civil suit to recover the land of my deceased father, which was unlawfully occupied by another party. In Tayabas, I soon began to have clients and, seeing a good field there for my profession, I came to Manila, severed my association with Mr. Gay, and opened my law office in that province. Immediately some big cases, civil and criminal, were entrusted to me. I charged large fees to the rich and none whatever to the poor. I lost no cases.

Then the position of provincial fiscal for Mindoro was offered to me by the judge of the Court of First Instance of that district and by the late Dr. Tavera, then a member of the Philippine Commission. I hesitated long before accepting the offer. I was making over one thousand pesos a month as a lawyer and the position of fiscal of Mindoro gave only a salary of P 150.

THE CALL OF PUBLIC DUTY

I decided to accept the position as a call of public duty and accepted it. After six months as fiscal of Mindoro I was promoted to Tayabas, without asking anybody for this promotion; I served as fiscal of Tayabas for six months and then resigned to return to the practice of my profession.

As fiscal of Tayabas I had a legal battle royal with the five best American lawyers of Manila at the time on some criminal charges for *estafa* which I presented against an American lawyer, then the owner of the most powerful American newspaper of Manila, *The Cablenews*, who tried to rob of their property a number of ignorant, but somewhat well-to-do, Filipinos. I won the case, the lawyer was convicted and disbarred, but he did not land in jail because he escaped from the country, thus forfeiting his bond.

As an aftermath of this and for his own personal reasons, the then Governor of Mindoro, Captain Ofley, at my back, brought administrative charges of all kinds against me for acts supposedly committed by me while I was fiscal of Mindoro.

Without being previously informed of the charges, an *ex-parte* investigation was conducted in Mindoro, witnesses were called in to testify against me in my absence, and under the moral threat of my

persecutor, Governor Ofley. All the serious charges were found absolutely groundless, but some minor ones were declared proven such as, for instance, that I had attacked some one physically.

I was disgusted with the whole performance, and I resigned the position against the advice of Judge Ross, the then inspector of fiscals who told the then secretary of justice, Judge Ide, in my presence that I was the best provincial fiscal.

FREE SERVICE TO THE POOR

I practised law again in Tayabas and once more my law office had to decline many cases because I could not handle them. I made several thousand pesos as a lawyer, as everybody knows in Tayabas, and then I entered the race for the governorship of the province. And I did so on the insistent demands of the poor people of Tayabas.

As a fiscal and as a lawyer I had defended them against abuses of the unscrupulous rich and the lawless government officials. They wanted me to render them a constant and effective service as governor of the province, and I yielded to their demands. The richest, most powerful and influential families of the province fought me. The poor and the humble stood by me, and I won against my two rival candidates who both belonged to the cream of the society of the province.

I was elected, my election was protested against, one of the grounds of the protest being that those who voted for me were the uneducated. My election was confirmed and I became governor of the province.

It seems evident that before I entered politics I had a profession, practised it and made a success of it, both from the standpoint of my reputation as a competent lawyer and as a lover of justice, and I want to add that when I entered politics, I was no longer a shirtless man.

HAND-TO-HAND FIGHT WITH ROBBERS

And so when I assumed office as governor of Tayabas I had a few thousand pesos left from my savings as a lawyer. But I was then a young, unmarried man, fond of dancing and entertainments and what I had saved, plus my salary as governor, all was spent in the dances and entertainments I gave.

As governor, not only did I stop every kind of abuse of the people known to me, but when a band of *ladrones* was organized in my

province armed with guns, I personally led the constabulary and the police with the then Colonel Harbord to pursue them in the mountains. After hiding all day and night without sleep and without food, we met the band, had a hand-to-hand fight with them, caught their leaders and that was the end.

Whether I had been a good and impartial governor can be deduced from the fact that when one year and a half after my assumption of office, there was held the first election to the Philippine Assembly, I was elected as the representative from my district, this time with the vote not only of the poor, but also of the rich, for my election was practically unanimous though there was a candidate against me and I made no campaign for my election.

As a representative, I became the floor leader of the Assembly and chairman of the appropriation committee, and after another year and a half as assemblyman I was elected resident Commissioner, a position I held until I was elected president of the Senate, after the enactment of the Jones Law.

And right now let me interrupt my narration of my political career.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

As soon as the Jones Law was enacted I informed Speaker Osmena, the then leader of the party, of my desire to practise anew my law profession, but Speaker Osmena insisted that I should continue in the public service as it was also the desire of my district. Thus I was elected senator without my taking part in the campaign for my election, and when the Senate was convened I was elected its president.

After serving as president of the Senate for sometime, I again tried to practise my profession. All steps had been taken for me to be a member of the firm of Cohn and Fisher, the largest law firm in Manila at the time, and when everything was agreed and all that was needed was for me to go into the firm, the members of the Senate asked me not to resign as president. I was single, had neither need nor desire to make money, and was persuaded to remain in public life.

The only reason why I wanted to practise law was because I love my profession more than I love politics and I have never been dazzled by the glitter of power. I am a humble man, born poor, lived with the poor in my infancy and youth and the formalities and ceremonies of official life do not appeal to me. I was persuaded by my

colleagues and so my understanding with the law firm of Cohn and Fisher went for naught.

Then came the time for me to get married and I did get married. To avoid public demonstrations, and the pomp of a marriage of the first and only president of the Philippine Senate which the custom of our people would have demanded, I went to Honkong and there got married, without anyone being present at my wedding except half a dozen men who were travelling with me. Even those persons did not know I was getting married that day until, to their surprise, the marriage ceremony began. I was dressed in business suit and my bride had an ordinary dress, no flowers, no celebration, nothing but the absolutely essential.

RETURNED TO LAW PRACTICE

I was then on my way to the United States heading a mission sent by the Legislature. After I was through with my mission I decided once more to practise law. This time I was determined to carry out my plans. While in Washington I entered into and signed a contract with Judge De-Witt and the then attorney-general, Mr. Paredes, to form a partnership.

And, in order that when I came back to Manila no one could prevent me from carrying out that contract, there was a clause in it requiring everyone of us—Quezon, De-Witt and Paredes—to put a bond of five thousand pesos to be forfeited in case anyone of us broke the said contract.

This time I wanted to practise my profession not only for love of practice of the law, but to make money. I had a wife and was expecting to have children. I had a duty to them. I did not want them to be "shirtless" as their father had been, not because to be poor is a dishonour, but because it is hard.

As a good father, I did not want my children to suffer the hunger and privation that I suffered. I wanted them to have the same opportunities in their youth that others had in theirs. But when I arrived in Manila more pressure was put on me, not to resign as president of the Senate, and I yielded. I had to beg Judge De-Witt, who had come to Manila to carry out the agreement, to release my bond and he did it, just as Mr. Paredes very kindly consented to do the same.

I BECAME A BUSINESSMAN

After our first baby came, the need for making money became more evident to me, and I went into a business with Judge Ortigas at his own invitation. Judge Ortigas, and Mr. Whitaker were buying a very big property and they were willing to take me in, as their partner, with one-eleventh share.

Real estate business could have no possible incompatibility with my duties as president of the Senate or as senator and I accepted the proposition, provided I found the money that I had to put, which I did not have.

Through the guarantee of my friend, Mr. Tomas Earnshaw, I secured a loan of one hundred thousand pesos from the National Bank, Mr. Earnshaw having at the time three times as much deposit in cold cash in the said bank. My participation in the real estate to be purchased answered for my debt.

The business was a success. I paid my debt to the bank, and from what I made out of the transaction I have been acquiring other properties.

MORE REMINISCENCES *

A Soldier in the Revolution

I was for two years in the field. I was not put up in any military barracks. We roved the mountains barefooted ; sleeping many a night in the mud and without shelter.

There was no one to prepare our food and many a time we had nothing to eat but guavas.

I finally fell sick with malaria. As a result, I later on contracted tuberculosis from the effects of which I have only recently recovered. But I did not get anything out of it. I did not even become a good soldier. Nobody taught me to handle my rifle—and the rifle was terrible, old, and with poor ammunition. I could not have hit anybody 500 yards from me.

There was no equal chance for us in the fight with the American soldiers. The time came when our best defence was our legs ! For two years I had to undergo all kinds of hardships, nights without sleep, days without food, with no place to rest in—all this in the service of our common country.

MY FIRST MALACANAN VISIT

Thirty-seven years ago (1896) I was privileged for the first time to walk into the grounds of Malacanan and enter the Palace halls. The circumstances attending my errand were such that my visit left a lasting vivid impression in my mind. Before that day I had no occasion to see Malacanan even from the street.

I knew, of course, of the Palace as the official residence of the Spanish Captain General who was also the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands ; and my idea of the grandeur of the place was in harmony with my conception of the power and authority of the personage occupying it.

"El Capitan General," as His Excellency was called, way to my youthful mind a demigod. His word was law and his will supreme. Liberty, property, life itself were in the hollow of his hand. I envisioned Malacanan Palace as a sort of a "sancta-santorum" which my feet of clay were forever barred to enter.

But one day in 1900, when General Mascardo's head-quarters were located in the mountains between Bagac and Moron, of the province of Bataan, we read the news, in a Manila newspaper, that General Aguinaldo had been captured, and was a prisoner in Malacanan.

General Mascardo at once summoned his general staff. The first impression among us was that the story could not be true, for even our own headquarters did not know the exact whereabouts of General Aguinaldo. We thought that it was a fabricated story published for the purpose of demoralizing the ranks of the Philippine army.

I SURRENDERED

But our chief of staff, the late Colonel Leysan, a former officer of the Spanish army, remarked that the importance of the news required that we ascertain its veracity. There upon General Mascardo ordered me to surrender to the American forces and try to find out whether or not General Aguinaldo had really been captured.

I was at the time suffering from malaria and had become more of a burden to our head quarters than anything else. The general, therefore, thought it best for me to go to Manila and undergo treatment.

"If General Aguinaldo is a captive in Manila, try to get in touch with him," General Mascardo said to me. "Ask him if he has any order to give and write me a letter."

The following day I left the camp and went to Mariveles with my two orderlies. After a long and hard journey I at last reached the foot of the Mariveles mountain where I encamped and from where I sent word to the American commander of the post that I was willing to surrender if he could guarantee that after giving myself up I would be set free.

In reply I was told that unless I had committed some crime, such as ordering the killing of some American prisoners or some Filipino civilians, and provided that I was willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, I would be released immediately.

Given this assurance, and knowing that I had committed no crime, with my orderlies I entered the town of Mariveles in the afternoon, and surrendered to the American officer whom I subsequently found to be Lieutenant Lawrence S. Miller.

A FREE MAN

True to his word, Lieutenant Miller told me that I was a free man after I had signed the oath of allegiance to the United States. I then informed the Lieutenant that one of the reasons for my surrender was to find out the truth about the report of General Aguinaldo's capture, and if true, I wanted to see him with my own eyes in order that I could inform General Mascardo of the fact.

The following day Lieutenant Miller sent for me and told me that I could go to Manila on one of the army launches and proceed directly to Malacanan where General Aguinaldo was detained.

I took the launch, came to Manila, arrived early in the evening, and from the boat I was taken to Malacanan. It was with a feeling of awe that I entered those forbidden grounds and, with diverse feelings, went up the stairs, and was ushered into the last door on the right side.

As I entered the door I saw an imposing military figure dressed in the uniform of a general of the United States army, who, upon seeing me, rose to his full six feet. At his side there stood a young army officer and a man dressed in civilian clothes who acted as the interpreter. The general was General Arthur Mac Arthur, the young army officer, his aide, and the interpreter, Fred Fisher, later to become a member of the supreme court of the Philippines.

I VISITED GENERAL AGUINALDO

After my introduction to the general, I told him that I had come to find out if General Aguinaldo had really been captured ; and if so to see the general and talk to him. General MacArthur pointed to the opposite door and said a few words in English, which were translated to me as meaning that General Aguinaldo was in the room and that I could go and talk to him.

I then withdrew and walked toward the room pointed out to me, at the door of which there were two American soldiers standing with white gloves, each soldier holding a gun with drawn bayonet.

As I entered the room and saw General Aguinaldo, I felt that the world had ended. The last time I saw General Aguinaldo, he was in his general headquarters in Tarlac, still the supreme head of the Philippine Republic, the commander-in-chief of our forces, the man whose order no Filipino dared to question. I was then on his staff and had come that day to bid him good-bye, for I was going to the front, at my own request, to join the command of General Mascardo.

As long as I live I shall never forget the anguish of my heart when I saw my former commander-in-chief a prisoner, alone in that room, guarded by armed soldiers, and accompanied only by Dr. Barcelona, his personal physician.

I approached General Aguinaldo with all the respect and veneration that I felt for him and told him of the purpose of my visit. General Aguinaldo looked at me with suspicious eyes, and as I divined what he had in mind, I said : "General, please take a good look at me and see my appearance. Does not my frail frame and my clothing speak to you of a life led in the mountains ? And see these scars, —don't they remind you of the effects of a certain medicine only the people in the hills use ?"

After my remarks General Aguinaldo's countenance changed somewhat, but he simply said to me : "Well, as you see, I am a prisoner. Tell General Mascardo you have seen me and that I have nothing to say." He then asked how many more rifles we had. I told him we had 800 but hardly any ammunition.

Seeing that he had no further questions to ask I took my leave.

MY FIRST CONTACT WITH AMERICANS

Before meeting both General Harbord and General Bandholtz, I did not have a very favorable opinion of the Americans. My contact

with them was limited to running away from the American soldiers. They kept me on the go in the mountains of Bataan and Pampanga night and day, and that, I tell you, is quite a tiresome thing.

After keeping me on the run for so many months, they kept me quiet the following six months, giving me salmon at noon and salmon at night, and big burley guards watched me in a nice room where they kept me locked up.

After my graduation and after taking the bar examination, I went to Tayabas. Up till then, except for the time when I saw the great sire of my friend, General MacArthur, in one of the rooms of Malacanan Palace and a few other American officials, up to that time, I repeat, I had not had any personal relations with any American.

I went to Tayabas, my own province, and there I met General Bandholtz. Soon after I had met him I came to the conclusion that the Americans were not as bad as I thought they were. He was kind, courteous, was deeply interested in my career, and very soon we were friends. Through General Bandholtz, through my friendship with him, I learned of the ways of thinking and of the gentlemanly behaviour of the American soldier.

After General Bandholtz left Tayabas, he was succeeded by the then Colonel Harbord of the constabulary. When General Harbord came to the province I was practising law, getting ready to launch my campaign for governorship of the province. I do not know whether General Harbord remembers this.

Every American in the province, except the officers of the constabulary and a lieutenant of the U. S. army, Lt. Hunter Harris, was against my candidature. The superintendents of schools, the district engineers and all the teachers of the province had organized a league against me.

I remember how an American school principal, a young man, one night came to my house and asked me pointblank: "Quezon, is it true that you are going to be a candidate for governor?" I answered him yes. "Well, I am going to oppose you. You are too young. You better elect Mr. Carmona and two years from now you may be a candidate for governor. I will help you later. But if you run now I will oppose you. We have pledged to support Carmona."

"I did not ask you to give me any advice. But I thank you for the advice anyway. And I will be a candidate."

LIFE OF PUBLIC SERVICE

I have spent my whole life in the public service and the few remaining years that it may please God to give me life, after the 31st of December, 1941, when my term expires, I have the right to enjoy in peace.

I have reached the point where in the ordinary course of life my days are counted and it would be the height of folly for me to sacrifice everything, including the success of my administration, to mere love of power.

* * * * *

We are living to day amidst the storm and stress of one of the most tragic epochs of history. Acute unemployment and economic distress threaten the stability of governments the world over. The very foundations of civilized society are shaken. The common man alone can save humanity from disaster. It is our duty to prove to him that under a republican system of government he can have every opportunity to attain his happiness and that of his family. Protection to labour, especially to working women and minors, just regulation of the relations between labour and capital in industry and agriculture, solicitous regard on the part of the government for the well being of the masses are the means to bring about the needed economic and social equilibrium between the component elements of society.

I face the future with hope and fortitude, certain that God never abandons a people who ever follow His unerring and guiding hand. May He give me light, strength, and courage evermore that I may not falter in the hour of service to my people.

—President Quezon

World-Population and Languages

By S. C. Guha, Editor, *Indiana*, Benares

The League of Nations *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* for November 1938 shows the total population of the world, at the end of 1937, as 2134 millions.

Over half of these live in Asia, where India alone accounts for over 375 million people, and China is assumed to have 450 millions, and Japan proper exceeds 72 millions.

This shows that India covers nearly $\frac{1}{6}$ of humanity, China nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ and Japan nearly $\frac{1}{10}$, the whole of Asia accommodating more than half of human beings.

Other countries having big population are Russia (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) with 178 millions, and the United States of America, having over 130 millions.

In Europe, next to Russia come Germany (after the recent territorial changes), having 79 millions, Italy 43, France 42 and Poland 35 millions.

The South American countries together have 90 millions, of which Brazil alone represents nearly a half.

To be more precise, the percentage of population should stand thus :

China	over	21	per cent
India	over	17	per cent
Russia (U. S. S. R.)	over	8	per cent
United States	over	6	per cent
Germany	over	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	per cent
Japan	over	3	per cent
United Kingdom	nearly	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	per cent
Brazil	over	2	per cent
Italy	over	2	per cent
France	just	2	per cent
Poland	over	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	per cent
<hr/>			
		68 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Other countries			
(including figures left out)		31 $\frac{3}{4}$	
		100	

The number of people of a country speaking one language does not always go side by side with population. China of course holds the very first position both in regard to population and language. The fact is that the whole of China is supposed to have one language and one literature, while India is divided into various ones. Had Hindustan only one mother-tongue it should have retained its second position in language also.

Largely spoken languages in the world are not many. Only seven languages are spoken by over 50 millions each. That is to say, the last of the seven languages is the mother-tongue of only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the world population.

Of these seven languages English occupies the place of honour in strength of adherents, provided the entire area from Canada to California in North America is taken as a secondary sphere of English, the natural language of England.

It is interesting to note that the last place of these seven languages is however taken by a modern language of India, namely, Bengali, which is spoken by a little over 50 millions of human beings, living within the political boundaries of Bengal. No other Indian language—not even Hindi or Urdu, or their combination the much-talked of Hindustani or Hindi-Hindustani—has any place in the list of leading languages of the world.

The following is taken from Mr. C. K. Ogden's *Basic English* an Indian edition of which was published last year (1938) by the Times of India Press, Bombay :

“English is the natural language or the language of government or trade, of some 540 millions. The other six leading languages are :-

China	450 millions
Russian	166 millions
German	90 millions
Spanish	80 millions
Japanese	56 millions
Bengali	51 millions”

If Hindustani (or Hindi written in the Nagari script, and Urdu in the Arabic) could be taken as one language from Bihar to Rajputna and from Kashmir to the Nizam's dominions, it would have taken a place among the first four of the world's leading languages. Hindi and Urdu, when written in one script are generally considered in the country as one language spoken by “over 120 million people and

understood by millions more out of 350 million of total population of India" (Mahatma Gandhi as reported by B. R. Sinha in the Modern Review, March 1938, p 337)

One script is often used in writing more languages than one. But when one language begins to be written in more scripts it divides its own house into as many distinct compartments as scripts: and ultimately the off-shoots are hardly drawn together until a common script is adopted by all.

In the case of Hindi and Urdu the unfortunate position is that neither of the adherent parties seem to realise this truth. Some of the Provincial Governments have ordered that official communiques and notices in one language (Hindustani) should be written and circulated in both the scripts, Nagari and Arabic, in juxta-position. Now if both the versions are transliterated *vice versa* it is doubtful if they will tally with the originals. You must either find some fundamental defects in the systems of transliteration, or must admit of a flaw of attempting to clothe one language with two different costumes.

Scripts have played important parts in the formation and development of languages. The Roman for instance has produced wonderful results in the west. It is no wonder therefore that a Kemal Ata-Turk should adopt it for Turkey, and a President of the Indian National Congress should go so far as to recommend its introduction in our country in preference to either of Arabic and Nagari, quite ignoring the fact that the Indian alphabet approaches scientific perfection more than any others in the world, not excluding Arabic and Roman.

But an alphabet should not be confounded with a mere script. The Indian alphabet—*a-a-ka-kha*—can be writtin in several scripts, viz., Bengali, Burmese, Ceylonese, Gujarati, Gurumukhi, Kannādi, Mālayalam, Nagari, Nepāli, Tāmil, Telugo, Tibetan, Oriya, Panjābi, etc.

That language will last which has a scientific alphabet, uses a flexible script, and is governed by a good system of grammar. It is time now to consider if there is any language to satisfy these primary conditions.

The population of the world in general seems to have increased in one year, 1937, by a little over one per cent. Birth and death rates have shown a downward trend during the post-war period, between 1911 and 1937, in practically all European countries, in the United States, Canada, South America and Japan. In Australia and New

Zealand, where death rates were already very low at the beginning of the period, no further reduction has occurred except in single years, but birth rates have been falling there too.

To obtain a proper linguistic census is not as easy as counting the human heads on a particular date at a place and from the statistics of population. A man speaking one language in 1921 may, ten years after at the next census, be included in the sphere of another language of business. Who can tell how many persons of purely Indian origin, speaking an Indian tongue, have been treated as English-speaking people in our very midst? Further political boundaries often influence a clinging towards a 'state' language, especially when one can speak that language. An example is not too distant to cite. Bengali as one of the first seven languages of the world, according to Mr. Ogden, may perhaps rise appreciably higher in position if a proper account is taken of the people in the neighbourhood of the political province, Bengal. If the Bengali-speaking areas of Assam, Orissa and Bihar including Chhota Nagpur are taken into consideration the total number of speakers of Bengali would be no less than 80 millions, giving the language the fifth place in the world's leading languages. Besides English, Chinese, Russian and German, there is hardly any other at the present day that would compete with Bengali even in number.

It should also be borne in mind that the present seventh language of the world is a powerful living language of modern India, having a direct link with the classical languages of the country, in structure and composition, in grammar and idiomatic expression.

The Hebrew University

By Professor Dr. H. Bergmann

In turning over my office to Professor A. Fraenkel, the able new Rector of the Hebrew University, it becomes my duty to submit a brief account of the development of this institute during the term of my office, and to say a few words about the function of the Hebrew University as I understand it. The essential work of the University is done, of course, by its teachers and students. It is not, however, of that aspect of the work that I shall speak on this occasion, but I shall rather indicate briefly in what way the scope of this University has widened during the past three years.

Three years ago the Faculty of Science was organised in its full scope. In the course of that time the new Faculty sent out its first graduates, and the University conferred its first doctors' degrees. New courses were instituted in both Faculties, the Department of Physical Chemistry was opened. Professors or lecturers were appointed for the courses in Principles of Education, Social Philosophy, History of the Halakha, French Civilisation, and Modern Jewish History. Additional teachers in English and French were engaged. Advanced courses were arranged in the Economics of the Near East, Psychology, Geography of Palestine, and Modern Arabic Diction. The plans for the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine, which have been very actively promoted by our President, have progressed so far that a Pre-Faculty has been organised and the University hopes to dedicate the new Medical Centre on Mount Scopus next spring jointly with the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organisation of America. The plans for the establishment of the Agricultural College have matured to the point where it was possible for the Board of Governors to make its recent announcement concerning the opening of the Agricultural College and the appointment of Mr. I. Elazari-Volcani as Professor and occupant of the Ruth Ochberg Chair of Farm Management.

These few items cover a record of substantial achievement by the authorities of the University in conjunction with the academic

* Opening Exercise of the Hebrew University for the year 5699 November 14, 1938

staff. There are, however, no successes to report in certain important respects. Thus, the Department of Education is still incomplete because it has not been possible to make definite arrangements for instruction in psychology. No fitting candidate has yet been found for the chair of English Literature. All our efforts—and we have made many—to engage a Professor of Theoretical Physics have so far been fruitless. No progress has been made in establishing a Department of political Economy, and a number of the important chairs in the Faculty of Humanities remain vacant owing to shortage of funds. Shortage of funds is also the reason why it has not been possible to comply with request for improvements in the natural science laboratories.

In this balance sheet of successes and failures I am bound to mention the very considerable progress made by the University in fostering contacts with the Yishuv in Eretz-Israel and the Jewish communities in countries of the Diaspora. The financial straits of the University have necessitated journeys to the Diaspora by a number of its teachers; and out of this "sacred imperative", if I may use Rosenzweig's phrase, many benefits have accrued to the University. Our Department for Organisation and Information arranged visits for teachers of the University to almost all the countries of Central, Western, and Northern Europe, to North, Central and Southern America, and to Australia. By means of these visits connections have been established between the Hebrew University and other universities and between the University and the Jewish communities in the Diaspora.

The connections with other universities are very welcome indeed. Situated as it is on the edge of the desert and carrying on its instruction and research in a language unknown to most scholars abroad, the Hebrew University is in danger of becoming isolated and losing touch with the progress of science. We must devise ways and means of arranging for exchanges with other universities, we must send out teachers and students abroad, invite teachers from foreign universities to come to us not only for occasional guest-lectures, but also for complete courses. There is the absurd situation, due to political difficulties, that the Hebrew University has no connections with the universities of Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Persia. Here is a scope for activities of first importance which, in my opinion, is primarily the concern of our President.

Its connection with Jews in the Diaspora, also, a very important

function devolves upon the Hebrew University. When we come to them, they always say to us : Many delegates come to us from Eretz-Israel and for the sake of Eretz-Israel. But most of them come to take, and do not realize that Eretz-Israel is also called upon to give. Now, the very fact that the Hebrew University exists, and that it is held in high esteem by non-Jewish scholars, is a source of strength and encouragement to the Diaspora, and this should not be a small matter in our sight. But it is not enough that our representatives go to the Diaspora for a few days or weeks and bring a message from Eretz-Israel. We must arrange for our graduates to go abroad so that they may work there as teachers and in other capacities. When it was asked during the world war where we could get pioneers for building up Eretz-Israel, Robert Weltsch suggested that every Jew should give a year's service in the Land. Now, conversely, the time has come for Eretz-Israel to serve the Diaspora. The masses in the Diaspora are bewildered and confused, and they have all too few guides to Judaism, too few teachers and Rabbis. The rabbinical seminaries of Germany, Austria and Rhodes have been destroyed before our very eyes, and it is doubtful whether the rabbinical seminary projected in Czechoslovakia can now be established. Our colleague Dr. Fischel, who recently returned from a long trip to Central and South America, informs us that there is a shortage of Rabbis and Hebrew teachers in all those countries. Only a few days ago I read of an excellent plan which was carried out by some students of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati. They hired a car and travelled thousands of miles visiting small communities and even isolated families in remote districts in order to rouse them from their apathy and to bring them into touch with living Jewish values. All this goes to show that the Hebrew University is performing a most necessary function in training rabbis and teachers (I do not use teachers in the limited sense of the term here). A chemist or a bacteriologist is also a teacher when he goes to the Diaspora and brings it a message from the living Judaism in Zion. Let us not wait for appeals to come to us from the Diaspora, but ourselves take the initiative in studying its needs and in considering the possibilities of meeting them.

Our people is now engaged in an unprecedented struggle. Of our struggle in this country I shall not speak. You, our students, go out night after night to stand on guard. The Board of Governors at its meeting in London asked me to convey to you its best wishes

and its appreciation of your devotion and loyalty to your twofold task as sons of the Homeland and students of the Hebrew University. All of us are alive to the tragedy inherent in this war with our neighbours ; and we are aware, despite all the atrocities that have been committed, that the Arab people also has infused much idealism and love of country into this war. Our feeling about this tragic war is exemplified in the incident of the Jewish labourer who, while working on Tegart's Wall, prayed for the day when that barbed-wire barrier between the peoples of this country would be pulled down.

The struggles in the Diaspora is less tragic but more terrible. We are hounded from country to country ; our honour is trampled underfoot ; and the Word of God, which together with Christianity, Judaism brought to Western civilization, has become a by-word of reproach. Faith in the living God has been replaced by faith in aeroplanes, bombs, and poison gas. The past year has brought all too clear proof of the power of armaments : after twenty years the haughty victors of the world war have been defeated in peace, and those defeated in the war have become the masters of the world. So the wheel turns.

We are living in a time of wrath and affliction. Yet even in the depth of adversity we are witnesses to miracles. We have seen the champions of the Christian creeds manifest greater power than the heads of mighty states. The Pope has been ironically called the new friend of the Jews ; yet behind the irony lurks not jesting, but fear. A new front is being formed, and we Jews know where we belong. We need not be passive victims in this war. We know—and we shall tell our persecuted brethren—why we are persecuted and what we are fighting for.

"These rely upon chariots and those upon horses, but we call upon the name of the Lord our God. They stumble and fall, but we rise up and are of good courage." It is with such "good courage" that the Hebrew University must inspire the whole House of Israel. Not words but deeds will rouse courage : the deeds of instruction and research, sustained by daily and hourly effort. May it be granted our new Rector, my colleague Professor Fraenkel, to conduct the affairs of the Hebrew University in this spirit.

Assam's contribution to Literature.

Miss. Durgabati Saikia, B. A.

We need but glance at the history of modern Indian literatures to find that their development from the 12th century A. D. down to the present day is marked by the same characteristics, and their source of inspiration also was not different. This is more so in Northern India.

Bhakti-cult had much to do with this development of provincial literatures. Everywhere the first specimens were either songs dedicated to Krishna, or a commentary on the *Gita* or the *Bhagavat*, a translation or adaptation of the Epics or the Puranas. The credit of raising the day-to-day speech of the ordinary folk into a fullfledged literary language goes to these Vaishnava reformers. They realised that Sanskrit is like the water of a well whereas the *bhasa* is like a flowing river.

“সংস্কৃত কুপজল ভাষা বহতা নীর”—কবীর

It comes to this, therefore, that when we think in terms of world literature we cannot but take all the modern Indian languages together into consideration. Every province has contributed something towards the development of Indian thought and literature as a whole. It may be, we have not taken any respectful account of all the provinces. But time has come when every Indian must learn to think of Indian languages not his own as something not foreign. In future a historian of Indian literature will have to devote special chapters to these provincial literatures and in doing so his task will remain half-finished if he fails to consider the quota of each province, however small it may be.

I do not propose to give a history of Assamese literature, nor do I intend to present an account of all the branches of it. I will confine myself only to that sphere of our literature where the Assamese people attained some distinction.

It was in the 13th century A. D. that Assamese literature properly began its career. The great epic of India, the *Ramayana*, was translated by Madhav Kandali. It was a matter of great adventure on the part of Kandali to write an epic in a language only spoken by the masses, specially at a time when scholars of repute tried their poetic

genius almost exclusively in the field of Sanskrit. He can properly be called the father of Assamese poetry.

In the Ramayana of Madhav we get all the beauty and grandeur of the *Ramayana* of *Valmiki* bereft only of the music of Sanskrit language. At any rate nobody need regret of not knowing Sanskrit once he goes through Madhav's Ramayana. There arose several poets at about the same period but we may not give an account of them in an essay like this.

Next came Sankardeva and his follower Madhavdeva with their mighty resources. The 15th and the 16th century is the renaissance period in Assamese literature. Sankardeva combined in him a reformer, a poet and a dramatist. Sankardeva wrote the first Assamese drama—a rare thing in the literature of other parts in India—in the year 1488 A.D. The title of the drama was 'চিহ্নাশ্রম'. We do not know if there existed drama written in a provincial language at that time in any other part of India. Sankardeva wrote six dramas. Stories from the epics and the *Bhagavat* furnished him with plots. Madhavdeva followed suit and composed six dramas. They are known as 'অকীয়া বারনাট'. They are অকীয়া because they consist only of one act. In general technique they resemble the Sanskrit dramas. These dramas are conspicuous by the presence of the *Sutradhara* or Prologue throughout the performance. The Mahapurushias tried their best to make literature a means of the upliftment of the people in general both mentally and spiritually. We think this should be the real criterion of good literature. They popularised the dramas by using the vernacular language without affecting the dignity and convention of literature. All the dramas pervade with sentiments of শৃঙ্গার, বীর and ভক্তি। Madhavdeva's dramas had বাৎসল্য as their dominant sentiment (স্বায়ীরস). Dramas in Assamese written in the 15th century A.D. can be very well considered as a distinct contribution towards Indian literature, and eventually towards the literature of the world.

Besides being dramatists they were poets of no mean order. Sankardeva's *Kirtana* (কীর্তন) will be appreciated everywhere. As regards Madhavdeva's *Namghosha*, Colonel Gordon, ex-chief commissioner of Assam, once remarked,—“It is a matter of regret that *Namghosha* has no English translation as yet.”

If the Mahapurushia Sect gave poetry and drama to Assam the Damodaria Sect gave prose. The sixteenth century saw the Assamese prose at its full glory. Bhattadeva, a disciple of Damodar, was another

Vaishnava reformer of Assam. Bhatta wrote the *Bhagavata* and the *Gita* in Assamese prose and that in the 16th century A. D. We need hardly make any remark regarding this work when so eminent persons as Sir P. C. Roy and Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, have showered high encomiums on them. We quote their opinions below. Says Sir P. C. Roy—

“ It is a priceless treasure. Assamese prose literature developed to a stage in the far distant sixteenth century, which no other literature of the world reached except the writing of Hooker and Latimer in England ”.

So Dr. Rabindranath Tagore Says—

‘ It is a very striking book, interesting from many points of view. You may very well be proud of the author of this book who could handle prose in such a remarkably lucid style, more than a century before we had any prose book in Bengali.’

We may also add here Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee’s remark :—

“ The people who could write *Gita* in such prose in the sixteenth century was not a small people ”.

Assamese literature can claim yet another speciality and that is its historical literature of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. This is a branch in which India as a whole was not much advanced, at least this is how foreigners put it. Assam has given a direct lie to such remark. Histories of dynasties and families, accounts of battles and revolutions, both in Assamese prose and poetry are valuable records of literature. They can be considered as great contributions to the historical literature of India and in the long run to that of the world.

Of the present day authors the name of the late Laksminath Bezborua can be mentioned. His wit and humour in literature will have a universal appeal. The present day literature is still growing and any remark would be premature. Assam came under the British influence after a period of great turmoil and distress, only in the year 1826 about a century ago. There are other factors hampering for the present the growth of its literature which we need not discuss here. We have pointed out only the landmarks to demonstrate that the old Assamese language and literature are as great as any other of India.

Cultural Life in Palestine

By Prof. Peter Krieger M.A.

Palestine is unfortunately "in the news". The conflicting political aims of Arabs and Jews the Government's plans, the Indian conference, the discussion of the whole affair by the League of Nations, all these topics have kept Palestine in the limelight. The glare of publicity, however, does not always throw the best light on political ambitions ; it tends to obscure the cultural backgrounds whence such political aims derive. In the case of Zionism the question of tracing the spiritual sources of its origin is of particular interest.

In one of his essays. Irwin Edman, a modern American philosopher, describes, how the whole of mankind is suffering from profound nostalgia. Unsatisfied by his scientific achievements, man feels within his soul a certain lack and void. He longs to escape from the hustle of our life back to his cultural origins. Edman recognises Zionism as a movement deriving from this nostalgia, adding that it would be futile to judge such a movement from any political standpoint.

Thus, at the root of the Jewish Palestine movement lies a passionate craving for home. Since the very first days of his history the Jew has considered it the mission of his people to be faithful to guard the holy fire of his faith, to bear witness by his existence. Now, with the forcing of the Ghetto gates giving Jewry access to European culture, he saw the fulfilment of his national and religious movements growing more and more difficult. The prevailing materialistic civilisation shattered his religious traditions. The chain of generations of self-conscious Jews appeared to snap. The frenzied belief in the religion of Progress setting in during the 19th century, seemed to herald a new era, in which there was no room for Judaism. Everywhere the destructive forces of assimilation made serious inroads.

It was of this anxiety regarding the continuance of Jewish culture that Zionism was born. Its aim, as envisaged by Achad Haam, a Jewish thinker of our time, was to create in Palestine a Jewish community, strong and numerous enough to lead—in contrast to Jewry in the Diaspora—its own cultural life, to foster the cultural values of the past and to hand them over regenerated to the coming generation

That was the basic idea of spiritual Zionism and with this object in view the foundations were laid for the life of the Jewish community in Palestine. It was not only a religious life that was proposed—the religious ~~element~~ should emerge as but a factor in Jewish culture in general, a culture embracing the whole gamut of human endeavour. The common basis was to be a national one, upheld by a common language. Thus, the demand was voiced to re-instate the Hebrew language, a language which had not been spoken for 2000 years, as the vernacular, the language of our daily life.

When this postulate was announced at the end of the last century, it appeared almost fantastic. But the resolution was carried and the attempt succeeded. Hebrew, which for over 20 centuries had been the language of the book, a dead language, awakened to new life. I think this revival as one of the greatest miracles in the miraculous story of the new Jewish Palestine.

And the pioneers of the Hebrew language proved indeed to be right. The possession of a common language was the only possibility of welding the immigrants flowing from all countries to Palestine into one homogeneous national unit. How else would it have been possible for Jews from America, Germany, Poland, Yemen and Kurdistan to understand each other ?

Naturally, there were many obstacles to overcome until the present state was reached. Hebrew as the language of the Bible was rich in expressions for every thing connected with religious life ; but the vocabulary as far as daily life, the needs of a peasant or a workman were concerned, had been forgotten. For many spheres of modern life, for science and industry, there was a complete lack of words. Now, how did you manage to get new words ? You may ask. In this field, in the course of one generation, a gigantic task has been accomplished. A Language Committee, headed by a Professor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, subjected the literature of former centuries to a systematic examination in order to discover and resurrect the lost vocabulary. When absolutely new words had to be created these are partly moulded on the kindred Arabic, partly taken over from European tongues and adjusted to the Hebrew language. Dictionaries for special subjects, various crafts and industries have been published and distributed. Many of the world's classics have already been translated and the Hebrew University publishes a library of philosophical classics in Hebrew translations, already comprising

the works of Aristotle, Descartes, Hume, Kant, Mill, Plato and others.

But actually the work of the revival of the Hebrew language lies on the shoulder not of the Language Committees and not of the University—but of the whole Jewish people in Palestine. We consider it a sacred duty. And I can assure you that it belongs to the deepest emotions and satisfactions of everyone of us in the country, when a new word comes into life in his mouth, when he can enrich his language by a new expression. And above all, we have the unutterable fortune to see our endeavour crowned by the living language in the mouths of the children, the younger generation born and brought up in Palestine whose natural way of expression is in Hebrew and who are helping us very much in enlarging the Hebrew vocabulary by new words sometimes without being aware of it.

Nowadays Hebrew is one of the three official languages of the country (besides English and Arabic), it is used in the Courts, the Post Office and the Radio ; it is the only language of our educational network in all its departments ; it extends through the Jewish press, scientific publications and through all aspects of public and private life.

This Hebrew Renaissance has led to an immense awakening of the creative powers hidden away in the people, and has exercised an influence on the development of a new Hebrew prose and poetry. In the Palestinian novels you will find a high artistic level in the description of the life of the Jew in his country, on his soil. The splendour of Palestinian landscape, the blessings of the field, the joy of work and its sacrifices, the life of the new society are the dominant notes sounded in the new Hebrew fiction.

Let us glance at poetry. In the homeland of prophetic vision and religious lyrics our poetry found fertile soil for new creation. The eternal beauty surrounding the homeland, the sorrows of the past and the visions of the future, the yearnings for redemption supplied the themes of the classical Hebrew poetry, out of which the modern poetry has grown. The Biblical motives with their natural pathos and the universality of their content have made for dignified strength in the expressions of this modern age. In all this, as in all the reciprocal enterprises, the working class stands in the first line and many a anonymous labourer wove threads of real poetry into the carpet of our literature.

The Hebrew press, daily and periodical, the Palestine orchestra, the theatres, the Art Gallery in Tel-Aviv—they are all worth mentioning, but at the moment it is impossible for me to deal with each of them in detail.

The basis of our cultural work in Palestine is the Hebrew education. There is to-day a network of educational institutions which spreads throughout the country, comprising every type of school from Kindergarten to Teacher Colleges. Three ideological movements sponsor the various schools, i.e. the General Zionists, the Mizrachi (the Religious group) and the Labour movement.

These being the main political movements in Palestinian Jewry, let me try to sketch in a few words the general feature of the most interesting of these opponent groups, I should like to begin with Labour Zionism which in many spheres of life is the dominating element in the country. The leaders of this movement lay much stress on the idea that in order to solve its national problems, the Jewish people must make an attempt to solve its social problems. They understand Zionism differently from the old saying: "Let the house of Israel be like all the other nations."

The Zionist movement, they say, was born out of the lack of a sound existence, out of the objective inability of the Jews to live a normal life in the Dispersion. This can be realized only through the transition *en masse* to a life of work on the soil. This was impossible in the age of Dispersion. In Palestine we created a normal and healthy life, based on Jewish work in every branch of agriculture and industry. It was thus not by accident that Labour Zionism became the consistent champion of our national movement in Palestine.

The Mizrachi—as I have mentioned before—the organised Orthodox Jewry, is based on the principle of holding fast to the religious tradition. It is the Mizrach's belief that the survival of the people of Israel in its country is bound up with its "Tora", with its religious law.

Perhaps I may touch here, in a few words, the problem of religion. Our hopes for a religious renaissance through the return to the Holy Land were in the beginning very great. Conditions were extremely favourable there, we thought. Jerusalem, Palestine, the East, were they not the cradle of our people, of our tradition? Every child looking out upon the hills of Jerusalem can point the birthplace of our prophets. And can anyone truly understand the Bible, unless he has lived in the land of the Bible?

But these religious hopes of ours were to be disappointed in the first years of practical Zionist work. The mass-immigration into the country after the war brought to Palestine mostly labourers from East-Europe and the process of secularisation expanded on Palestine too. The last few years have brought a certain change in this situation. The religious question is again felt in its unique urgency. Serious attempts towards a new attitude to religion have been made, attempts to ask the simple and so difficult a question : What can we still believe to-day, truly believe with all our heart ?

In the practical every-day life certain religious restrictions have never been abandoned. Coming, for instance into a Jewish settlement on Saturday, our holy day of rest, you will not find any bus running, nor is there any traffic between the cities and settlements on that day.

Now, let us return from this by-way to the Education-system in Palestine, of which I began to tell you.

The centres of higher education are the Haifa Technical Institute, the various agricultural and economic Research Stations and the Hebrew University. The Hebrew University, opened in 1925 on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem is the crowning point both of Hebrew culture and Hebrew education. As I hope to devote a further article entirely to the University I may confine myself to-day to a few remarks.

Our University is thought to be a centre for research into general and Jewish culture, to gather together the scattered creative forces of the people and to enable the coming generation to receive a higher education adapted to the high ideals of the generation of redemption. The fulfilment of these aims became all the more necessary in the face of the certain forces in Europe, which in many centres of the Diaspora declared war of destruction on the Jewish spirit. Room had to be found for a considerable number of professors and lecturers from those countries, whilst simultaneously there has been a rapid increase in the number of students. The number of these jumped from 240 in 1933 to 850 in 1938. The University has at present two Faculties, a Faculty of Humanities, which is fairly well represented and a Faculty of Science which is still in the process of development. As can readily be understood, this work entails appreciable difficulties ; for the Hebrew University is not a State-University but is maintained by the contributions of its friends, organised in groups all over the world. I hope that we shall have a group of Friends in Calcutta in the near future.

The Faculty of Science which is of such vital importance for the development and colonisation of the country, for investigating its natural resources (and Palestine's greatest natural resource : water), for the study of its climate and local diseases.

The Faculty of Medicine and the University Hospital are both in the making and will be soon inaugurated. The National and University Library is already the biggest and most important in the Near East. There you find 400000 volumes and an amazing collection of incunabula and old Hebrew print.

Let us close this general survey by going back to the starting-point. A Hebrew poet of the Middle Ages, Jehuda Ha-Levy called Palestine once the heart of Judaism. In our days it has become, indeed, the heart of Judaism in the literal sense of the word, a living vital organ infusing fresh blood into all the Jewish communities, reviving and revitalising Jewry in every corner of the world. High on the Mount Scopus stand the buildings of the Hebrew University, far below the picturesque houses, the domes and minarets, the spires of Jerusalem. Standing on the roof of the University Library you see at your feet the City of Jerusalem, to the south the Mount of Olives, in the north the road from Jerusalem to Damascus. But gazing eastward you will see the wide desert under the blistering sun of Palestine, right down to the Dead Sea, to Jericho and the Jordan ford. It was from thence that the tribes of Israel, in times of old, having heard the voice of God in the desert, set out to declare war on the luxurious civilisation of the Caananites, regarding them as godless. Now, from out of the midst of European culture, once again they return back here to the edge of the desert. Whether the ancient Word of God still lives within them—the future alone will decide.

Politics of New Asia

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There are at present thirteen sovereignties in Asia, seven Asiatic and six European. Japanese, Chinese, Siamese, Turkish, Arabian, Persian and Afghan are Asiatic. Russian, British, French, Dutch, American and Portuguese are European. These are in conflict with one another. Their political problems are those of boundary-making and independence. Their economic problems are those of access to and control over raw materials and natural resources and of maintenance of open markets. Their sociological problems are those of population and standard of living, and of emigration and colonisation. Besides these, within the European sovereignties there are the problems of nationalism and independence of conquered countries and peoples. Moreover, a new problem has arisen between Asiatic Japan and European powers for political hegemony in Eastern Asia and the Western Pacific. The problem of ideological conflict is a world problem and is not purely a problem between nations but also within nations.

Thus the politics of the present Asia is very complex. We have to find out the turn and trend which Asiatic politics should take, firstly, in order to build up a New Asia and secondly, to maintain its culture unity and independence, peace, progress and prosperity. The problem of prime importance in Asiatic politics to-day is how to bring about the elimination of European sovereignties which are so firmly established in Asia. They possess under their control, in one form or another, large parts of Asia. Syria, Lebanon, French India and Indo-China are under the French. Palestine, Transjordan, Irak, Oman and Aden Protectorate, Baluchistan, Burma, India, Ceylon and British East Indies such as Malay and Borneo are under the British. The Dutch East Indies such as Java, Sumatra etc., are under the Dutch. Portuguese India, Macao and Timor are under the Portuguese. The Philippines are under the U. S. A. Besides these, the British and the French possess spheres of influence, leased-territories, concessions and extraterritorial rights in China on her

coast and in her inland, and also certain economic and financial rights in her customs, railways and mines. Unless the independent Asiatic countries help the dependent ones in their national movement and drive away Europeans they will not be liberated and there will be no New Asia and no higher politics for her. This concerted action between the independent and dependent Asiatic countries is the *sine qua non* of the politics of New Asia. In the New Asia of our vision we do not contemplate the existence of imperial and subjected countries in Asia. We are also not in favour of Western as well as Japanese imperialism in Asia. Asia for the Asiatics and a League of the Asiatic Nations for common purposes should be the two pillars on which our politics of New Asia should rest and be built up.

In order to achieve this aim we do not want the weakening of Japan and China politically, militarily and economically in any way. If Japan establishes her supremacy in the Western Pacific and the South China Seas we must welcome it. But we cannot support her rule or control over China and destroy Chinese independence, integrity and sovereignty. Without a strong, united and independent China Japan cannot create New Asia. The western powers to-day are following a policy of maintenance of *status quo* in Asia. We cannot agree to their rule or control over any Asiatic region. They have crushed the political and cultural initiative and the economic and social life of the peoples under their control. Therefore the national movements of those conquered peoples are fully justified, and they must be supported by independent Asiatic powers. Asia contains cultures of long standing and great merit. They have built up permanent values of good life. We want to see them grow, and not destroyed by foreign interests and ideologies. Asia contains enormous natural resources and markets. We want them to be developed by our merchants and industrialists and used for our peoples. They should not remain merely 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for European peoples. Asia contains good tracts of land where people from congested portions of Asia can go and settle, and thus relieve the pressure of home countries. We do not want Europeans to exclude us from them. All these problems require mutual association and collaboration amongst Asiatic nations. How can this be brought about? Unless a lead is given by China and Japan in Eastern Asia, and Turkey and Persia in Western Asia, there is no likelihood of the development of the politics of new Asia on a new basis.

But Asia is herself to-day divided because of her differences in religious traditions and political ideals and deeds. Religious and political imperialism of the old Islam is still a great disturbing factor in Western Asiatic countries and in India. No doubt Pan-Islamism as a political factor is dead. But its spirit still haunts and obstructs our national movements. It is very good that Turkey and Persia have exorcised it completely. But there is some danger from it in Arabia and from the Musalmans of India. No integral territorial nationalism can succeed under its adverse influences. This is the first danger of Asia itself. Arabia and India form important factors in the politics of New Asia. But if they continue to be dominated or disturbed by politico-religious fanaticisms of a medieval type, New Asia may not rise at all. The second danger comes from the new imperial ambition and aggression of Japan against a weak China. We could at the most allow Japan to hold a Korea and maintain a Manchukuo when we know the history of Russian aggression in the East. But we cannot support Japan's political and economic control over China proper. China's independence, integrity and sovereignty are the pivot in the politics of New Asia. The Japanese aggression in China has created a permanent source of danger and difficulty in the building up of a New Asia. It will not only make China a permanent enemy of Japan, but it will exhaust and weaken Japan. And there is no New Asia without a united and independent China and a strong and powerful Japan. The third danger comes from the communist activities of the Third International coming from Russia and its adherents in various Asiatic countries. They have weakened nationalist activities and split their united forces. They are opposed to the old culture and institutions of the East. They believe in a set system of economico—social ideas. It is the herald of a new despotism or dictatorship as evolved in Russia. Excluding some aspects of Islamic outlook, Asia has never believed in such a totalitarian, intolerant and dictatorial conception of life, rejecting the past, revolutionising the present, and binding tightly the future. It completely rejects religious or spiritual values of life and after satisfying the physical needs of man encourages his mass life.

Thus the Islamic religionism, Japanese imperialism, and communist materialism are the three dangers in the path of New Asia along with the oppressive presence of European sovereignties in its various parts. If New Asia is to co-operate at all for establishing her political

independence, for promoting her economic life and for developing her cultural values, then these enemies must be defeated. But unhappily we have developed conflicting schools of thought in our various countries. There are religious, imperial and communist schools working against nationalist schools. The Pan-Islamism of the first is active in Arabia and India. The imperialism of the second is prominent in Japan and the European dominated countries such as India and the Philippines. The International communism of the third is found in the communist parties of various countries and in Northern and Central Asia which is ruled by Russia. The nationalists have to fight against all these three and hence their efforts are diverted and are not successful in promoting the cause of independence and unity. This has led to civil wars and splits in countries like China and India. Besides them, there are feudalists in the shape of 562 hereditary princes and a much larger number of hereditary landlords in India, and military adventurers in Chinese provinces who make the achievement of the political unity of those countries impossible or difficult. They are helped in this attitude by imperialists. Without gigantic efforts and enormous suffering these dangers and petty despotisms cannot be overthrown.

In spite of these difficulties, however, the vision of a New Asia is achievable. Japan in the 19th century and Turkey in the 20th century have lead the way. Japan gave up religionism, feudalism and medievalism, and defeated the West in her encroachments in Korea, Manchuria, China and the west Pacific. It is a modern organised and united nation and holds its own as a great world-power. Turkey gave up its imperialism, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turanianism and medievalism and has now become an integreted nation under the leadership of the late Kemal Ataturk. Persia is following the same path but more slowly. Arabia under the conception of Pan-Arabism will soon develop a national attitude, and seems likely to give up its Pan-Islamic ideals as it did during the great war and fought against Turkey, though the Khilafat resided there and though a Jihad was proclaimed against the Allies. There seems to be some national awakening in Afghanistan also. In India the success of the Congress Party augurs well for the future, though there are some underlying currents of Pan-Islamism and Pakistan amongst a few Mussalmans. China has largely developed a nationalist outlook under the leadership of the Kuomintang and is more united then before, though provincial militarists weakened her

after the Revolution of 1911 as the communists did after 1927. Japan, however, has created now two Chinas one independent and the other dependent. The future of Chinese unity, integrity and independence does not, however, seem hopeful at present. But without it there will be no New Asia. Old Asia is the Asia of the imperialist, new Asia will be that of the nationalist. There are also nationalist movements in French Indo-China, in the Dutch East Indies, the British eastern possessions and the Philippines. The last has succeeded in getting dominion status by the Tydings-Mc-Duffie Act of 1935 and the promise of Independence in 1946, though they now want it to be postponed till 1969, because of Japanese aggression in China and in South China seas. If India gets independence and China remains independent, the politics of new Asia will develop rapidly and will usher in a new era of peace and prosperity, reconciliation and co-operation in the world. Let us work for it.

The world's population by the end of 1937 was 2,134,000,000 and over one half of it lives in Asia. India has 375 millions, China 450 millions and Japanese Empire 100 millions. These three units count for nearly for half of the population of Asia. In their welfare and progress lies the happiness of a great part of mankind. The creation of a new political Asia will alone make it possible. The maintenance of the present system of peace and stability in the sense of *status quo* advocated by European sovereignties and vested interests in Asia is an impossibility and is undesirable. There is a necessity for change. Asians must become modernised and independent and Europeans must vacate. We must be able to utilise our resources for our purposes and to improve our standard of living. Western exploitation must go. Western powers have closed us the doors of all other continents. They exclude our immigrants from their colonies. They impose upon us their goods by various economic and political devices and controls. There is enormous unemployment in our continent. Our standard of life is also very low. In order to improve our economic lot and to escape from political subjection and moral and mental downfall we must take to the Politics of New Asia and revolt against the present order and *status quo*.

There is now a new struggle for the economic and political division of the world among great powers, namely, Germany, Italy, Japan, Great Britain, France, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. The first division of the world took place between 1876-1913 among a few European

states. They created new colonies and spheres of economic interest, and new protectorates and dependencies. The second division of the world took place during 1914—1930 as a result of the Great War, in which Germany lost and Italy and Japan gained very little. Great Britain and France gained much and especially in the Near East. Since 1931 a third division of the world has begun. It is started by Japan, Italy and Germany which had gained very little in the second world division. These discontented powers withdrew from the League of Nations, broke the Versailles and Washington treaties and other agreements, set aside international law and have gone forward in taking possession of countries and areas which were politically weak but economically rich. Japan's conquest of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and Northern and Eastern China, Italy's conquest of Abyssinia and interference in Spain, and Germany's annexation of Austria and Sudetan area are the steps in that direction. Italy wants Tunis. Germany wants her colonies. Both want something more. Japan's eye is on the East Indies and East Siberia. The power politics of the world is engaged in this game of division. Therefore the dangers and difficulties in building up a New Asia are very great. But we cannot give up the hope and the struggle.

Anthropology and the Betterment of the Race

By Dr. Vajra Chatterjee, D. Lit (Paris)

Common people have got poor ideas regarding the scope, the field and the utility of Anthropology. To them this branch of science simply deals with the measurements of the head-breadth, nasal length and nasal breadth, and the like, the results of which give the idea how far the individual is related to the anthropoids, such as Orang, Gorilla, Chimpanzee or to the primitive peoples such as Mundas, Santals, Kols etc. To put it in more popular language, it is no better than *bandarology* or the Monkey Science! Unfortunately, even among the educated men of our country we find a very vague idea about this important branch of biology. Their idea seems to be that Anthropology deals only with the material culture or technology such as basketry, oil press, etc. or certain factors of sociology viz., birth, death and marriage ceremonies of different groups of people. So they conclude, that Anthropology has got no utilitarian outlook.

It is high time however for educated Indias to realize how Anthropology, has helped the present world in her political and social crises. A few salient points will be here discussed, as to why the study of Anthropology is necessary for India of to-day and to-morrow.

The Indian population show a wide variation of morphological characters. We have primitive types of men, generally short statured, very dark skinned with broad noses thick lips and melanoglossia; so we have higher types, tall to medium standard, wheat brown to reddish white skin, high and finally cut noses, sometimes convex medium lips, occasionally with bluish eyes and chestnut coloured hair. Between these two classes, there occur a large variety of intermediates apparently "mixovariants", the result of race mixture. The study of different types may be expected not only to throw some welcome light on the evolution of races of man and on the hereditary transmission of certain racial characters, but also to indicate, if race building is still going on, in India and what are the factors operating towards this end.

The study of Anthropology is very important also from the utilitarian point of view specially for India. At the moment every thinking Indian is more or less occupied with the problem of creating a strongly coherent nation out of the medley of races, peoples, cultures and languages. Wild hopes have been sometimes entertained about the anthropologists, viz., that they could find the principle of unity, a common racial substratum or whatever it may be, in this diversity. If the Indian population consists of several races, no anthropologist could find the unity underlying it, except so far as all the living races of man are of the "Sapiens" family. Nevertheless Anthropology has certain solid contributions to make towards the national well being. Anthropology to day is not limited only to the study of skulls and noses, but has appropriated to itself the study of Physiology, Pathology, Psychology and many other branches of science, giving rise to the disciplines of race physiology, race psychology and so forth. Researches in these fields alone can indicate the trend of the national genius, and the internal difficulties and set-backs which we must overcome if we are to nationalise in the real sense the human materials of India. Furthermore there is the problem of miscegenation between the more primitive races making up the Indian population, which will become a burning question if we are to maintain the solidarity and internal democracy of the future Indian State. It is certainly true that we have quite a large variety of mixtures, but the peculiar social system of India has succeeded in segregating them in small groups. Further segregation of these can only be a source of danger to the future Indian state, which must either provide scope for the wildest miscagenation or put its foot down somewhere most energetically. But can the hybridisation of the primitive Indian races with the higher races of India result in an amalgam which will maintain the optimum genius, ability, morals etc? It is the popular belief in India and in many other lands, that the half-caste inherits the worst qualities of both the parental races. Every sane person will agree that such a view is partly at least the result of race prejudice, that there are men of eminent abilities among the Negros of America and other mixed peoples. Indeed Alexandre Dumas was partly of Negro origin. The fact remains however that our knowledge of such mixtures is not at all derieved from Indian samples, that no scientific studies have yet been made of such mixtures in India and that such a study of the primitive races of

India and their mixtures with higher races such as are going on all the time, can bring us many surprises. At any rate scientifically collected information on these problems is the first necessary precondition of formulating a wise national policy in the matter. Nevertheless there are certain questions which must be answered before we could launch on an intensive programme of racial amalgamation in India. Do we know that the resulting population will be physiologically sound, for example that there will be no disharmonic combinations of types, psychological, constitutional or otherwise? No doubt all population to day are more or less mixed. But most of the important races of to day are mixtures of long standing, such disharmonic types having being more or less eliminated in them by selection through ages. It is just possible that new mixtures between the primitive and the higher races of India may bring forth numberless disharmonies. In that case the national efficiency is bound to be lowered. By pursuing a policy of race amalgamation without investigating these problems, we may have national unity, but not improbably the unity of a nation of half wits and constitutionally disabled.

A no less positive contribution that Anthropology has yet to make in India is by the study of the growth problem. It is well known that in Bengal and many other parts of India the population is undernourished. Naturally the boys and the girls are underdeveloped. This has a very undersirable effect on the national temperament. The *joie de vivre* is missing not only in the life of individual but also in social life. There is morbidity which, added to the sense of political frustration, strangles creative activities. But why are the Sikhs, the Punjabis, the Rajputs, so tall and so well-built? Do their achievements in various directions correspond to their physical development? These are questions which must be answered by Anthropology before we can formulate a programme, for the future Indian State, of enhancing the rate of growth among the undernourished boys and girls of India.

Here comes the question of race physiology. If we are to maintain the national population in a high state of fitness, mental and physical, we must find out the deficiencies, metabolic, dietary etc., and try to remedy these obstructive factors. The study of race physiology must begin with the very young, so that the national vitality may be enhanced. Considering the physical conditions

of our students, both boys and girls, the appalling high percentage of the undernourished and diseased among them, and the meagre measures usually taken for alleviating them, one can not urge too strongly the need for such researches. Malnutrition is prevalent over the length and breadth of India, among babies, and among children of all ages. But these must be studied in detail, and remedies found thereof so that the Indian population may be physically fit to maintain a high standard of civilization worthy of their great ancestors. This is the crying problem of the day. Yet it is significant, that except for some work done in this field by Aykroyd, Galstaun. Wilson, Bose and other very little has been done, and that little is often unsatisfactory.

If it is the task of the statesman to nationalise the Indian population, it is the task of the anthropologists and of the students of race-psychology to find the ways and means of maintaining national intelligence at a high level. This can be achieved, partly at least by finding out the trends of genius, the temperament etc., of our boys and girls and by directing them into fields where they can be more productive. This means, in effect a prevention of wastage, which is too strongly operative under the present system.

Unless the racial strain of a particular group of people is known with certainty, one cannot possibly point out what physical standard or standards they may attain ; and in the case when they actually show signs of degeneration none can decide anything about the factors which are responsible for the degeneration such as inadequate physical development, the effect of malnutrition or unhealthy environment or undesirable occupation and the like. When the anthropologist has found out the above factors and determined the various types to which they belong, then it becomes possible to trace the racial history, of the community and decide with some probability what was their original strain and what foreign strains have gone in the past to make up the present population. Without this knowledge social legislation and betterment of the people is practically impossible. Sociologists will then find valuable data from the anthropologists in comparing the past and present history of our civilisation and with that the difference existing between the so-called primitive and the advanced races to find out the resultant of the mixture of race and culture in order to improve the national welfare of India. The causes and effects thereof once found out will greatly assist statesmen and politicians in their work of nation-building.

Educationists also will find substantial materials to formulate a scheme for educating the primitive and the backward peoples more efficiently. What sort of education they require, for their material and spritual welfare may be clearly pointed out if the educationists co-operate with the anthropologists.

So the criminologist will find valuable material from the data collected by anthropologists. The different racial propensities to criminal offences, occurring in different races will help them to deal with the problem. The Palmer Plant study of the anthropologists to find out the racial and hereditary difference, as transmitted in the patterns and formulae of the palm, has indirectly helped the criminologists in the personal identification. The blood grouping and the Palmer Dermatology study have now a days, an important bearing on deciding a case of parental identification. This study further helps the officers dealing with primitive labour organization which have been recently opened at different centers by the Government of India. The deformities in the shape of the hand and the general character indicate the quality and quantity of work the particular labourer could do.

India hopes in near future to gain her independence and is it not the duty of the nation-builders to look into the various phases of the dark history of the past in order to find out the real causes of the downfall, the division and dismemberment of so glorious a nation ? Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other prehistoric sites are giving evidence of a magnificent pre-Vedic civilization attained by the pre-Aryan people, in an age when the races of Europe and America were groping in the dark. According to the archaeologists the Indus Valley civilization goes back to *circa* 3000, B. C. if not more. So, naturally one may ask, where are the descendants of those people who were responsible for the development of so high a civilization ? When we come to the Vedic civilization we find also how lofty were their thoughts, moral conceptions and intelligence, giving an idea of the genius of the people.

In order that we can place before our countrymen the inspiring picture of the achievements of our forefathers, we should try to trace, through the prehistoric and proto-historic phases, the correct outline of our civilization, and the synthetric history of Man in India.

WORLD OF BOOKS.

Survey of National Nutrition Policies—Published by the League of Nations, 1937—38. Price 2s. 6d.

The Survey opens with a chapter on the progress of the work of the League in regard to nutrition problems. In addition to examining a number of technical questions, it is shown that the Technical Commission on Nutrition has been giving practical help to governments. It has, for example, furnished advice in regard to the planning of a minimum emergency diet for the feeding of refugees in Spain.

In Chapter II, concerning National Nutrition Committees, the creation of which was recommended by the League, it is pointed out that such Committees now exist in over twenty countries. Only three Committees were in existence when the League enquiry started.

A chapter on the most suitable methods of making nutrition surveys is followed by another which is of special interest, since it gives details regarding the surveys undertaken and the results obtained in various countries. There is a section of several pages on the United Kingdom, where extensive surveys are now being carried out.

Australia is another country about which particularly interesting information is given, and there are also sections on other British countries—New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and India.

This chapter is full of illuminating facts about food habits in various countries. It is stated that, in an enquiry in the United States among the families of wage earners and clerical workers, from 40 to 60% of the diets of white families in four regions were found to be in need of improvement. In Hungary, it has been found that, if exports are to remain unchanged and if requirements are to be fully met, the present production of milk would need to be increased by 120% and of eggs by as much as 470%. In Bulgaria the peasant is said to be definitely underfed during the busy agricultural seasons, while the bread which provides 79% of the total energy value of his diet, is often unfit for human consumption. An enquiry in Norway showed that 53 families out of a total of 301 did not use any whole milk at all during the four weeks of the investigation. A good many villages of Yugoslavia observe

practically all the orthodox fasts, which may amount to as many as 206 days in the year. These are only a few of the facts brought to light in Chapter IV, which deserves to be read by the intelligent layman who wishes to keep abreast of the problems of our times.

In the concluding chapter, the steps taken to educate the public in various countries are described. Much can be accomplished by means of education and publicity since, as the Survey points out, "it is surprisingly common to find relatively well-to-do sections of the population living on poor diets when, for an expenditure within their means, they could, by the wise choice of foodstuffs, obtain all the constituents of a good diet in sufficient quantities."

This Survey is an example of the type of work in which the League has already had considerable success. There is brought together in one small, readable volume a mass of facts collected from official sources in a large number of countries. It is not merely a work of reference but also a document in which even experts can learn what is being done in countries other than their own. Such a dissemination of knowledge and ideas is of real and immediate practical value.

Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching—Published by the League of Nations, December, 1938. Annual subscription 2s. 6d.

The present volume is devoted to the teaching of the principles and facts of international co-operation. It incorporates the work of the Advisory Committee covering among other topics the following : Teaching of Modern Languages as means to promoting international understanding (2) University Education—its aims and methods (3) Social, moral and political responsibility to broadcasting (4) Peace Teaching at the International Teachers' Conference in London and (7) the 7th International Conference on Public Education. This covers over 200 pages of highly interesting and useful materials followed by 35 pages more of extracts from official documents relating to international collaboration between universities ; unemployment among the intellectuals ; revision of school text books and the teaching of history.

It is a matter of deep regret, however, that in a publication like this, we find the League still dominated by the Western cultural needs and show very little positive experience or research with regard to Oriental countries. When will the League and specially the

Intellectual Co-operation Departments try to rectify this fundamental defect in their historical and cultural outlook ?

Poupees Japonaises (Dolls of Japan) and The Development of Japanese Theatre Art. Published by Society for International Cultural Relations, Tokyo, 1935.

With an inimitable art the Japanese experts have collected and classified various types of their national dolls. What a great part is played by such dolls in the formation of national character from the very infancy could be appreciated by glancing through this beautifully illustrated volume published by Tokyo Cultural Relations Society. The text is printed in French and English and illustrated by characteristic photographs which would go to inspire our Indian artists to compile similar books. This was strongly advised by our great artists like Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and S. Nandalal Bose both of whom have devoted much of their valuable time and energy that way. The complicated problems of Japanese Theatre have been discussed with admirable lucidity by Prof. S. Kawatake, the director of the Theatre Museum, Waseda University. That university associated with the hallowed memory of its founder Count Okuma whose centenary was celebrated recently, has contributed greatly to the development of modern Japanese Literature and specially to the Dramatic Art. "History of Japanese Theatre", says the learned author, "can be traced back to the 7th century and its development during the past 1300 years can be illustrated by means of unlimited wealth of materials for the study... This gives me the conviction that our country is the Theatre Museum not only of the Orient but of the entire world."

The illustrations of the historic stages, famous actors, old masks, and marionettes go to make the volume as instructive as interesting.

Pan-Pacific, October and December, 1938.

This is the special number devoted to French Indo-China published by the famous international American organisation of Honolulu the Pan-Pacific Union. Their branches extend from the American Continent right up to the Philippines, the Dutch Indies and French Indo-China.

Although the Indian branch has not yet been organised, the governing body of Hawaii elected Dr. Kalidas Nag of the University of Calcutta, the then visiting professor of the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii (1937), as one of the honorary trustees of the Pan-Pacific Union.

Many of the Pacific problems could not be understood without reference to India, her races, religion and culture. This could be specially illustrated with reference to the history of French Indo-China which is the modern name of the ancient Hindu colonies of Champa, Cambodge. In the current issue under review we are glad to read something about the Hindu temple of Angkor, Buddhist Institute of Cambodge and Laos etc. We congratulate the Pan-Pacific Union on the noble work they are doing and we hope that they will soon take initiative in building a permanent centre of the Union in India.

Notes sur le Degagement du Prasat Kok Po, Kuticvara. Notes sur les Terrasses des Elephants du roi Lepreux et le Palais Royal D'Angkor Thom by Henri Marchal. Published by l'Ecole Francaise d'Exterme-Orient, Hanoi.

The author is a distinguished archaeologist who was the conservator of the monuments of Angkor and rose to be the director of the Archaeological Department of French Indo-China. After his retirement he explored the monuments of India with a view to establishing possible relations between the architectural types of India and of the ancient Hindu colonies of Champa and Cambodge. The three valuable articles under review demonstrated the spirit of thoroughness and able documentation. Specially interesting is his survey of the *Kutisvara* temple with the statue of *Brahma* which would interest all students of Indian iconography. We wish all success to Mon. Marchal and hope that he will soon give us the benefit of his comparative study of the Indian and Indo-Chinese monuments. The French school of Hanoi is rendering signal service to the study of Asiatic art and archaeology and we wish it a great future.

National Geographical Magazine. Published by the National Geographical Society, Washington, U. S. A.

The National Geographical Society, Washington, U. S. A. was founded just half a century ago in 1888 by a small group of technical geographers who started a learned journal which was gradually transformed to cater to the needs of common men and women interested in "humanised geography". The society never appealed for funds to millionaires, taking pride, on the contrary, in developing its project of geographical education with the support of ordinary members paying small annual subscription. The articles published in the magazine

together with the wealth of photographs, full coloured plates and maps are helping to develop, from year to year, the spirit of human solidarity through the deepening of interest of human beings in their neighbours. That is how hundreds and thousands of people eagerly subscribe to this Journal and thus indirectly help in the exploration and research work undertaken by the Society. It has got a Board of Trustees of international reputation attending to world-wide educational activities through the school and the press. The Society partially financed the exploration of Admiral Peary who discovered the North Pole and contributed hundred thousand dollars to Admiral Byrds' Antartic exploration. These are only a few of the many services to the cause of expansion of our geographical knowledge.

The society publishes from time to time splendid maps which could be mounted easily to serve as perpetual stimulus to the children of the family. Maps of the World, of the Pacific, of the Holy Land among others, should be kept in the home of every cultured person. So for all those who are interested in Natural History, their special publications would be most welcome, to mention among others : "Books of Birds". "Book of Flowers", "Book of Fishes", "Horses of the World", "Cattle of the World" etc. To give only a chance selection from the extremely interesting articles published in the famous magazine we mention : Hawaii and the Treasures of the Pacific, October, 1938 ; Wonder Island of the American Delta, November, 1938 ; Bible Lands, December, 1938 ; Transformation of Turkey, January, 1939 ; Thames, England's Gateway of the World, February, 1939. Such articles with other extremely interesting items and rich illustrations are helping from day to day to develop in the readers the world-mind through a sincere love of nature and humanity. We wish the Society and its Magazine all success and a glorious future, hoping that the educationalists of India will come forward to co-operate with its humanitarian programme.

International Conciliation. Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 405, west 117th Street, New York City.

Mexican Oil problem raised, in recent years, issues of international significance. On march 18, 1933 the Mexican Government started its new policy of land expropriation by nationalising foreign owned oil properties in Mexico. On behalf of the citizens of the United States, the American Government of Washington, through the Secretary of State, Cordel Hull made several representations to the government

of Mexico and the important correspondence between the two governments are now published for the benefit of the students of the world affair by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in their excellent periodical *International Conciliation* (December 1938). It published simultaneously two addresses on the question by Prof. G. W. Stocking of the University of Texas and Prof. J. S. Harzog of the National University of Mexico. Prof. Harzog is also a technical advisor to the treasury department of Mexico and he thus discussed the question at issue : "The Expropriation Law authorizes the Government to seize the property of an industry for reasons of public good, in case of grave danger, or the possibility of such danger. Thus, confronted as it was by a perilous situation, the Government saw itself obliged to take over the property of the oil companies, companies which for nearly forty years had been accumulating profits which they had exported year after year, leaving in Mexico only tax revenue which they disputed cent by cent, and the salaries of the workers which they also haggled over and curtailed at every step. The oil companies, which as I said before had gained profits exceeding a billion dollars but on their departure from Mexico, left not one single important work of benefit to the Mexican people. For that reason the people have not only not regretted their departure, but have joyfully hailed it as the first step in the direction of their true economic independence."

Report of the University of Hawaii, 1937-38. Published by the University of Hawaii.

The University of Hawaii is the first American institution in the Pacific World to take interest in the living civilizations of the Orient. We are glad to notice that the progressive president of the University Dr. D. L. Crawford in his latest annual report points optimistically to an expansion of its cultural programme. He hopes that the post-graduate research could soon be arranged for in the studies of (1) Tropical Agricultural Science (2) Culture and Civilization of the Pacific Islands and Eastern Asia and (3) Anthropology. "In each of these three there is a considerable amount of research in progress in Hawaii, including the work of the three agricultural experiment stations in Honolulu, the Polynesian studies at the Bishop Museum, and the race investigations at this University, in which we have had assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation. Our Oriental Institute has made a small beginning in studies in the Eastern Asia field."

"The establishment of the Oriental Institute in 1935 was intended as another step forward in the development of our graduate programme. For some years we had been watching the growing interest displayed by students and others in our teaching of Oriental languages, literature and history, and we came to feel that our curriculum ought to be expanded, especially at the graduate level. To do this, we realized, would require the application of ourselves to three purposes simultaneously : (1) increasing our library resources (2) strengthening our faculty and (3) attracting enough able students to make the venture worth while."

Invited by the University of Hawaii, Dr. Kalidas Nag of the University of Calcutta had the honour of inaugurating the Course of Indian History and Culture at the Oriental Institute. His cultural mission was strongly backed by the University of Calcutta which sent a complete series of its valuable publications to the University of Hawaii. Indian leaders like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi also showed keen interest in the noble experiment of the University and Prof. G. M. Sinclair, the Director of the Oriental Institute visited India twice explaining the aims and objects of the Oriental Institute which elicited the sympathy of the public and of the business magnets of India as well. In a recent interview given by Prof. Sinclair to a Tokyo paper on his way back from India to Hawaii, he is hopeful of an Indo-American collaboration on the field of Oriental Culture. The Oriental Institute has already taken initiative in establishing full-fledged departments of Chinese and Japanese studies. We appeal to the Indian leaders to come forward now to help the Oriental Institute, to organizing a permanent Department of Indian civilisation.

Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Literature : Edited and published by Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo, 1939.

The society for International Cultural Relations have already earned a great reputation by publishing valuable books on Japanese culture and art. Recently they started preparing two volumes to give a survey of the literary documents : one entitled The Introduction to Classic Japanese Literature and the other volume under review, just published ; its companion volume is in course of preparation.

The first fragment of modern literature published in the volume is the Wine-soaked Diary (Shuchu Nikki, 1902) and the last one is

The World of Ghosts (Obake No Sekai, 1935). Altogether 84 such notable fragments of modern literature have been translated, for the first time, together with valuable critical notes on the authors of the forty and odd years of this century. In this anthology of modern Japanese writers also appears a fragment by Cho Kok Chu, the famous Korean author (born 1905) who became famous by publishing in 1932 The Inferno of Starvation (Gakido). He is influenced by the Chinese author, Lu Hsin, who also influenced the famous Japanese writer Soseki Natsume, the author of Botchan (1906). A good resume is given of the works of the highly original and tragic Takeo Arishima who committed suicide in 1923 at the age of 45. He belonged to the famous Shirakaba School and was the brother of the versatile painter-story-writer Ikuma Arishima the Vice-President of the Nippon P. E. N. Club. The most outstanding writer of this epoch is Toson Shimazaki (born 1872) who, as President of the Nippon P. E. N., attended the International P. E. N. Congress of Buenos Aires (1936) with Madam Sophia Wadia and Dr. Kalidas Nag. As early as 1894 Shimazaki began to publish romantic verses in the Bungaku-Kai. Completing several volumes of poems he published his first prose piece, Old Master, a short story in 1902, and a novel Hakai in 1906. He went to France in 1913 and returning home in 1916 published his Shinsei (New Life) and Arashi (Storm, 1926). His *magnum opus* is Before the Dawn (Yoake Mae, 1929-35) which has been ably summarised for the benefit of foreign admirers of Japanese Literature. A very learned and appreciative introduction to the Contemporary Japanese Literature has been written by Yoshikazu Kataoka who is helped by two of his learned colleagues Ryohei Shioda and Takashi Yuchi, preparing synopses of the original writings of the famous Japanese authors. We congratulate the editors and publishers on this valuable production in lucid English and look forward to read their promised Introduction to Classic Japanese Literature.

Guide Book on Iran by G. H. Ebtehaj, Director of Tourism and Political Departments, Ministry of Interior, Teheran.

Iran is a land of great poets and painters whose memories are written large on so many famous cities. The Iranian Government under the progressive regime of Reza Shah Pehlvi are taking great care to make travels in Iran as comfortable and instructive as possible.

Its greatest achievement is the completion of the North-South Railway which, backed by an excellent motor service, make travels in Iran much easier and more economical than before. Mr. Ebtehaj has rendered a real service to tourism by publishing this excellent Guide. It contains chapters on Iranian history, Geography, Government, Laws etc., adding a select Iranian vocabulary and list of hotels. Nearly 300 pages are devoted to the body of the book describing in detail the various routes and the historic sites and monuments lying thereon. We hope that in the new edition special chapters may be devoted to the history of Iranian art and also to the various collections of Iranian art and archaeology.

La Turquie Kemaliste : Published by the Director of the Press, Ministry of the Interior, Ankara.

The Ministry of the Interior of the Turkish Republic sponsors the publication of this beautiful journal which we receive through the kind courtesy of the Turkish Consulate of Calcutta. Each number is richly illustrated with photographs and coloured plates of considerable documentary interest. In November, 1938, passed away the illustrious founder of the Turkish Republic and its 15th Anniversary was celebrated in the October number, just a month before the sad demise of Kemal Ataturk. He was the first leader of New Asia to think in term of nationalism without imperialism and under him Turkey became a veritable 'Country of pioneers'. The International Fair of Izmir (Smyrna, August, 1938) attracted visitors from every corner of the globe and, thanks to the cordial hospitality of the Turkish people, tourism in Turkey is developing very rapidly. The whole country is the blessed land for archaeologists and historians for it is the great land-bridge between the Orient and the Occident. Consequently, historical monuments from as early as 3000 B. C., are being discovered in different parts of the country and the Turkish Republic is taking every care to explore and conserve the archaeological sites and monuments. Very appropriately therefore the Turkish Historical Society was founded (April, 1931) under the noble patronage of Ataturk and the Second Turkish Historical Congress (September, 1937) was organised together with a historical exhibition. Mon. Seffet Ariken, Minister of Public Instruction was elected president, Prof. Pittard of the University of Geneva was the honorary president and the learned lady, Prof. Afet,

was the vice-president who gave a general survey of the archaeological activities of the Society of Turkish History of which Prof. Muzaffer Goker was the general secretary. Dr. Hamit Kosay communicated a paper on the Excavations of Pazarli from the Chalcolithic and the Copper ages, through the Hittite and the Phrygian epochs down to the Hellenistic and the Seljuk periods. Dr. Arif M. Mansel described the excavations in Thrace in 1936-37. The most interesting monograph on the excavations in Ankara was submitted by Mon. Remzi O. Arik, the Director of Excavations, who recently communicated an article on "Archaeological Researches in Turkey" published by the International Office of Museums (Mouseion, nos, 43-44, 1938). Mon. Arik is a veteran archaeologist of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Ankara.

These historical and archaeological activities of the Turkish Republic should act as eye-opener to most of the nations of New Asia for many of their priceless national treasures are either crumbling or being spirited away by foreigners. We hope that the Turkish leaders of historical studies will visit India and also that Indian archaeologists, on their way to Europe, would pass through Turkey developing cultural contact with the rising generation of Turkish scholars.

The Ganges calls me : Book of Poems by Yone Noguchi. Published by Kyobunkwan, Ginza, Tokyo, 1938. 6s net.

This beautifully printed volume of the celebrated Japanese poet, Yone Noguchi, is the result of his tour through India in 1935-36 at the invitation of the University of Calcutta. Several other universities and learned societies also invited the poet who could, therefore, visit many of the beauty-spots and historic sites of India. He cherished specially the memory of his visit to Santiniketan where Rabindranath the poet-laureate of Asia received him. There also the Japanese poet was greeted by the brush of the master artist Nandalal Bose whose expressive sketch is reproduced as the frontispiece. Visiting Sarnath Noguchi met the Japanese painter Kosetsu Nosu then decorating the walls of the Vihara and in the mouth of that artist he puts the following song :

"Responsive to the whisper of stars,

I go abroad——

How I wish when my limbs are tired, to lie down under the tree

In the Indian way deeming the world a piece of song !"

Japan and India stand spiritually linked through centuries and Noguchi pays profound homage to Lord Buddha in several poems. The Buddhist shrine of Ajanta and its wonderful frescoes evoke lines of passionate praise. But he fails to enter into the spirit of the Brahmanical sculptures of Ellora which he calls the 'Haunted Cave'; but in his poem on 'Trimurti' he appears to catch the profound note of Hindu tragic irony :

Creation is great, but destroying is still greater,

Because up from the ashes new wonder takes its flight.

His poems on the Himalayas and the Ganges are surcharged with beauty. So his lyrics on the commonplace realities are no less remarkable displaying a rare combination of realism and idealisation : Living corpses, A cow, The Indian farmer, Indians barefooted, Mahatma Gandhi and such poems, we hope, will always gladden the heart of lovers of real poetry.

The Australian Aboriginal by Herbert Basedow. Published by F. W. Preece and Sons, Adelaide, Pages 422 ; 146 Illustrations.

The appearance of Man in Australia and several problems connected therewith are still enveloped in mystery. A group of scholars believed in the nineteenth century, as some of them believe even to-day, that human species could be traced back to the remote early stone ages. This school of thought was represented by Dr. Herbert Basedow. He was the state-geologist, the chief medical officer and Protector of Aborigines for the Commonwealth Government in the Northern Territory. Over and above his rich personal experience in Australia, he had to his credit intensive researches in the anatomical school of the University of Breslau under the late Prof. Hermann Klaatsch. Dr. Basedow also examined thoroughly the Australian skulls and skeletons in the Hunterian Museum of Royal College of Surgeons and in the anthropological galleries of the British Museum and other European collections. He admits that most of the evidence has been irretrievably lost yet much might be "expected from any of the contiguous continents or islands in this region, upon which occur Tertiary or later sedimentary formations. The discovery of the oldest fossil man, the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* in Java was by no means accidental." After an excursion to Java he admitted that his knowledge of Melanesian ethnography helped him "to explain the existence of several cults in the northern districts of Australia which

border on the Indian Ocean." He reiterates the theory that once a chain of lands linked together Australia, India and South Africa. "The continental masses which in passed eras supplied this link, Zoologists have christened *Lemuria* while Geologists refer to the lost land as *Gondwana* somewhere within the area once occupied by this submerged continent.....there we must look for the cradle of the species Homo." This line of anthropological relationship connects the Australian with the Veddas of Ceylon and the Dravidians of India explaining at the same time the Negroid elements. He sees in the Australian Aboriginal "another paleontological overlap, a living fossil man."

We heartily congratulate Messrs F. W. Preece and Sóns for the troubles they have taken in publishing such an excellent and valuable book. It contains, among others, the discussions on the topics of Racial characteristics, The face and its skeleton, Likely origin of the Australian Aboriginal, Aboriginal Art, Religious Ideas, Stone Implements, Music and Dance, Language etc. Chapters devoted to these topics reveal the profound study of the author.

Statistics of the Gainfully-occupied Population : Definitions and classifications recommended by the Committee of Statistical Experts, League of Nations, Geneva.

This contains an international minimum programme for statistics of the gainfully-occupied population, mainly intended for the use of Governments at their next census of population. The definition of the persons to be considered as gainfully occupied, as well as those not to be so considered and the discussion of the various principles which can or should be followed for their classification (e. g. by branches of economic activity, by personal status, by individual occupation) will be of interest not only to the compilers of such statistics but to all those who have to use or interpret them. A nomenclature of Industries is annexed to the Report.

Errata : Page 32 : line 2 for 'the Indian' read London.

CUPID IN DISGUISE.

By SEETA DEVI B. A.

Jaganmohini was old, so old that nobody remembered her exact age. She had enough means of her own and did not depend upon anyone, still no one liked such great longevity. They talked behind her back, "The old hag has got the longevity of Markandeya himself."

The old lady had no children. There was a young girl in the house, named Ratnamala, who took care of her. The girl was a grandniece. Jaganmohini had a large number of relatives, but they disliked her sharp tongue and stayed away from her. The house she lived in, was her own. She had another house too, which she let out to tenants. In this house too, some tenants had appeared on the groundfloor. Hitherto the groundfloor had been the refuge of good-for-nothing relatives. She tried every other means of dislodging them, but failed and finally was obliged to call in tenants in order to drive undesirable guests.

She herself had retreated to the first floor, with Ratnamala and her servant Chedi. Chedi was a Hindusthani by birth, but having been domiciled in Calcutta from his childhood, he had become a Bengali to all intents and purposes. He spoke Bengali almost like a native, though with a slight accent. He too was getting old and his hair had begun to turn grey.

Chedi did all the housework except cooking, which fell to Ratnamala's share. Chedi was a Kahar by caste, and so was not eligible to cook for Brahmins. The old woman had money enough to engage a Brahmin cook, but she was getting stingier and stingier with her age, and refused to have two servants. Nobody knew what she was going to do with her money. She did not seem to have much affection for Ratnamala, though she was the only person whom Jaganmohini trusted. The girl was nearly sixteen, yet there was no talk of her marriage. If anybody mentioned the term marriage the old lady flared up at once. "I am a helpless widow", she would cry out at once, "how am I going to manage a wedding? The girl is an orphan, so nobody will come forward with a pice to help me. It is not so easy to marry off a girl. And what is the hurry, pray? She is only

twelve." Needless to say Ratnamala had remained twelve years of age, for the last five years. But it was Calcutta, and the old woman had plenty of money, so nobody bothered about it much. Else there would have been talk enough to turn their ears deaf.

Ratnamala was a pretty girl, though not very fair. She had a fine well-developed figure and her hair fell down to her knees. Nobody had paid for her education, but she had learnt to read and write Bengali through her own efforts. She knew every kind of household work, as she had to spend all her time attending to these.

They had many relations, but Jaganmohini disliked them all. She thought that everyone was waiting for her death to swoop down up on her money and property. So she never encouraged any one to visit her. But the relatives on her parents' side refused to be discouraged and kept on coming. Those on her husband's side never set foot within her threshold and abused her to their hearts' content from a distance.

When she proposed to let the ground floor, many of the relatives came and offered advice gratis. "What do you do it for?" they asked. "You don't need money. Who knows what kind of tenants you will get."

Others said, "You must be careful, since you have got a young girl in the house. You must not allow everyone to enter and stay in the house. It would have been better for you to allow those relatives to stay on. They were not paying you any rent of course, but they would have stood by you in times of trouble."

But the old lady was not to be taken in with sweet words. She put in advertisements in newspapers, and finally secured a good Hindu tenant.

There were three rooms upstairs. The largest was used as a bedroom by the old lady. The furniture consisted of one big four-poster bed, an iron safe and two steel trunks. The trunks were attached together by means of a thick iron chain and this chain was tied to the leg of the bed and secured with a lock.

Besides Jaganmohini, her grandniece was the only other person who could set foot within this room. Even the servant was barred. As long as the old lady could do it, she swept and washed the room herself. But she had become almost blind now and too weak to do any work, so Ratnamala did the cleaning for her. The second room was occupied by the girl herself. She slept here and if ever any visitor

arrived, he or she was shown in here. The third room was the store room for all kinds of things. Chedi slept here at night and kept watch over everything. A collapsible iron gate guarded the entrance to the staircase. The old lady knew well how to take care of her wealth.

She did not have to spend much on food. She herself was a vegetarian, being a Brahmin widow. Chedi was a good soul, he never demanded fish or meat. In their province, they were not accustomed to such diet. Ratnamala had been brought up by the old lady, so she too never hankered after delicacies. She ate what she got. The old lady used to take one meal in twenty-four hours formerly. Now in extreme old age she had developed a sweet tooth in her mouth and wanted something nice for supper. But the delicacy was for herself alone.

The tenants had arrived nearly a week ago, but they had not settled down yet. The ground floor was full of noise and bustle. Furniture were dragged from this room to that, huge nails were driven into the walls with loud blows of the hammer. And how the whole family talked ! The old lady was nearly blind, so she never ventured to go down. But her hearing was perfect as yet, and the noise was driving her crazy. Tenants gave one no end of trouble. How long would they take to settle down ? They were taking some time to arrange these three rooms. How much furniture had they brought she wondered.

She called Ratnamala to her and asked "How many are there downstairs ? They are making noise enough for a dozen people."

"They are not many", said the girl. "They are only two small girls, their mother and the mother's brother. I did not see any other man."

"But just listen to the noise", said Jaganmohini. "They won't let the old woman have a wink of sleep. If I had known their ways, I would not have admitted them into my house."

"They have nearly finished their work", said the girl consolingly. "I think from to-morrow, all will be quiet. The gentleman works in some office, he will leave by ten. The girls go to school. You will be able to sleep all you want to."

"Who gave you such a lot of information ?" asked the old lady, suspiciously. "Did you tramp down to enquire ? Because I have become blind, you think you are free to do as you like ? You are growing up now, why do you enter the room of strangers ? How can you tell what kind of people they are ?"

"You see me gadding about all the time, don't you?" cried Ratnamala, her face red with anger. "And who does all your work please? Don't I have to go down for my bath and for washing my clothes? You sit upstairs and Chedi brings up water for you, but I have to shift for myself. And when I go down, these girls come and talk to me. What am I to do then? Shall I remain dumb? They told me all about themselves. They are good people. You will see, they won't give you any trouble."

Jaganmohini had grown suspicious of all the world. They were trying to snatch away the girl from her. But the old lady would be entirely helpless if she lost Ratnamala. She cooked excellently and took very good care of her aged relative. No amount of money could get her such an attendant. Moreover the old lady would never dare to engage these Calcutta women, even were they cheap. These were all murderesses in disguise. They would bide their time and one day they would throttle her and decamp with all her cash and ornaments. Chedi was a good sort, he had been with her for a long time. But he was a man, and a low caste. He could do very few things for her.

Many people advised her unasked. They told her to marry off Ratnamala and keep her husband in the house. But what guarantee was there that he would be a reliable man? A good man from a good family would not agree to live with his wife's relatives, he would want to take away his wife. Who was going to choose a good man for Ratnamala? Jaganmohini was blind, so she was useless. Her relatives were her enemies. They were waiting to do her an illturn, if they could. You can cope with a thief who is outside, but not with one, who is inside your house. She fell asleep thinking.

Ratnamala never slept in day time. She read books or did her sewing at this time. To-day she was too angry to do either. The old woman was not a bad sort really, but she was becoming insufferable gradually, thanks to her age. How she talked! One felt like smacking her. Why was she so suspicious about Ratnamala? The girl was not really dying to fall in love or to marry. Of course she had no real objection to either, if she got a good man. She did not want to spend her whole life cooking for the old lady. She felt so lonely at times. No body dared to visit her, for fear of Jaganmohini's tongue and Ratnamala too was not permitted to visit any one.

After a while she brought out her mirror and comb and began to do her hair. She had quite a lot of it, and it took time to comb and

arrange it nicely. She spent sometime and created a large bun behind her head. Next she took up a change of clothing and towel and proceeded down stairs to have her evening wash. There was only one bath-room in the house, on the ground floor. Jaganmohini had kept it for her own use and had a construction of tin sheets made for use of the tenants.

Ratnamala came down with her striped sari and towel. This sari was nearly torn. She liked coloured and striped saris and was not fond of plain white ones. Jaganmohini gave her as many saris as she desired, but all cheap ones. The old lady saw no reason for spending much money on the wardrobe of a girl who had no husband to please.

At the foot of the stairs Ratnamala came to a stop suddenly. The gentleman downstairs was carrying water in a large bucket and the women folk were busy washing the rooms. They had finished arranging the furniture. Her greataunt would have her sleep undisturbed henceforward. The gentleman had a stalwart figure. It was rare amongst Bengalees.

The gentleman looked rather shy as he came face to face with the girl and hurried inside. Ratnamala too darted into her bath-room. She would take her time washing. She finished her own bath, washed all her clothing, then came out leisurely. Those downstairs had finished their work by that time. The two small girls, Suku and Tuku were standing on the verandah. Both looked tired and flustered. Muddy stains on their hands, faces and clothing bore witness to their labour.

"May we go into your bath room and wash ourselves?" asked Suku. "My uncle has gone into our bath room to wash and he always takes an hour over it. We don't want to remain in our wet clothing so long."

"Certainly, go in," said Ratnamala "Only I use this bath-room. Were you washing your rooms?"

"Yes, we wash them every day," said Tuku. "My mother is fond of continual washing, it is her recreation. This is why we always rent ground floors, as we get plenty of water there."

Ratnamala smiled and went up, while the two girls went in to wash.

Ratnamala went up to the terrace to spread out her wet clothing. There was a small room here, which had been converted into a kitchen for her use, now that the larger kitchen down stairs had been made

over to the tenants. Ratnamala liked this small room better as she always got plenty of fresh air here and she could talk to the girls of the adjoining houses if they came up to their terraces.

It did not take her long to finish her cooking. She covered everything and then came out on the terrace. She had nothing to do now. She had cleaned the old lady's room very thoroughly in the morning, she did not always do it over again in the evening. The room looked as clean as it was in the morning, as there was none to make it dirty. When she had given the old lady her supper, the girl would have finished her day's work. She took her own supper, whenever she liked. She would have to put the old lady to her bed and tuck in the mosquito curtain properly, but that was nothing. The old lady never retired before ten. So Ratnamala spent her evening on the terrace generally. She talked all she wanted to at this time.

A young woman came up to the terrace of the next house. She too had been washing and carried wet clothing on her arm. "Why are you so late to-day?" called out Ratnamala.

"He returns early from office on Saturdays," said the young lady smiling archly. "I had to give him his tea and sweets, so I am a bit late."

How happy this girl was. Ratnamala suddenly felt very depressed.

"What kind of people are the new tenants?" her friend asked. Have you got acquainted yet?"

"They seem all right," said Ratanmala. "I have not spoken to the lady yet, but the little girls are fine, they have made friends already."

"Is the lady a widow?" the fair neighbour asked. "Our maid servant said so. The gentleman is her brother, is not he?"

"Your maid servant seems to know all about them", said Ratnamala.

"Her sister works for your tenants" said her friend. "So she comes and goes. She says that the people are very neat and clean and eat from table. Even the mistress reads English. Are they Christians?"

"I don't think so", said Ratnamala, "But I know very little about them. I have not entered their rooms yet. I see the little girls on the verandah now and then, that's all."

"Since they have come to stay in your house, you will get to know all of them in time", said her friend. "I hear that the gentleman

is not married." Ratnamala blushed hotly, her ears seemed to burn. This young woman was good in every other way, but she wanted her jokes. Because Ratnamala was still unmarried, her friend must poke fun at her. What was it to her, if the gentleman had not yet married? He had not certainly remained single so long for her sake. Her face grew more and more red.

It was getting dark, the lights could be turned on now. The old lady used to turn the lights on at regular hours formerly and as soon as it stuck half past nine she would switch off all the lights to spite her worthless relatives, who lived on the ground floor. But now that she had let out the rooms, she could not indulge in this practice. The tenants had the right to keep the lights on as long as they wanted. They were paying for it, so the old lady could not object. Besides she was nearly blind now, so even if Ratnamala turned on the lights before it was actually dark, the old lady could not notice it.

So Ratnamala switched on the lights and sat down in her own room to prepare the old lady's supper. It had to be made very soft, as Jaganmohini had lost all her teeth. Then she took the curd, chira and ripe plantains to the old lady and arranged them all before her. The old lady ate as much as she could. Then she drew back and asked. "I cannot eat it all. Is there much curd left?"

Ratnamala found the stone cup still half full of curd. But she said. "No there is hardly a drop left."

"You take it then," said Jaganmohini generously, getting up. Ratnamala took her to the verandah, help her to wash her hand and face and took her back to the bed room. She was not going to retire so soon. A friend came regularly at this hour to visit her. Jaganmohini opened her heart to her, abused all the neighbours, heard the latest scandals, then went to sleep about half past ten.

Ratnamala spread out a mat on the floor and made her sit down. "I am going to take my supper now." She said. "Shall I leave the light on?"

"Yes, yes", said the old lady." I dont like the dark, it gives me creeps."

Ratnamala went off to get her own supper. Chedi too came and sat down on the verandah to have his. Jaganmohini's friend arrived now punctually. Then Chedi took up all the used plates and glasses and proceeded downstairs to wash them. Ratnamala followed him to wash her own face and hands.

The light was burning in the gentleman's room. All doors and windows were open. Someone inside was playing on the Sitar beautifully. The man had many accomplishments, it seemed. Ratnamala wanted to stand on the stairs and listen to the music. But someone might see her and misunderstand, so she could not. She went into the bathroom to wash her face.

"Why don't you come to our rooms?" called out Suku.

Ratnamala put her foot on the stairs and said, "Is not it rather late?"

"What if it is?" asked Tuku, coming up to them. "It is the same house. But sister, what is your name?"

Ratnamala told her name. "It is a big one," said Suku. "Have not you got anything shorter than that?"

"I have but it is an ugly one," said Ratnamala.

"Short names are usually ugly," said Tuku and Suku together. "Do you know my uncle's nick name? It is Buro (old man)."

After this Ratnamala found it impossible to tell her own nick name, as it was Buree, (old woman)!

So she turned the topic adroitly. "Let's go and see your rooms," she said. "I shall come to-morrow afternoon and have a long talk with you."

All the three rooms were neat and clean and tastefully decorated. The furniture were not many, but every bit was fine. "Why have not you come to see us before?" asked the children's mother. "You are nearly of the same age with my daughters. It does not matter, if you are a couple of years senior. You must come every day, talk with them and play with them."

Ratnamala felt like laughing outright. She was long past the age of playing, in her own opinion. An Esraj was standing against the wall. "Who plays this?" she asked.

"Both my daughters do," said the mother. "Their uncle teaches them. What do you play?"

"I have not learnt anything yet," said Ratnamala shyly.

"If you get an Esraj, you can learn with us," said Suku.

Ratnamala was about to answer, when suddenly Suku's uncle appeared in the doorway.

Ratnamala would have liked to escape. but she could not push past the gentleman, so she had to stay where she was.

"This is my younger brother Nisheeth and this is the old

lady's grandniece," said Suku's mother introducing them to each other.

The gentleman bowed. Ratnamala was so upset that she could not even bow in return. She stood there, perspiring with nervousness.

"We must have given you a lot of trouble these few days," said Nisheeth. "We had to make a good deal of noise."

"No," murmured the girl somehow. Fortunately the gentleman went out of the room at this time and Ratnamala could escape. "I must put the old lady to bed," she said and ran upstairs.

Jaganmohini was tucked in very soon and then the girl made her own bed and laid herself down. But sleep refused to visit her eyes. Strange thoughts came and went and she blushed in the darkness. It was past midnight when she finally fell asleep.

She never knew how long she slept. A piercing scream from the next room, broke through her slumber and she started up, wide awake. The door between the two rooms always remained open. She sprang down from her own bed and rushed into the old lady's room. Jaganmohini was sitting up on her bed, still screaming lustily.

"What's the matter, grandma?" cried Chedi from outside.

Ratnamala put on the light and raised up the mosquito curtain. "What has happened?" She asked.

"Give me some water," replied she, panting.

She drank off a large glass of water and said "There's a thief over there."

"Where?" asked Ratnamala in dismay. "The gate is locked, how can he come in?"

"They don't come through gates, you fool," cried Jaganmohini. "All the houses are built too close to one another, he must have jumped down on the verandah from the roof of the next house. He stood there flashing a torch inside the room and so I woke up."

"Shall I go to the verandah and look?" asked Chedi, who had come in by that time.

"No, no," screamed Jaganmohini again. "You dare to open that door and I will sack you. You are nothing but a skeleton, he can kill you with one blow". Chedi did not look much of a hero, so he quieted down at once.

Jaganmohini shrieked out again, "Listen, there are foot steps on

the stairs. He must be coming back that way. Oh God, save me ! Oh Chedi, call the police at once. Oh dear, dear, why did I drive away those rascally relatives ? They would have protected me from thieves at any rate."

Ratnamala came to the door and peeped out. "It is not the thief, it is the gentleman from the ground floor. Do stop screaming. Chedi go and see what he wants".

Chedi ran to the collapsible gate to answer questions.

The rest of the night passed by slowly. The old lady did not dare to sleep and she would not allow the girl to sleep. But Chedi went to his room and began to snore again.

In the morning, it was discovered that a thief had really come. He had broken the lock of the kitchen upstairs and removed some pots and pans. It could be seen that he had come from the roof of the next house.

Jaganmohini set up such a wail of dismay, that the whole neighbourhood was agog pretty soon. "Why such lamentation ?" asked Ratnamala angrily, "Only two old utensils have been taken away. They were scarcely worth more than eight annas."

"Go away, you stupid fool," cried her aged relative. "This is but the beginning. He will come every night after this. He will strangle us and take away everything. These are murderers. Oh dear, what will become of us ?"

Her alarm infected the girl. 'Let us keep a Darwan, grandma', she suggested.

"You are really a fool," said Jaganmohini. "These people are nothing but agents of thieves. You must never let a new servant enter the house."

Ratnamala went away to do her cooking. But her heart palpitated with fear, every now and then.

As the evening came on, Jaganmohini's lamentations began anew. She was firmly convinced that the thief was going to return in the night and kill her. She refused to be comforted and her voice rose higher and higher. Neighbours began to drift in one by one to enquire what the matter was.

Suku's mother came up and said, "Why are you so alarmed ? Thieves come to most houses now and then. If you are really so frightened I think you had better come downstairs and sleep with us."

The proposal did not find favour with the old lady. "How can

that be done ?" She asked, "Everything, I possess is in this room, who will guard it ?"

"If you cannot come down, I can come up with the children and sleep with you," said Suku's mother.

But this too failed to comfort Jaganmohini. "What if you do ?" she asked. "Thieves are not afraid of women. Had there been a man, it would have been different."

"That's true," said her tenant. "But a man would require a separate room for himself. You have not got a spare room."

"No, I have not," admitted the old lady. Numerous plans were suggested and refused and the night passed off. No one was allowed to come upstairs to guard them, so the old lady did not sleep herself and did not permit Ratnamala to sleep either. Anxiety and lack of sleep proved too much for Jaganmohini. Next day she took to her bed, positively ill.

Ratnamala ran downstairs for help. "What am I to do ?" she asked. "Grandma is ill."

"Really this is too much for you to manage," said Suku's mother. "You are too young. I suggest that you sleep in the old lady's room to night and let Nisheeth go and sleep in yours. That will reassure the old lady".

Ratnamala felt very awkward at this proposal. "He will be very uncomfortable," she murmured.

"Not at all," said Suku's mother. "He loves to be of service to his neighbours and your room is quite good. The last quarter we left, was full of dismay, when the news was heard that we were leaving. Everybody there loved Nisheeth."

News arrived that the thief had visited another house in the neighbourhood during the night. Jaganmohini nearly collapsed, but when she heard that the stalwart Nisheeth was coming up to night to guard them, she revived somewhat.

Nisheeth was quite agreeable. Ratnamala told Chedi to bring up his bedding and make it in her room. She placed drinking water and a glass by the bedside. A palmleaf fan too was kept ready.

Niseeth came up to the room after dinner. "You have taken a great deal of trouble," he said, "It was not necessary, I could have brought up the bedding myself." She turned red in embarrassment and fled from his presence.

Jaganmohini slept soundly that night, but poor Ratnamala remained wide awake.

The old lady got up late next day and asked. "Has the boy gone away?"

"Yes," replied the girl shortly.

"Give Chedi two rupees for bazar-money to-day," said the venerable lady. "I shall ask the boy to have lunch with us and you must cook several courses and do it well. To-day is Sunday. The boy is a very fine one. How strong he looks. No thief would ever dare to approach him."

Ratnamala was taken aback at this display of philanthropy on the part of Jaganmohini. But she was pleased and ran to give the money to Chedi. Nisheeth had a very good lunch and slept upstairs even that night.

Two or three days passed off like this. Then Nisheeth said, "Grandma, the thieves have gone away for good, I think. I can go down to my own room now."

Jaganmohini nearly burst into tears at this heart-rending proposal. "They are waiting just for this opportunity, my dear boy", she wailed. "As soon as you are gone, they will come up and stab me."

"What a thing to say!" laughed Nisheeth. "Is stabbing so easy? Let me go now please, it does not look well, really."

"It looks very well," screamed the old lady. "I am not dependant on any one and I can do as I please. If anybody dares to say anything, I shall reply that I am going to give my grandniece in marriage to you. You are a good Brahmin and nothing can hinder it."

"Please don't", muttered Nisheeth shyly but he looked rather pleased. Ratnamala heard the old lady from the next room, and ran up to the kitchen, trembling and blushing.

When she came down for her bath, Tuku and Suku suddenly threw their arms round her and began to dance. "We shall not call you sister any more" chanted Suku.

"We shall call you aunt", sang Suku in the same key.

Ratnamala clapped her hand on their lips. "Don't tease me", she pleaded.

But it was impossible to stop every body. The news spread like wild fire. Jaganmohini had proposed to marry Ratnamala to Nisheeth.

If he agreed to live on in this house, the old lady would make a wedding gift of it to her grandniece. She was even ready to give the other house to them, if they took good of her.

Nisheeth seemed a clever of young man. He agreed at once.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Our Felicitations to H. E. Mangkoe Nagoro VII of Jova

His Highness Pangeran Adipati Ario Mangkoe Nagoro VII of Solo, Java, will complete the 24th year of his enlightened regime on the 16th of June, 1939. We offer our respectful homage to him on this auspicious occasion and request our Indian leaders to send their messages and greetings, before June, to the famous Javanese author Rn. Ms. Noto Soeroto, Solo, Java. He is the secretary of the Celebrations Committee preparing a special Souvenir Album to be presented to the noble ruler of Solo on his Silver Jubilee. His Highness is not only the most progressive ruler of modern Java, he is also the outstanding leader of the cultural renaissance of the Javanese people. He helped in the foundation of the now famous Java Institute which sends its learned publication to many cultural centres of India. He encouraged the holding of congresses of Javanese culture and of study circles on philosophy and literature, often addressing them personally. He was also the leader of the national revival movement : Boedi Oetomo. He collected at an enormous expenditure of money and leisure the most valuable specimens of Javanese antiquities, wood carvings, musical instruments, masks and other art objects. The song rehearsals and the gamelan-orchestra of his court is regularly broadcasted over the whole of Java for the education and recreation of the people. He maintains the best experts and exponents of Indo-Javanese dancing with which he entertained Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterjee and Dr. Kalidas Nag who have written enthusiastically about that branch of the art of Java. His Highness is more than a leader being himself an artist and a *litterateur* under the pen-name of Hario Soerjo-Soeparto. We wish His Highness a long and happy life while we participate in spirit, in the joyous celebrations organised by his countrymen. We look forward to read the commemoration volume giving us a vivid picture of the renaissance movement in modern Java which parallels in many respects a similar movement in India.

Homage to president Quezon

Through the kind courtesy of Dr. Jorge B. Vargas, the learned secretary to the President of the Philippine Commonwealth, we could publish in our New Asia a document of fascinating interest—the auto-

biographical fragment of the illustrious President. To supplement the information contained therein we quote below, from a note supplied by Dr. Vargas, a few outstanding dates and events in the career of the Father of the Philippine Commonwealth.

Manuel Luis Quezon was born in Baler, Province of Tayabas, August 19, 1878, to Lucio Quezon and Maria Molina. He attended the public schools and the College of San Juan de Letran, Manila, studied law at the University of Santo Tomas, Manila and was admitted to the bar in April, 1903.

He joined the staff of General Emilio Aguinaldo of the Philippine Revolutionary Army with the rank of Lieutenant of infantry in 1898 and was made Major in 1899, then Chief of staff of the General commanding the department of Central Luzon.

Under the American Government, he held the office of prosecuting attorney (fiscal) for the Province of Mindoro in 1903 and was subsequently transferred to the Province of Tayabas in 1904. He was elected Provincial Governor of Tayabas, and he served from 1906 to 1907, when he resigned. He was the delegate to the first Philippine Assembly and was the floor leader of his party in 1907 and 1908. He was elected by the Nationalist party as one of the two Resident Commissioners to the United States in 1909 and he served from November 23, of that year, to October 15, 1916, during which period he succeeded in obtaining for his country three vitally important concessions: In 1913, a Filipino majority in the Philippine Commission; in 1916, the surrender, through the passage by the Congress of the Jones Law, of all legislative rights to the Filipinos by the establishment of the Philippine Senate, of which he became the president; and the solemn pledge of independence for the Philippines from the Congress of the United States. He was elected from the fifth senatorial district, comprising the Provinces of Tayabas, Batangas, Cavite, Mindoro and Marinduque, to the Philippine Senate in 1916. He became the first and last president of the Philippine Senate from 1916 to the abolition of that body in 1935. After working for the passage by the U. S. A. Congress of the Tydings Mc-Duffie Law, granting independence to the Philippines after ten years, Quzon became the first President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines on September 17, 1935. He was inducted into office on November 15, 1935, on the inauguration of the Commonwealth Government.

He married Aurora Aragon, December, 1918 and they have two

daughters and a son—Maria Aurora, 17, Maria Zeneida, 16, and Manuel. Junior, 10.

He was conferred the honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws by the University of the Philippines, 1929, by the University of Santo Tomas, 1936, and by the Georgetown University, United States of America, 1937. He had also the honour of receiving the following decorations :—Officer of the Legion of Honor (France) ; Order du Jade (China) ; Gran Caballero de la Republica (Spain) ; Gran Cordon of the Order of the Crown of Italy (Italy). We hope to publish in New Asia regular information and articles on the progress of the Philippine nation, so near and dear to us. President Quezon is a great admirer of Dr. Tagore and Mahatma Gandhī and invited Dr. Kalidas Nag of the University of Calcutta to deliver (1938) a series of lectures on the two great Leaders of India, at the State University of the Philippines. President Quezon takes pride in the fact that he is an Oriental and we in India look up to him with profound respect and admiration, wishing him and our Filipino brethren a great future.

Siam's Treay Revision

The progress of Siam during the past few years has been phenomenal. Not only has she successfully made political and administrative reforms but also she is now making rapid progress in various economic activities. Siam is one of the very few independent nations in Asia. One of the great accomplishments by Siam in the present year is the ratification of new treaties with other countries, that have restored to Siam her full sovereignty.

Just like Japan was in the past, Siam has long been humiliated under unequal treaties. Those unequal treaties unduly restricted the freedom of Siam in framing her own national policy and infringed upon her sovereignty. Japan came out of this humiliating position after her great efforts and endeavour, and Siam has also finally done so. Thus Japan and Siam are now the two absolutely independent nations in Asia, as Manchoukuo is not yet recognized by many other countries and China is still in a chaotic condition.

Unequal treaties are the products of the imperialistic invasion of Western Powers into Asia. The efforts of the Japanese and the Siamese have killed such unequal treaties. Now there is only China where Western Powers still enjoy extraterritorial privileges which they are unwilling to give up.

It was on November 5, 1936 that the Siamese Government denounced all her treaties with Foreign Powers, and a draft treaty on the basis of reciprocity, equity and mutual benefit was also submitted to them. Although the treaties with Germany and Switzerland did not contain restrictions on Siam's sovereign powers, they too were denounced by Siam, because she wished to have all her new treaties uniform in character with a view to facilitating their application and interpretation. These old treaties did not terminate on the date of their denunciation but continued in force for a period of one year from that date.

The term of the new treaties is fixed at five years, but this is explained by Luang Siddhi Sayamkar, Assistant Deputy Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, Siam, as follows :

"As for the term of the new Treaties, it is fixed at five years, with automatic renewal and with the right of denunciation. The term is fixed at five years, so that the new Siam after the transitory period provided in the Constitution may have an opportunity of readjusting her international relationships, if she should desire to do so."

With the conclusion of those new treaties with various Powers, Siam is now given a new start. The old Siam which had its sovereign rights restricted by the unequal treaties exists no more. Siam is now a fully-grown independent nation.

Ismet Inonu—the new Turkish President

Gen. Ismet Inonu was elected by the National Assembly to succeed his late friend and long-time comrade, Kemal Ataturk, as President of Turkey.

Kemal, once said of Ismet—a reformer and strong man in his own right—that "he is my conscience—he is always on the alert and finds out what is wrong and criticizes me." The new leader, known as the "military bookkeeper," was Premier for 13 of the 15 years that Kemal was head of the state.

As the General was chosen at an extraordinary session of Parliament sitting in Ankara, Turkey's new capital, a salute of 101 guns signaled the election. A group of National Assembly members supported a plan to change the name of Ankara to Ataturk to perpetuate the memory of the "Father of the Turks." The Government issued a communique consecrating the nation to carry on the "existing order" established by Kemal. It was the new President on whom

Kemal relied to carry out most of the revolutionary reforms by which he roused the war-crushed Ottoman Empire and forged a potent, westernized power.

It was Ismet who abolished the Caliphate, closed the religious schools and monasteries, and forced the Turks to doff their fezzes and wear hats. The new President is an able soldier, a talented diplomat and a stern ruler—all in the pattern of his predecessor. Before the President took his present name by decree in 1934 he was famed as Ismet Pasha, Chief of Staff against the Greeks in Anatolia, Under Secretary of War during the World War and Chief of the Turkish delegations at the Lausanne Conferences. Under the Republic, he promoted the building of railroads and labored for Turkish security. He gave Turkey an army well-equipped with modern armaments and a powerful air force. He ringed Turkey with a group of friends—through understandings with the Balkan Entente (Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece) and through the “co-operation unit” which Turkey formed with Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran. We wish all success to the Turkish Republic under the new President.

The Third Five Year Plan and Soviet Drive to the East

In the following significant note the Moscow correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* shows that two thirds of the construction programme under new plan will be located in Asiatic Russia.

Joseph Stalin's intention to concentrate Soviet activities in Asiatic Russia, revealed two years ago, has been reinforced by the summary for the third Soviet Five Year Plan, released in advance of the eighteenth Congress of the ruling Communist Party, (March 10.) This plan reveals that Soviet Russia's “Drang nach Osten”—drive to the East—is as pronounced as Germany's. At least two-thirds of new industrial construction provided by this plan will be located in Asiatic Russia, east of the Ural Mountains.

For several years Mr. Stalin has shown greater interest in the Asiatic portions of his country than in the European. He has personally directed such vast schemes as the gold rush and wholesale colonization in the Soviet Far East and Siberia. His predisposition to Asia has been sharpened by the threats from Germany's eastern expansion. With such vast territories to develop, it seems sensible for Russia to make her heaviest capital investments in Asia, which is more easily defended.

Planless Planned Economy

That is precisely what is now being done, as the figures for the third Five Year Plan show. This plan actually started more than a year ago, at the beginning of 1938, but even its outlines were delayed for more than a year by the virtual civil war which has demoralized the Soviet bureaucracy since 1936. Russia has provided the curious spectacle of a "planned economy" going ahead on its own momentum, without plan. Even now the details are lacking.

When "planned economy" first was introduced into Russia in 1928, the third Five Year Plan was foreseen as a period for raising the living standards of the people. The first two plans, it was expected, would have provided the foundations of self-sufficient industry, and capital investments could now be concentrated upon consumer goods. Several unforeseen events have frustrated the original scheme, including the threat of war, the Communist internal conflict, and universal red tape and inefficiency. So the major part of national income must be devoted during these five years, as in the two previous periods, to armaments and heavy industries.

Speed up for Workers

At the same time, workers must be rapidly "speeded up." The plan provides for an increase of 65 per cent in the output for each man employed. The theory is advanced that Soviet workers, since their Government calls itself the "dictatorship of the working class," will be glad to work harder for less pay. A great many workers, however, have refused to accept this point of view and passive resistance admittedly has prevented the fulfillment of increases in productivity provided in various plans.

New capital constructions under the third plan lie almost entirely outside the range of German bombers, but several large enterprises are planned for the Soviet Far East. Apparently Moscow does not fear aerial attack from Japan or Manchuria. For strategic reasons, a much smaller proportion of new investments has been assigned to the Ukraine than in previous plans. Some of the great industrial centres in the Ukraine are to be completed according to original plan, but no new ones built.

Some Projects Dropped

In the plan as adopted, several gigantic public works which were proposed in preliminary drafts have been eliminated. These included

several great dams and electric power stations and half a dozen metallurgy combines. One reason for eliminating them is that they were to be built by the political police, using forced labour, and the great armies of forced labourers have been set to work instead building fortifications along Russia's western borders and new strategic highways and railways.

Recent setbacks in Soviet industry and in economic activity generally are frankly admitted in the official summary of the new plan. These are attributed, as usual, to "wreckers, spies and Trotskyist traitors." There is no hint that official policies might have been at fault, or that "planned economy" or the Bolshevik political system possesses any fundamental defects. Soviet citizens are told once more that they are the most fortunate people in the world, because they have Bolshevism.

Egyptian Delegation and the Indian National Congress

The famous Wafd Party of Egypt, as we all know, played a great role in Egypt's struggle for Independence. So it is very natural that the progressive leaders of Egypt enthusiastically participated in this year's session of the Indian National Congress. Every nationalist Indian cherishes the memory of the great Egyptian leader Zaglul Pasha with the greatest veneration. Mahatma Gandhi, on his way back from the London Round Table Conference, saluted the venerable widow of the Egyptian leader and we were deeply touched by the warm tribute paid to Mahatma Gandhi by our Egyptian brethren on the eve of their departure from Bombay; "Not only in Egypt but in the whole world Gandhiji is considered as the greatest man of modern times for his patriotism, self-denial and principle of truth and non-violence."

We wish godspeed to our friends of Egypt and we express our grateful appreciation to His Excellency Nahas Pasha for his profound interest in India. He went so far as to invite some prominent leaders of India to visit Egypt during the Wafd Conference in Cairo to which we wish all success. Egypt and India have got to vindicate the fundamental rights of the Oriental Nations, threatened on all sides by the vested interest of the Western Powers. The Royal House of Egypt and our next door neighbour Iran are happily unified by marriage ties. This is a happy augury for the solidarity of the nations of the Near East and India.

*The Indian Institute of International Affairs and
the formation of the Calcutta Branch.*

In our last issue we traced the history and activities of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It is rendering yeoman's service, nearly for 20 years, to the cause of International understanding. In March 1936 was inaugurated the Indian Institute of International Affairs which was duly affiliated to the Royal Institute and through it, with the sister institutes in other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In 1936 Sir B. L. Mitter, the Advocate General of India led the discussion meeting on the "Federal Court" and a lecture on "South African View of the Empire" was delivered (Oct. 1936) by

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer, leader of the South African delegation to India. In 1937 two important lectures were delivered ; on "The Situation in Europe", by Lord Lothian and on "Some problems of Indians Abroad" by Mr. Kodanda Rao of the Servant of India Society. In 1938 Lord Samuel addressed the Institute on "International Situation" ; Mr. H. V. Hodson, Editor, *Round Table*, on the "Future of the British Commonwealth", and Mr. Arthur Moore, Editor of the *Statesman* on the "Necessity for a British League of Nations".

In April 1936, the Honourable Sir Mahamed Zafuralla Khan, the first chairman of the Institute, retired and the Honourable Sir B. L. Mitter, was unanimously elected in his place. He took special care in securing adequate representation of India at the Second British Commonwealth Relations Conference, held at Sydney from the 2nd to 17th September, 1938. Indian delegations consisted of three members and a secretary :

1. The Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Leader)
2. Mr. Muhammad Ghiasuddin, M. L. A.
3. Professor Kalidas Nag, and
4. Mr. Syed Amjad Ali, M. L. A. (Secretary).

Pandit Kunzru on his way back visited Fiji, Japan, Hawaii and Malaya. Dr. Kalidas Nag addressed some branches of the Australian and the New Zealand Institutes of International Affairs and after finishing his cultural survey of Australasia Dr. Nag proceeded to Manila, invited by the State University of the Philippines. He delivered there a series of lectures on Indian History and Culture. On his return to India Dr. Nag was invited to co-operate with some members of the Chatham House and of the Indian Institute to organize the Calcutta Branch which was inaugurated (13 March, 1939) with the following personnel :

Chairman : Professor Kalidas Nag, (283 Park Circus,
Calcutta)
Hon. Secretary : Mr. Reay Geddes, C/o Dunlop Co.
P. B. 391, Calcutta.
Hon. Treasurer : Mr. I. M. Stephens, C/o The Statesman,
Calcutta.

Calcutta is an ideal centre for International studies and we hope that an effective study-group on International Affairs, together with a small but select reference library would soon be developed with the co-operation of the progressive citizens of Calcutta.

The Bombay branch of the Institute was also inaugurated (10th Jan, 1939) with Sir Chimanolal Harilal Setalvad as chairman. We hope that Madras and other provincial capitals also would soon have branches of the Indian Institute, developing gradually an All-India tradition in matters of Defence and Foreign Relations, and a World-outlook in the handling of international affairs.

NEW ASIA

Vol. I.

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EDITORIAL

Like individuals, nations or countries come to play the title-role in the drama of history. For the last few centuries we find the continent Europe dominating the stage. In the last few decades, however, there is audible, the ominous questionning *Whither Europe*, not exactly in stage whisper. Serious thinkers of Europe as of other parts of the world have expressed grave doubts with regard to the future of the European nations, caught in the vicious circle of greed and hatred, of ill-gotten wealth and its inequitable distribution. Spengler's cry of the "Downfall of the West" may or may not be worth attending ; but there is a fair amount of unanimity amongst the serious thinkers of Asia and America that Europe is definitely on the downward curve. Before the last world war, the big nations of Europe were at the very peak of prosperity. But when they emerged from that war most of them were bankrupt or on the verge of bankruptcy.

But was the bankruptcy only material or moral as well ? We donot believe in the efficacy of preaching a sermon from outside in a spirit of callous detachment. And we feel deeply for Europe and her cultural legacies ; for Europe, in the interval of her ruthless and inhuman exploitation of the Orient, has none the less unfolded to us the glory and grandeur of her achievements in literature and art, in science and philosophy—priceless treasures which she in about to destroy in another conflagration of hatred. If Europe has no patience to-day to survey objectively her sins of omission and commission with regard to the helpless nations of the world that she exploited,

Europe cannot afford to forget that another general war will bring the European nations on the verge of annihilation. Prophetic voices are not wanting in Europe to warn her against the catastrophe. The ruin of Europe through the curse of imperialism may mean a great loss to human civilisation and incalculable suffering to millions of souls now under the domination of European powers. Hence we ask this very human question : can Europe save herself by working out a new World Order ?

The promise of such a World Order was shown 150 years ago through the momentous pronouncement of three cardinal doctrines of modern society ; Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. France is possibly still the same France geographically and 1789 is not such a remote date in history. We do not know what would be the reactions, psychological and moral, on the European nations of to-day, of the 150th anniversary of the French Revolution. But we Asiatics can not help asking such fundamental questions Where is Liberty to-day and how far extends her jurisdiction ? Has the European incarnations of Liberty fulfilled her promise of liberating the millions of souls in Africa and Asia now under European domination ? Equality between the conqueror and the conquered, the exploiter and the exploited is out of the question we admit ; but has the principle of Equality been applied sincerely and adequately even in Europe's own economic domain ? Why then is this ominous rumbling of class-war, of the challenge of "Haves and Have-nots" ? Undreamt of wealth has flowed into Europe from her cruelly exploited Colonies and Empires but with what result ? Cynicism is writ large on the writings of many of the modern European commentators on Liberty and Equality, so much so that the President of the far-off American Republic could not help making a passionate appeal to the European statesmen. "Leaders of great nations" wrote President. Roosevelt, "have it in their power to liberate their peoples from the disaster that impends. It is equally clear that in their own minds and in their own hearts the peoples themselves desire that their fears be ended." But if the present regime of threat continues, then "much of the world must become involved in common ruin. All the world, victor nations, vanquished nations, and neutral nations, will suffer."

Such warnings do not go to assure us that Europe is busy meditating on Liberty and Equality. And for Fraternity, the third principle of life, need we speculate as to Europe's present attitude ?

However noble and inspiring may be the utterances of European poets, dreamers and thinkers on Fraternity its formulation by the makers of the French Revolution remained more or less abstract and metaphysical. Post-Napoleonic Europe, the so-called epoch of Holy Alliances, opened strangely enough with the most unholy conspiracy of European nations against non-Europeans. Industrialisation of 19th century Europe led inevitably to regimentation with a view to exploiting the resources of Asia and Africa. From the scramble for markets Europe reached the dangerous path of scramble for colonies and empires and thence inevitably to international wars. What to speak of extending the hand of fellowship to non-European nations whose only fault was that they were technically backward, they were considered unworthy of human considerations when they were bled white and even then, ridiculed as "sub-human". If the unfortunate peoples of Africa submitted to these insults, the nations of ancient Orient were whipped into a new sense of self-respect and self-reliance. Turkey was about to be butchered but she startled the world by her capacity of resurrection. Japan was bullied into acceptance of a queer doctrine of "open door" (although most of the Western powers will be happy to-day if Japan prefers to remain indoor !) and Japan emerged as a world power demanding justice and equality on all fronts. China was systematically poisoned (although there is no shortage of sympathy these days for China in Europe), and so many other nations were plundered and degraded to support the inhuman structure of European imperialism.

These positive facts of European politics and economics go ill with European speculations on Charity and Fraternity. "Charity begins at home" was the wise and trite saying and the majority of European men and women thought only of their own home but not of the innumerable hearths and homes ruined by European exploitation. Like charity, fraternity alas had little chance in the European field and, who can say, after a devastating War of Retribution, Europe, if she survives, would possibly turn to the land of Lord Buddha who promulgated the principle of Maitri (Fraternity) 25 centuries ago. The Westerners must outgrow their prejudices against the Dark, the Brown or the Yellow man and learn to rediscover their *brother-man* outside the narrow geographical and political boundaries. All great sons of Asia have proclaimed the Unity of Man and the realization of that unity alone can lead to permanent Peace and real Fraternity.

As Japan Sees Herself

By S. P. Sarma

Editor, "Current Affairs"

International affairs are so complex today that he would be a bold man who could say with confidence that he understood them all right. But his task is rendered more difficult by the persistent propaganda indulged in by all the parties concerned. To her cost, for instance, India knows what propaganda Britain carries on through books, journals, lectures and films. Similarly it looks that the truth about Japan's attitude and activities in the Far East is not fully given out in the daily press in India. Indeed, it would be strange if it were. But of course, all literature on the other side cannot be shut out. Recently I came into possession of a few books written by Japanese authors who view the problem of Japan in a new light. We need not believe all that they say ; nor need we exculpate Japan for the many excesses she might have committed in China in the course of her campaign there. But all the same, we may gain an appreciation of her view-point, and try to see things through her glasses for the time being. Final judgment over her conduct may be reserved till then.

Such was my reaction as I read the books and brooded over what was contained in them. A few facts stood out prominently in my mind. Japan is a very small country with a very huge population, the density of which is the fourth highest in the world. On the other hand, three-fourths of the country is rocky or mountainous, only one-fourth being arable. But even that is not fertile, fruitful cultivation being possible only with the aid of an enormous quantity of fertilisers. The agricultural possibilities of the country are thus very strictly limited, and its salvation lies only in her industrialisation. This fact was recognised by her statesmen long ago, when she at once took steps to build up factories and to increase production on a large scale. But she had difficulties of her own even here. She had to import raw materials and to export finished goods. And in attempting to do so, she naturally came into conflict with powers that were already in

the field. It is now history how by virtue of sheer hard work and efficiency, she carved out a place for herself alongside of the other Powers in respect of a huge foreign trade, and of a large fleet of trading vessels in which to carry on that trade. She has thereby captured some of the markets of the European powers, and no wonder they complain against her. But after all, she only did in the 20th century what they did in the 18th. and 19th centuries. May be, she was unscrupulous at times in her methods of trade expansion. But in the first place, she had to live, and secondly, it is yet to be proved that she was more unscrupulous than the other powers.

Politics and trade are inseparable in the modern world. Witness for instance the financial, commercial and shipping safeguards that Britain has rivetted into the structure of the Government of India Act of 1935 in her own interests. The need for trade expansion gradually led Japan to political conquest of China, but there were other reasons too. About thirty years ago Manchuria was virtually in the hands of Russia, but after the Russo-Japanese War, Japan came to possess special interests in Chinese territory. And today, her capital investments there come to about 2,800, million yen. Politically speaking also Manchoukuo is very important, for just to the north of it, lies Communist Russia. One may have sympathies with the Soviet form of government but the point is that Japan has none, and she would not like a weak China in Manchuokuo unable to stand up to Russia. Besides, immediately to the south of Manchuokuo lies Japan's own territory Korea. And of course, a weak Chinese Manchuria would be no safe neighbour. The western Powers shed many tears over the loss of Chinese integrity, and hold Japan responsible for it. But are they themselves above all blame? They do not themselves agree to give up one iota of the privileges they have extorted from China, while they try at the same time, by means of subtle propaganda to direct all China's anger and the world's opinion against Japan alone. But what are the facts. Interested in selling their armaments, the Western powers have always been busy in keeping the numerous war-lords of China at one another's throat, or the most powerful of them for the time being, directed against Japan. In the result payments for the armaments comes from the agriculturists whose purchasing power thus diverted could not support the nascent cotton industry of the country which in consequence was strangled. Further huge credits were given to China, which, as everybody who understands world-politics know, means a

mortgage of the country to the Western creditors. Of course, Japan understands these manœvers and hence her policy.

She feels she is the natural leader of the Far East. One of her journalists recently put the matter in a frank way to an American audience. "That famous doctrine enunciated by President Monroe was an assertion that the nations of the New world were entitled to guide their destiny without interference from the Old World. We in Japan feel that the Monroe doctrine laid down the principle of regional peace through which alone the world can really attain universal peace." Thus Japan feels that the real cause of trouble in China lies in the interested interference of other powers, who, despite all the blame they lay on the head of Japan, still think of China as a happy hunting ground for themselves. But Japan's position is totally different. To the Western powers China might mean higher dividends but to Japan China means life itself and security. She cannot live in peace when her big neighbour is unable to look after himself, and is leaning on others for all manner of support. That is why she wants to release him from those influences, and of course, substitute her own in their place. She feels that her own security needs nothing less. When she draws the parallel with the U. S. A. and applies the Monroe doctrine to herself, it is indeed hard to answer. The only difference between America and Japan is that the former asserted the doctrine and maintained it before other powers could come into the field; but in the case of Japan, other powers are already there, and creating troubles ostensibly in the interest of China but really in their own. Fundamentally, however, the position of Japan seems to be sound.

So far, Japan's case has been viewed objectively. But she claims a philosophy too. And none may raise a sneering smile at this who bears in mind the tall talk about the inherent justice etc. obtaining in what is pompously known as the British Commonwealth of Nations. Japan claims the spirit of Musubi. This has been described in the following manner "By observing the unbroken rotation of the seasons and the happy multiplication of living creatures, our ancestors perceived the existence of a power or principle which operates in nature creating, nourishing and multiplying all manner of things. They called this power Musubi. ... Musubi thus signifies the function of creative love that fosters life. It is the cosmic principle which brings abundance to life, and magnifies truth and beauty." It is difficult to understand the spirit of Musubi by such descriptions as this, but there is no doubt that it supplies to the Japanese their source of inspiration, that it constitutes their message. Their activities are only the outer expression of that inner urge in them, they are Musubi in practice. It is not possible for anyone to agree with all that the Japanese say or do; but it is necessary none the less to understand their view-point, and to appreciate it for what it is worth.

Jottings

History often plays pranks and sometimes such jokes are cruel but the pranks of history are often highly significant. The first quarter of the 19th century witnessed the collapse of Bonapartism and it had its strange counter-parts in the 20th century collapse of Kaiserism. We are nearly approaching the end of the first half of the 20th century and yet we are not sure what would be our reply if any stock-taking is made with regard to the positive achievements of our 20th century towards the cause of human civilization. Naively our 19th century predecessors developed theories of Freedom and Justice while building up the portentous fabric of European Imperialism. Africa was the first victim and Asia was the second in the list. But then came the "revolt of the angels" and the chapter of modern Paradise Lost which neither Anatole France nor Milton suspected. Very poor record indeed for the Westerner who complacently opened this new era as "a wonderful century."

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The United States of America participated for a while in the tragic World War only to recoil in horror from European orgies of ferocity and destruction. So-called civilized Europeans perpetrated vandalisms and brutalities on a scale undreamt of by Attila and Tamerlane. The destruction of national assets were roughly calculated by experts of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and its learned President Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler recently made a statement at the New York World's Fair (May 4, 1939) which we quote below :

"In the last war, there was destroyed a value equal to five countries like France plus five countries like Belgium. Should there be another war to-morrow, that destruction might be five countries like Great Britain or five countries like the U. S. A. And what would history have to say of that 100 or 200 years from to-day, as a comment upon our intelligence, our courage and our capacity to maintain a civilization on the high plane --what ?"

We are not yet sure if this is a mere sermon or a challenge from America. We are sure only of this that Europe has proved to be a dangerous school-master.

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The nations of New Asia should be specially alert in reading the signals of history. In good faith, Asia welcomed Europe in the 19th century and alas in so many cases there have been betrayals of faith ! European invasions into the domain of Oriental politics and economics of education and culture have produced serious complications as Mahatma Gandhi pointed out with regard to India and as the future leaders of China, we hope, will point out when they have the capacity to rewrite the history of the Opium wars and of the Concessions and Extra-territorialities. The missions of Lord Macartney in 1793 to the Chinese Emperor Chieng Lung and of Lord Amherst to Emperor Chia Chung in 1816 were followed by so many other different types and shades of European missions ! The smothered voice of oriental humanity may be heard once more.

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Forgetting if we can the political and military obsessions of this age, let us remember that the cause of peace and mutual understanding could be best served if trade and barter may be permitted to develop amongst nations. From this point of view it is significant that Japan sells silk to America and buys cotton in return. Australia sells wool to Japan. India sells cotton to Japan and buys piece-goods in return. The trade and commerce of the Anglo-Saxon peoples are bound up with Japan.

Homogeneous Grouping as aid to Teaching

By Professor E. J. Colgon

Colby College. U.S.A.

I

It is my responsibility to present within a quarter of an hour the most representative arguments of those who believe that homogeneous grouping on the bases of I. Q.'s and E. Q.'s is an aid to modern methods of teaching. Necessarily, I shall have to be brief and direct.

It is my conviction that a technical subject of this kind cannot be profitably essayed without reference to some fundamental principles to which the statements and claims made in argument can be referred. Without expressing a whole social philosophy as a frame of reference, let me state two or three principles upon which I find that I have based for a long time my own educational thinking.

First, I am in agreement with Colin A. Scott, who, a quarter of a century ago, in his book *Social Education*, said that society sends the child to school for what it can get out of him, in the way of social security to which he must contribute, of economic efficiency, of constructive use of his abilities, with due recognition of this individuality, and his right to fullest self-realization.

Now, if we are to get the most "out of" the child and help him most fully to discover his native aptitudes, it is logically clear that we must know everything we can learn about the child, and must especially seek for the most dependable methods and instruments by which his capacities can be discovered.

To date, admitting its limitations, we shall probably all agree that there is no one available measure so valuable to the educator as the Intelligence Quotient when it is carefully derived and sensibly used. I have to assume, of course that it should not be necessary for me to use any part of our limited time in explanation or defense of the I. Q., or of the E. Q. Most school men are now willing to accept these as significant diagnostic instruments. Without joining the extremists among mental measurers, I am strongly

of the opinion that these quotients are also, in expert hands, desirable selective instruments.

II

Considering the I. Q. and E. Q.—supported by teacher judgments and the whole record of the child—as selective instruments, let us next consider the validity of the principle of segregation based upon the use of these instruments. Our question now becomes: Why segregate?

This leads me to my second thesis, namely, that American education must now awaken to the need of preparing *leaders* of American democracy or become, however unwittingly, another of the agencies whose incompetence is betraying the American people.

Will Durant told a Colby College audience a short time ago that we are attempting to guide the destinies of one of the greatest nations of the world under the direction and stewardship of second-to-fourth-rate intelligences and personalities, and that we have made education a liability rather than an asset in public office. Whether or not we agree with him that we are being swamped out by super-prolific inferior breeds, we are forced to admit that the history of our people during the past two or three generations provides clear evidence that there has been an unrecognized but nevertheless explicit enough "conspiracy to mediocrity"!

We have been voluble in declarations about democracy in education until the term has almost lost any distinction whatever. Let us not fall into the error of offering statistics of mass attendances in schools and colleges as proof of the efficacy and the superiority of the American educational system. Rather, let us most searchingly apply available qualitative as well as quantitative tests to our products. Perhaps it will prove only too true that, with all our talk of literacy and educational facilities, we have mostly succeeded in only making mediocrity articulate.

In educational philosophy I am far from being an autocrat, nor am I one who clamours for an "aristocracy of brains." I hope I see life more in the round than that. I know that there are other values both individual and national than those of lean intellect. In fact, my philosophy is a definitely social one. Because of this very socialized concept I am convinced that it is all the more incumbent upon education in a democracy to select and train its dis-

covered or discoverable leaders. Whatever else we may do that is humane, just, praiseworthy, we *must* do this. It is only avoiding the issue when we claim that, inasmuch as society in general is heterogenous, mixed with competent and incompetent, good and bad, we should be content to imitate the social setting in this respect. However sentimental we have been in the past and satisfied with sloganeers who dinned us to deafness with shouted "Equality ! Equality !", we are now at last forced, by a long social and economic drought into a position of realism.

For a democracy, of all forms of social organizations, there is but one equality in education that is worth the whole-hearted dedication of educators, and that is the equality of equitable opportunity to achieve the fullest intellectual-cultural-moral stature of which each individual member of our society is capable, it being understood and expected, indeed imposed, that these traits and developed abilities will be dedicated to the welfare of the society which has made their flowering possible. Then shall we have a leadership dedicated to social welfare, motivated by social approbation and concepts of honour, and competent to lead a great nation into social adulthood and international maturity.

My thesis, then, is *selection*. I believe it is imperatively necessary for our schools to exercise vigorously and rigorously this function, especially at the secondary-school level. We should apply it even though it eventually appears that we shall have to create another institution, or a different kind of school to take care of the social-economic fashioning of those who cannot profitably continue in our present academic-cultural institutions.

III

Having established the necessity for selection of pupils in terms of intellectual and scholastic ability, our next step is to support the claim that "homogeneous grouping", is an aid to modern methods of teaching. Inasmuch as methods of teaching are not ends in themselves, I herewith depose that we are not really under obligation to consider at length the question of the contribution to teaching methodology of homogeneous grouping of I. Q. and E. Q. All these are on a par, in one category, as they all are really methods or instrumentalities, not ends. They are all subordinate to the social outcomes which I have made an effort to define and which I believe they must

support. However, I think there is evidence to support the statement that selectively segregated classes are taught more easily and more efficiently than non-segregated, with the achievement of socially desirable results. At least, my own contacts with schools so organized and the reports of former students of mine now teaching and administering such classes, provide support for the claim.

In the literature relating to this subject, which it is my purpose next to scan, we have to find our way through conflicting opinions. Nearly six years ago, Professor McGaughy made an excellent presentation in the journal, *Childhood Education* (March 1930), of arguments for homogeneous grouping, and stated his own convictions in opposition. Of course, before that article appeared, this subject had already become a controversial one, and the controversy has endured down to this present hour. Differences of opinion and conclusions drawn even from the experimental field seem to result in each case in opposed conclusions. Be it noted that the arguments on both sides rely very much on theoretical considerations and the facts, when cited, are themselves subject to certain scientific and statistical tests that make some of them of doubtful validity.

In support of Professor McGaughy, we find the following :

Alice V. Keliher (Teachers College, Contributions to Education, No. 42. Columbia University, 1931), in one of the most thorough studies of the subject, declared that present standardized tests of intelligence and of learning are not dependable. She also claimed that any great reduction of variations by sorting pupils into relatively stable groups is impossible ; that a high regard for homogeneity as a general phase of organization may lead to mediocrity. And a group of individuals may be homogeneous in one narrow trait and not in other traits ; therefore, a general homogeneity of the whole range of traits would be impossible, as would likewise be the differentiation of curricula to recognize individual needs. We have her opinion for it that discouragement and suppression are not so likely to result if children are functioning in a heterogeneous, non-competitive group. Note the assumption that homogeneous groups are essentially competitive. We might also quarrel with her claim that "Segregation is dangerous for mental health and therefore, homogeneous grouping is not desirable," since it suggests a blindness to the every-day evidence of mental

In these citations from the educational journals I am depending in most part on condensed reports provided by the Loyola Educational Digest.

distresses found in the ordinary non-segregated classes. With one observation of hers, however, we will all agree, when she counsels that educational processes must be considered in terms of their social consequences. (L. E. D., 1525)

Laurence B. Brink (March 26, 1932, (*School and Society*) states that he had abandoned ability grouping in the Monticello Junior High School, Clevel and Heights, Ohio. He felt that such grouping broke down on the following counts :

1. The groups cannot, except in the very large school, be organized with statistical validity. (His argument is based on sigma measures of the normal curve.)

2. Administrative difficulties, especially when elective subjects and failures are involved, are very complicated.

3. The bases of classification are not satisfactory, especially when measures of social and mechanical intelligence are not included with general intelligence measures.

4. Teaching procedures can be better adapted to individual needs by differential assignments in the non-segregated class.

5. Segregation is not consonant with the unselected organization found in the outside world.

He is obliged to admit, however, that all the good things he claims for non-segregaion depend ultimately upon the experience, ability, and good sense of the teacher ; that only the best teacher can be very successful with dull pupils under any type of organisation. He also says that the brighter pupils will do pretty well with any kind of teacher, with which last statement we most heartily disagree ! (L. E. D., 1670).

IV

If we turn now to the affirmative side, we shall find plenty of support from the fields of theory and practice in behalf of segregation. We find Dr. Frank N. Freeman, writing nearly twelve years ago (*Educational Review*, November 1924) to the effect that consideration of homogeneous grouping from three points of view-psychological, social, educational has convinced him that such grouping is advantageous to child, to school, and to society. He specifically insists that it does not lead to educational determinism, because it does not determine the limits of the development of the individual ; that it does not brand the inferior pupil. For, although intelligence tests make distinc-

tions a little clearer, and grouping makes them more obvious, "(a) The distinctions were not created by the test ; (b) grouping diminishes a much more harmful way of directing attention to inferiority, which is to retard the pupils who fail ; (c) these distinctions exist everywhere in life and the school should train children to adopt the right attitude towards them ; (d) children must be trained to find happiness by choosing the type of work in which they can accomplish the most ; and, finally, grouping makes it possible for the dull pupil to work to his full capacity." (L. E. D., 192)

An interesting report of a questionnaire study made by Austin H. Turney and M. G. Hyde (School Review, October 1931) gives a *resume* of the answers of 645 junior high school pupils whose attitudes to ability grouping were sought. Asked : "Have any other pupils ever said anything to you that would make you feel you would like to be in any other group ?" their replies were : Yes 17 per cent ; No, 82 per cent ; No Answer, 1 per cent. The pupils who answered "Yes" to this question were asked to tell what comments had been made. The writer's interpretation of the number and type of replies received was : "Considering the frankness of junior high school youth, there is small comfort in these data for those emotional critics who lament the bad effects existing from "stigma !" (L. E. D., 1934)

In the December 1931 issue of *Childhood Education*, Dr. Arthur S. Otis answers the criticisms presented in that journal the preceding year. Apropos of the claims that homogeneous grouping does not respect the personality of the pupil, that it is artificial, that it is not accompanied by differentiated instruction, that individual needs are neglected, he counters by arguments summarized as follows :

"Ability grouping best enables the teacher to 'respect the personality of the pupil. It is in accord with common practice of adults to classify themselves in life. It immeasurably lightens the teacher's burdens. Since dull pupils *must* be taught, the teacher should prefer teaching them in a separate class. If some teachers do dislike teaching dull pupils, the cause will probably be found in the administration. Many teachers take special courses to enable them to teach special classes for dull pupils. Homogeneous grouping makes dull pupils less conscious of their dullness and enables the capability of brighter pupils to be brought out, and, most important of all, it enables dull pupils to *succeed* though the goal be a lesser one, rather than *fail* because the standard is set too high. What true statements

the critic makes in his arguments against homogeneous grouping are for the most part *cautions against improper technique.*"

Dr. Charles W. Odell declared in the September 18, 1931, issue of the *University of Illinois Bulletin*. "It is not true that, when grouped homogeneously by the best methods now known, pupils show almost as great a range of variability as they did before." He insists that there is ample evidence that homogeneous grouping produces better learning results and that it does provide better for individual differences. Nor does such grouping necessarily assume that only things which count are the common academic skills. Grouping does not disregard children's power to do creative work and to perceive aesthetic values. It also, states Odell, causes us to center more attention on the individual and his needs. (L. E. E., 1624).

In the January 1933 issue of the *Journal of Educational Research*, Dr. Harl R. Douglass holds as unconvincing the arguments offered against homogeneous grouping. He particularly challenges Burr's doctoral study, pointing out that marks made in the previous grade, repeatedly found superior to intelligence-test scores and achievement-test scores, were not used as a basis of grouping. He states that all three of these methods should be used. In computing the amount of overlapping, tests were employed which measured achievements in all the previous grades as well as that in which the pupils were classified at the time. Burr, he says, has shown that the pupils as *classified* were not equal in educational status, but he has not shown that they were not equal in their ability to achieve. Douglass criticizes the statistical technique used, and maintains that a better measure than percentile rank is the extent to which pupils are placed in the right section. He also criticizes most of the experimental studies reported in educational journals, because control groups were not employed. Where these were used, they showed gains more frequently than losses for heterogeneous groups.

Douglass further advises that grouping separately for each subject is more likely to produce homogeneous groups than a grouping for all subjects. And that, if pupils are grouped for all subjects, there will be such lack of homogeneity in art, penmanship, drawing, music, physical education and shop subjects, that either separate regrouping for these must be made or no attempt be made to differentiate instruction in them. He also is convinced that homo-

geneous grouping does not necessarily interfere with the education of the whole child. (L. E. D., 1847).

The January 1934 issue of *Educational Method* carries a report of a questionnaire survey made by Orlie Clem and Lydia Wroath of homogeneous grouping in junior high schools in cities of 100,000 population or over. The enrollments varied from 6 schools of less than 500 to 8 schools of 2000-2500 pupils. Of the 80 schools reporting, 61 had a definite system of homogeneous grouping, 10 had some modified form, and 9 had none. Three fourths of the schools that grouped pupils employed from 3 to 9 factors as a basis for selection. Grouping on one factor is not characteristic of current practice. Some of the factors most frequently used by these schools were I. Q., M.A., teachers' records in present class, A. Q., C. A., school marks in previous grade, and teachers' judgments of intelligence.

A marked majority—from 50 to 64 of the 71 schools using segregation reported in regard to certain administrative problems that : grouping is done within the first week, that it tends to increase the possibilities of individual development, that the course of study for the different groups is basically the same, but that the curriculum is adapted to the groups by means of differentiated instruction, that transfers are made of misfit pupils and reclassifications made when occasion demands it. In general, they found the sections originally made remained intact in the various school subjects.

The principals of these schools predominantly reported that the bright pupils do not become egotistical, that it is not their practice to consider the grouping permanent through the junior high school life of the pupil, that it does not tend to stigmatize the pupils, that dull pupils are not dissatisfied with their groups nor does the bright child put forth less effort, and that all groups are not marked according to the same absolute standard of attainment.

Under the head of adaptation to the different groups the following methods are used by one half or more of the 71 schools : enrichment with supplementary work, intensive work for creative self-expression, excursions to places of interest, course for manual and motor development, differentiated assignments within the group. On the whole, pupils, teachers, and parents were markedly in favour of the grouping methods used in these schools (L. E. D. 2007).

Harriet Barthelmess and P. A. Boyer reported (December 1932 issue of the *Journal of Educational Research*) the results of an

experimental study of ability grouping in five Philadelphia schools. The pupils were of the 4B grade enrolled in September 1930 and February 1931. The experimental groups were equated with control schools, which did not have homogeneous grouping, on the basis of ability in arithmetic, reading, written English, Geography reading, Otis Classification Index, and chronological age. Teachers were approximately equal in respect to ratings. The authors found a significant difference in favour of homogeneous groups with regard to improvement of arithmetic, reading, and technical English skills. They felt that this superiority was not due to greater professional stimulation of these five schools, because they had been organized under a grouping system for five years. Furthermore, the superiority was evident not only in the complete group, but also in each of the classification levels.

It must be admitted here that Barthelmess and Boyer present a restricted affirmative to our argument by their conclusion that : "It may be that the final question of 'to group homogeneously or not so to group' cannot be answered by statistical analysis. The few variables which are objectively measurable are closely associated with other factors for which no satisfactory measurement exists. Consequently it is difficult to apply strictly the law of the single variable .. However, the results of the present study offer exceedingly strong evidence that homogeneous grouping can be a factor in securing improvement in certain important skill subjects." (L. E. D., 1806.)

In concluding this survey of opinions and practices, I submit that the evidence supports the claim that homogeneous grouping on the bases of I. Q. 's is an aid to modern methods of teaching. As a method, that seems clearly enough established. With reference to the wider implications of a social philosophy, I am also convinced that selective segregation is a *sine qua non* in any realistic concept of American education based upon the plainly etched facts of human nature and the very evident needs of our country.

Shinto the National Religion of Japan.

By Savitri Devi Litt. D. (Lyon)

Among the very old religions of the world, there are few which are still, to-day, living forces and Shinto is one of them. I call "very old" religions, those of which it is impossible to fix the foundation in the historical period.

It is still more difficult to find, now-a days, one of these religions without a beginning, so to say, to play a part in the life of a great modern industrialized nation. And Shinto plays such a part in Japan. It is, therefore, interesting to study Shinto not merely from a scholarly point of view, but from the simple angle of vision of an average man who reads his newspaper every day, but who thinks, after reading.

Shinto, from two words that mean "The way of the Gods," has a few features in common with another religious system which has been since times immemorial, and which is still, alive force in Asia : Hinduism.

Like Hinduism, it has no founder. It has not grown around the personality of any particular Incarnation or Prophet, not under the impulse given by any particular inspired Scripture, handed from Heaven to Earth at a certain time. Its marvellous geneologies take us back long long before the date ascribed by scholars to Jimmutenno, the first historical Emperor of Japan. No body has taught the Japanese, its symbolism and its rites. Like Hinduism, it has no dogmas. One can have any religious philosophy he pleases, and be a follower of Shinto. There is nothing in it which can justify the name of "religion", in the sense of European Christianity. It could be compared, at the most, with the ancient European national religions,—Greek, Germanic, Celtic etc, which flourished before Christianity.

Like them, like Hinduism and like every old religion, whether it has perished or survived, Shinto was primitively and is still a cult of Nature under its most dutiful and beneficent manifestations.

Among the well-known deities of Shinto are the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu Omi-Kami, and her brother, the impetuous Susa-no-wo who incarnates the beauty and horror of the tempest as well as what

one would call, in terms of European mythology, the "Dionysian impulse," both in nature and in them.

These Gods and Goddesses are the objects of marvellous stories related in the first part of the Nihongi, the official Annals of Japan published by imperial order in 729 A.D., and in the Kojiki, published a few years before. The phantastic character of many of their adventures, is by no means less than that of the Hindu "Puras". They transport us into a world where the most unexpected things are possible. But just as in other very old religions, there is, under all these fancies, a poetical symbolisation of the eternal natural laws; and there is also, probably what is more, a hidden science that those who understand the esoteric language can explain.

Another character of this religion, which it shares with the other old ones to which we referred, and with Hinduism, is its suppleness, its capacity of assimilating new elements without losing anything of its proper features. When Buddhism was most powerful in Japan, and when Shinto had to compromise with it by taking the form of "Ryobu-Shinto", then the priests associated the Hindu god Varuna and the local diety of Sumigoshi, near Osaka. They thus revealed a new Sea God, now known as Sin-Tengo. Instances could be multiplied and not only local gods, and gods of a foreign origin, but also men and women remarkable for their great deeds, or for their marvellous or pathetic destiny, have from time to time found a place among the eighty millions of Japanese "Kamis". Such is the case of the celebrated Empress Jingo, who led the first expedition against Korea, about 200 A.D. and who is regarded as one of the Kamis of the Sea. There is no reason for this process of deification to come to an end. Shinto is not a religious system which is still complete once for ever. It is a flowing current of living inspiration, and therefore is susceptible of addition as well as of evolution; and it has, in fact, been undergoing many changes since the by-gone days. But the very sketch of its own evolution will show that, from the beginning, it has always followed the same main lines and will throw light upon its main distinctive feature which is to be, before anything else and more than anything else, a purely national religion.

This feature separates definitely Shinto from the wide-spread world religions, such as Christianity and Islam, as well as from

Hinduism. The world-religions would be better called "democratical" religions, in the sense that they are founded upon the belief in the "equal right of all mankind to share the salvation they offer through faith in a certain revealed truth." Any body can become a true Christian or a true Muslim and, taken in their essence, both Christianity and Islam are forces destructive of nationality, like most of the democratical world forces.

No doubt, Shinto is a religion of Nature. The prominent place occupied in it by *Amaterasu Omi-Kami* the Sun Goddess, would be sufficient to prove this point. But, like all very old religions, "the cult of nature", in Shinto, means, the cult of the Motherland in all her beauty namely, here, the cult of Japan.

In Japan, Nature is really loved and venerated, and is given in national as well as in individual life, a greater place than art. Art itself is understood as something to be entirely in harmony with the natural surroundings, and not to attract attention at their expense. This conception is due, to a great extent, to the influence of Shinto.

A Shinto temple is not a showy building : It is simple and discreet. The beauty of it lies in the thick trees that hide it from a distance ; in the landscape one discovers suddenly, from the top of its steps, the marvellous back-ground of dark green mountains that one can admire from its monumental portico, before reaching it. Every body knows the devotion of the Japanese for the Mount Fuji Yama, the residence of the diety *Sengen Sama*, and the highest mountain in Japan. Numerous are the pilgrims who, every year, ascend the Fuji, and, with the greatest respect, salute from the top of it, the Rising Sun. But the Fuji, though the most celebrated, is not only sacred mountain : the Mount Outake, in the province of Shinano, the Mount Mantaj, near the Lake of Chuzenji, the volcano Aso, in the province of Hiso, name also their deities, and their pilgrims. Nearly every place, well-known for the beauty of the Rising or the Setting Sun, is a sacred place. Such instances, however, are common and one could find any amount of them outside Japan. In Shinto, there is still more than the cult of Japan's natural beauty ; there is the belief, illustrated by well-known stories, that Japan is actually divine, both by its very soil, by its ruling dynasty and by its people, that it is not a country like any other.

Nothing is more sacred to a Japanese, than his Emperor. For many countries "Shikkens" (regents) and "Shoguns" (ministers) have

practically governed Japan in the place of the Emperors themselves. But the person of an Emperor, son of Amaterasu, possessor of the three symbols of power, the Jewel, the Sword and the Mirror handed by her to Minigi, when he was installed Lord of Japan and living incarnation of Japan itself, with all its past and all its traditions which begins in Heaven, was always inviolable, and regarded with religious devotion. In the days when the Hojo "Shikkens" (Governor-General) were almighty, one of the Emperors, Go-Toba, manifested his will not only to exist as a symbol, but to use his power and govern from the Court of Kyoto, and therefore, come into a clash with Yasutoki, the regent of Kamakura, at that time. An army, commanded by Yasutoki, son of the Regent was sent against Kyoto. Before his departure, Yasutoki asked his father what he would have to do in the case the Emperor would be himself at the head of his army. The answer of Yasutoki is full of significance: "If it is not the Emperor who commands, then fight until you die. But if it is His Majesty, then, throw off your armour and cut the string of your bow. One should not resist an Emperor". The result of this spirit, pure expression of the traditions of Shinto, upon the Japanese soul, is that the long series of the Japanese Emperors from Jimmu Tenno up to now-a-days, present the sole instance in the world of an unbroken dynasty, as old as the country which it is ruling. The first article of the Japanese constitution of 1889 says: "The Empire of a Japan will be ruled by Emperors of that dynasty which has reigned, without interruption throughout all the past centuries".

The history of the development of Shinto, is the history of a long evolution, parallel to that of Japan itself. For the sake of conveniences, it can be divided into four periods:—

- (1) Ancient Shinto, as it was before the 6th century A. D., when Buddhism was introduced in Japan.
- (2) The "Ryobu-Shinto", a sort of compromise between the two religions, which begins during the 8th century and lasts a long time.
- (3) The Revival of pure Shinto during the 18th century.
- (4) Modern official Shinto.

It is more than probable that Shinto has not remained static during these long centuries. Ancient Shinto, as it is known to us, is the result of innumerable local traditions, slowly put together and moulded into a consistent whole. As we have said it is something

essentially simple, containing as much beauty as it could get from the daily contact of an artistic race with natural manifestations alternately charming or terrible, with trees full of flowers, on the one hand, and with frequent typhoons and earthquakes on the other ; it contains also, as much truths as the fresh intuitive power of that race could grasp, during those far gone days. It is then a national religion, in the sense that every primitive religion is. Cult and government are expressed by the word *Matsuriyoto*, meaning "a solemn thing", and the Emperors from the beginning, is considered as the highest Priests, though several classes of priests existed already in those days. At the great sanctuary of Ise, where the three symbols were kept, the divine ancestor of the Emperors was worshipped, and seven times a year the Imperial envoys would go there. When some great danger threatened the nation, petitions were sent there to the Deity.

Buddhism, already much altered since the missionaries of Asoke had preached it as far as they could, reached Japan, through Korea, during the reign of the Emperor Kimmei, in the middle of the 6th century A. D. But it only became popular a few years later, under the government of the saintly Shotoku Taishi, prince imperial and regent during the reign of Empress Suiko. Shotoku Taishi died in 621 A. D. and the success of Buddhism was greatly due to him.

It is not here the place to retrace the history of Buddhism in Japan. One thing is important that it never got into conflicts with Shinto ; but Shinto had to compromise with it and actually did so.

From the 8th to the 18th century flourished in Japan, what is known as "Ryobu-Shinto" or Shinto under a double aspect ; this doctrine, which has itself undergone an evolution, throughout that long period, is the result of the compromise.

Ryobu Shinto could easily last a long time for there could be no philosophical conflict between the two religions that it combined. Ryobu Shinto is pure Shinto, plus Hindu metaphysics imported through Buddhism. No doctrinal problem could arise in the midst of it, for there is no contradiction between Hindu metaphysics, (or any kind of metaphysics) and no metaphysics at all.

Ryobu Shinto flourished until a reaction of another type came, during the 18th century. This reaction is not an isolated phenomenon. It is closely connected with the entirely new atmosphere which penetrates Japan during the rule of the last Tokugawa Shoguns. Many

have put stress upon the interest in modern sciences, that arises in Japan at that time, preparing the future industrialization of the country and its expansion during the Meiji era. But along with this curiosity for foreign technique, there was, however strange it may seem, a hankering after the oldest traditions of Japanese government, of Japanese literature, or Japanese religion and life.

The renaissance of pure Shinto goes side by side with the movement in favour of the restoration of the Emperor's effective power, and with the literary movement *Wagakusha* in favour of a style of writing devoid of Chinese influence. No doubt, also, that these two movements were strongly influenced by the renaissance of pure Shinto.

This reaction, aiming to get rid of Chinese influence in religion as well as in life, brings the people back to the simplicity and virtues of ancient days, and had several great supporters among whom the most celebrated one is *Motoori Norinaga* (1730-1801).

Revived Shinto, and modern Shinto, which is the present stage of its evolution is based upon a conscious ideology, upon what one can call a theory and that theory was well expressed during 19th century by *Hirata Atsutane* (1776-1843), a supporter of a *Wagakusha* movements, and a disciple of *Motoori Norinaga*, who, just as his master used to assert not only the divine right of the Emperors to actually govern, but also the divine origin of the Japanese people and their superiority in courage and intelligence over all the peoples of the world. Just as before, men of great deeds are venerated as Gods. But there is no deed greater, to the eyes of a Japanese, than to die for one's Emperor and country in the battle field. In the midst of busy, noisy Europeanized modern Tokyo, there is a park where a little temple can be seen. It is consecrated to those who have died for Japan during the last wars, and who have become "Kamis." Once in a year, with great solemnity, the Emperor himself, the living God of Japan, son of the Rising Sun, comes and worships them.

Loyalty to the throne, a great virtue of Shinto, has by no means diminished since the "modernization" of the country. It is the national virtue of Japan, and it expresses itself as it does nowhere else. In 1912, when His Majesty *Matsuhito* (Meiji tenno) died the general Maresuki Nogi, famous in the Russo-Japanese war, and his wife, quietly put an end to their lives by the traditionnal rite of *seppuku*. And in 1926, after the death of the Emperor *Yoshihito* (Taisho), the baron

Takeda acted in the same way. They kept up in their own way and of their own free will, the old tradition of "junshi", according to which, when a master died, his faithful servants had to die too, to continue serving him beyond death.

One can say that modern Shinto, essentially with a political and moral attitude, is centered around nationalism, and a national ritual. It never was anything else. However, its evolution is a fact. Its evolution lies in a greater *consciousness* of its value as a national force, in more and more stress put upon its national significance. As a simple primitive religion it had no metaphysical back-ground. Nor has it any now. But a national philosophy, a sort of racism,—based upon the belief in the superiority of the Japanese people and the sacredness of the Japanese Emperor, has, with more force, as centuries passed by, became its philosophy. Many have said that it has no moral teaching. It is not strictly correct. In old Shinto,—like in all very old religions,—a "sin" was a ritual mistake, before anything else ; but, with time, a national code of morals, with loyalty, self-sacrifice to the country, courage etc. as its main virtues, took its place next to the racist philosophy of Shinto. That moral ideal one have already put down in a few words ; it consists of being a true Japanese.

It is a beautiful thing to see that, inspite of its intense mechanization during the last seventy years, Japan has kept its rites and customs. One cannot but be impressed while reading the description of the funeral of the late Emperor Yoshihito (Taisho), hardly more than ten years ago, with all the archaic ceremonial of Shinto, with the funeral chariot, dragged by five oxen, chosen for their special colours and built in such a way that its wheels in turning around, would give out seven different melancholic sounds.

One cannot but admire the survival of the Shinto rites of old, in honour of the very same Gods, and in the very simple wooden temples, hidden amongst thick shady trees and white cryptomeria flowers.

But something is more remarkable still ; it is the official consecration of the old rites, and the living presence of the old spirit, not merely among the masses, but among the "intelligentsia" of Japan, in touch with the modern world.

Shinto managed to survive inspite of the enormous prestige of Buddhism, by mingling itself for a time with the Indian creed, by accepting and transforming its pantheon, and slowly altering its spirit ; for who

can say that a Japanese Buddhist of today, even if he does not frequent the Buddhist and Shintoist temples, is not as penetrated as anybody can be with the Shintoist outlook ? It has, behind it, a long tradition of priesthood, of popular beliefs, of immemorial rites. And that is necessary to make a religion. Its racist philosophy, however purely political it may seem, is entangled with all these things. It has, slowly and unconsciously, grown out of them. It has then become conscious, as a force of reaction, as an impetus of national self-defence, and has recognized them as visible and living symbols of its existence, nay, as the material objects "in which it resided", similar to a divine entity. They were neither created nor recreated by it. That seems to be the strength of Shinto on the basis of a certain narrow definition of the word ; one may deny it the name of "religion", considering especially modern Shinto and call it a mere political philosophy. It is anyhow a very simple philosophy, having all the advantages of a popular religion, and perhaps some other too.

For, after all, love is the great force amongst human beings—not metaphysics ; and ritualistic nationalism, as a cult of a country's ruler, and as a cult of nature worshipped through the beauty of a particular country, is far from ignoring love. Otherwise, accomplishing an archaic rite of superhuman loyalty, how could now-a-days men have wilfully died, just because their contemporary Emperor of the unbroken Solar Dynasty had passed away ?

All Men are Brothers

Yomo-no-umi Mina harakara to Omo yo ni
Nado namikaza no Tachi-sawagu ran.

Surely in this world men are brothers all,
One family !
Then why do winds and waves on all the seas
Rage stormily ?

Emperor Meiji

Siam in New Asia

By Anil Kumar Mukherjee M. A.

We are all busy in discussing the politics of the countries in Europe. But little do we think of Asiatic countries like Siam and Tibet that are our next-door neighbours. I am afraid that most of us are in blissful ignorance about Siamese affairs. Yet Siam was one of those countries where the Indians have once played a prominent part, especially in religion and culture.

Siam is the last free state of Indo-China. She was so long subject to the influence of two great Powers—France and Britain. In course of time, France and Britain have annexed a good deal of Siamese territory. It was the rivalry of France and Britain that saved Siam from utter destruction. In 1904 France and Britain entered into an agreement by which “the two contracting parties gave up any idea of annexing any Siamese territory.” In spite of this they did not hesitate to appropriate Siamese territories, whenever there was an opportunity to do so.

But matter began to be different with the rise of Japan. As Japan grew more and more powerful in the East, France and Britain became tacitly the watchful custodians of Siamese independence.

It is recently that Siam has at last awakened from her age-long slumber. The two figures that loom large in the making of a modern Siam are Phya Bahol, President of the council and Luang Pradist, the Foreign minister. It was they who brought about the revolution in Siam in June 1932 ; and it was they who transformed the absolute rule into a constitutional monarchy.

Phya Bahol has now, more or less, the status of a dictator in Siam. Phya Bahol is an avowed enemy of Communism, though Luang Pradist seems to be a radical. Under their leadership, Siam is trying with long strides to keep pace with the modern states of the world. Public services have been organised ; municipalities have been created ; police system has been thoroughly reformed ; broadcasting stations have been installed in the various parts of the country and medical

*Based on a paper by Maria Vismara in *Asiatica*, Rome

colleges have been established. Efforts are being made to educate the masses in the common hygienic rules. Schools for agriculture, commerce, engineering, dance and fine arts have been founded. And Siam is also sending students to England, France, Italy, Germany, United States of America, Japan and even to India—to specialise in the various branches of Arts and Sciences.

Siamese trade had been so long in the hands of the Chinese. Siam seems suddenly to be conscious of it. She is now trying to eliminate the undesirable Chinese elements.

Siam is now busy with reorganising her army thoroughly. Now in time of peace, she has a standing army of 60000 men, thoroughly trained in the art of modern warfare. And in case of mobilisation at any time, the number may reach 300000.

Siam has just turned her attention to build up a strong navy. Already more than 25 units have been ordered in Japan, Italy and England. She is also constructing a new port in Bangkok.

Siam is one of the three countries of the East which realised for the first time the significance of aviation in modern warfares. As early as 1924, there were four big aerodromes in Siam, at Song-Khla, Ubon, Chiangmai and Donmaung. These were provided with all necessary services. Lately new aerodromes have been constructed in most of the important districts of the country.

Siam of today is quite different from Siam a few years ago. She is now no longer meek and weak as she was. She can face the foreign powers as their equals. She is now bold enough to ask for a revision of the treaties concluded by her with the different foreign powers on unequal terms. On Nov 5, 1936, she repudiated all the treaties, then existing with the different foreign powers. She concluded fresh treaties at different dates with those powers on the basis of perfect equality. It is a unique achievement for her in the international politics.

Siam is now grown so bold that she did not hesitate to criticise the foreign powers. In July 1937, there was waged a violent press campaign against the foreign powers, particularly against Great Britain. The British press both in London and Singapore explained it as a means to justify her armaments. This shows that Siam is now full of fresh vigours as an independent nation.

Siam is fortifying her frontiers. There are rumours that Siamese observers are roaming in the French territories of Indo-China.

Of course she has officially denied it. But it is clear that Siamese friendship is essential for the economic as well as for the political existence of the great French colony of Indo-China.

Siamese relation with Japan forms to-day a subject of great international pre-occupation. In June 1936, the Japanese papers published two statements by the Japanese Minister of Bangkok, Mr. Yatanabe, and the naval attache of Bangkok, Commander Ohno. Mr. Yatanabe affirmed that from the view of economic interests, there was a tension between Great Britain and Siam, and also between France and Siam. Commander Ohno declared that there were many supporters in Siam, including Luang Pradist, of an "Asiatic League," having Japan at its head. Luang Pradist, of course, has denied both of these. In a press communique to the *Bangkok Times*, he has said that Siam is a member of the League of Nations, and as such would remain friendly with all nations.

In spite of this, her relation with Japan is rapidly growing and the Japanese press is full of praise of her. And again Luang Pradist gave a statement to the press, saying that Siam's relation with Japan is only commercial and industrial. But it is significant that there is, at present, no diplomatic relations between Siam and China.

The surrounding countries of Siam are getting more and more alarmed. We must not forget that Siam holds the key-position in the South-East Asia not much unlike Switzerland in Europe. If once Japan becomes complete master of the Southern China, as she aspires to be, she will have, through Siam, a direct outlet to British India, and have Singapore under her influence, and will have Indo-China under her sway. So Siamese independence is vital for France and Britain.

Siam, conscious of this fact, is taking full advantage of the situation. And sometimes, when she checks the effusion of Japan, by her occasional cold attitude, England and France heave a sigh of relief.

WORLD OF BOOKS

Das Japanische Erziehungswesen : "The Japanese Educational System"—by Dr. Komao Murakami (Tokyo, 1934).

The German-Japanese Institute of Culture, Tokyo, has published this valuable work, written by Dr. Murakami during his stay in Germany. There is no better way of understanding the spirit and soul of foreign nations than the study of their systems of education and its history which is also the history of those nations' spiritual development. In the progress of education in theory and practice the general spiritual development of a people is reflected. Thus Dr. Murakami's book on Japanese Education is an excellent guide to Japanese national spirit.

From the early influence of Chinese and afterwards of Indo-Buddhist culture on pedagogics in Japan up to the decisive "Imperial Rescript on Education" given by the Emperor Meiji (1852-1912), everything that is connected in any way with Japanese education can be found in this book.

It is a characteristic feature of Japanese culture that it has passed through periods of strong foreign influences—such as the Chinese, the Indo-Buddhist and finally the European. The people of Nippon has nevertheless always found the spiritual strength to combine the achievements of foreign culture and civilisation with national elements and to produce a fruitful and harmonious synthesis. Things that were opposed to the Japanese culture and character, as for example certain revolutionary tendencies in Confucianism were omitted and the rest were absorbed into the Japanese culture. Japan has through all the periods of influence from outside preserved her cultural independence, so that her educational system of to-day—which is as modern as that of any European nation—is still, far from being a mere copy ; it is typically Japanese and wholly adequate to the nature and requirements of the people.

The highest principle of pedagogics in Japan has been from old days the education of character. "Japanese character combined with Chinese learning" has been the motto of a certain epoch.

The author has discussed in this book the whole system of

Elementary, Secondary and High Schools in Japan and we cannot but admire the powerful edifice of national education that has been built up there. But a question of bitter actuality is on our lips : Is Japan going to follow the path of certain European nations equally gifted with wonderful old civilisations and highly developed culture ? Is there a kind of inner causality between the strength of a nation and the politics of aggression ?

P. Krieger.

Guide to the Museums of Topkapu Saray (with 48 illustrations and 1 plan, 1936), Istanbul, Turkey.

Turkey opened a new chapter in the history of East-West relations by conquering Constantinople in 1453. The great conqueror Mehmed II forthwith started building a palace (1454) in the Forum of Theodosius in the site now occupied by the University of Istanbul. He built a second palace which came to be known as Topkapu Saray, completed between 1475-1478. This historic palace was converted in April 1924 into a Museum by the enlightened government of the Turkish Republic under the great Kemal Ataturk. Much valuable information on this historic palace was recorded in the Turkish Chronicle *Hucername* (1579-1584) which contains also beautiful miniatures. A fire broke out in 1867 ruining the pavilion upon the terrace and the vault was destroyed, it is said, in a conflagration started by the French colonial troops from Senegal. In spite of such ravages the palace offers to historians and art-lovers, some of the most valuable documents of art and archaeology and we are thankful to the Turkish Government, its Historical departments and Museum experts for the splendid work they have done in conserving and cataloguing these treasures, of which we give here a very brief inventory : 6 volumes of catalogues of Islamic coins ; funerary monuments and Greek, Roman and Byzantine sculptures ; bronzes and ornaments ; Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions ; Sassanian reliefs etc. form some of the publications of the Department of Museums. Mr. Mufid Arif who is an authority on Turkish antiquities began to publish from 1934 the Annual of the Museums of Istanbul (in French). He has published (in Turkish and French) a revised illustrated Guide to the Greek, Roman and Byzantine sculptures. His colleague A. Aziz published a Guide to the Museum of Smyrna.

The present Guide, under review, will be of great help to visitors who may attend the forthcoming Congress of Anthropology and pre-

historic Archaeology at Istanbul. The best preserved and the most beautiful structure in the palace was the Baghdad Kiosk (1638) built along with the Kiosk of Revan (1635) by Sultan Murad IV in commemorations of his conquest of the two cities in course of his Iranian campaign.

Turkey was not merely the land-bridge between the East and the West but through centuries it is the repository of the antiquities of the two continents. This is further testified by the valuable collection of books in Persian, Arabic, Turkish and in Western languages. Mehmed II, the Conqueror of Constantinople was also the collector of Greek and Latin texts left behind by the Byzantines. For he was as profound a scholar as he was a great warrior and statesman. He ordered the translation of the Geography of Ptolemy in Arabic and engaged a scholar from Trebizond to draw a world-map to accompany that book. The new library contains about 14000 books, many of them containing Iranian, Indian, Turkish and Chinese miniatures and also European engravings among which is a superb portrait of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. The Museum of Porcelain contains about 8000 pieces mostly Chinese and some Japanese fabrics. Some of them formed part of the booty (1514) taken from Shah Ismail's palace and Selim I also brought rare China-wares from his expedition to Egypt. The wares of the Sung and Yuan periods and their Persian imitations are classified and about 2600 specimens come from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The Japanese wares date from 1700 A. D. and with the Manchu collection, the Turkish Museum stands as "one of the three largest porcelain collections in the world." The Imperial Treasury contains most valuable objects acquired, conquered or presented : diamonds, jewels, rare textiles and other specimens of Turkish craftsmanship, prayer carpets embroidered with gold and pearls, Iranian brocade, jewel medalions and decorations presented to the Sultans by the European rulers, jewel caskets of Indian, Iranian and Turkish workmanship, Chinese and Japanese ivory, Turkish textiles from the 14th to the 18th Century, Turkish and Iranian miniature etc., go to mark the Istanbul Museum one of the most important collections of antiquities and art-treasures.

Australia's National Interests and National Policy by H. L. Harris, Melbourne University Press, 1938. Price 5/- net.

On the occasion of the Second British Commonwealth Relations Conference of Sydney (September, 1938), the author prepared this

useful book as a member of the Australian Institute of International Affairs but the views expressed herein are those of an individual. Special sections deal with the environment, population, migration, the standard of living, economic structure, overseas trade, financial policy and external affairs. The exposition is generally lucid and strengthened by statistical tables. In the opening chapter, the author discusses the interesting questions "Is there an Australian nation"? According to Mr. Harris, the *federation* was a matter of amateur interest since the 'fifties. It became the objective of an agitation which in the 'eighties attained the dimensions of a popular movement. This was due to war scares in Europe and the French and German activities in the Pacific which roused the colonists to a sense of common danger and made the strength of union more desirable than the freedom of separation. The Australian nation is nearly 98 per cent British and draws its stock of ideas and the standards of its culture from Britain. But it is admitted, nevertheless, that Australia is a lonely outpost of Western civilization in a profoundly alien sea "The acquisition of the mandated territories which once seemed to increase our safety have added to our vulnerability by bringing us closer to Japan." This opinion of the author would be shared by many specially in view of the fact that Britain is too far from Australia to render easy succour. The total population is approaching 7000000 and although predominantly British, is obliged to remember constantly that this colony of England and Europe is in the heart of the Pacific world inhabited by nations very different from the Europeans. A major crisis in the Pacific may disturb profoundly the political as well as the economic structure of Australia. That this is not sufficiently realised by most Australians is due to the fact that for over a century they enjoyed peace and security. But the turmoils of the post-war world have caused, here as elsewhere, rude awakenings and realistic Australians are trying to guard their spirit against false securities. Her rigid doctrines of migrations have stood against the expansion and flexibility of the human resources. So much so that India which guards the very life-line of Australia, is not permitted to send even desirable emigrants under some agreed "quota" system. This was very ably pointed out by the Honourable Pandit H.N. Kunzru as leader of the Indian delegation to the Sydney conference. A closer economic and cultural relations between India and Australia would, no doubt be for our mutual benefit. But to work this out satisfactorily, the leaders of both the countries should arrange for quicker and wider

co-operation and consultation within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Australian experts on their way to Great Britain or British Africa should make it convenient to visit India and consult the Indian leaders. Indian merchants and students should be welcomed by the Australian chambers of commerce and universities. In this way the isolated British Dominions of Australia and New Zealand would develop a new sense of solidarity without which their spasmodic measures of strategic security may prove to be bad investments.

Oriental Literary Digest—Poona. Annual subscription Rs. 3/- (\$ 2 or Sh. 5/-)

This is the only monthly Journal devoted to the reviews on current literature in all branches of Indology and allied subjects in the field of Oriental learning. Poona is a veritable stronghold of Indian research and a distinguished group of scholars are collaborating with the learned editor Dr. S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond). The Journal will soon complete the second year of its existence and within the short period it has made its mark among the learned periodicals of India. Books in Sanskrit, Prakrit as well as in the Indian Vernacular are regularly brought to the notice of the public by means of conscientious criticisms which help the scholars as much as guide the reading public. So the publications of the Western Orientalists are also carefully analysed for the benefit of those who cannot read French and German. We refer specially to the admirable tribute paid by the editor to the late Prof. Jacob Wackernagel (1853-1938) whose contributions to Indo-European Philology and to Sanskrit Grammar stand unrivalled. We recommend the Journal strongly to all serious students of Oriental culture hoping that the editorial group will soon expand the sphere of its beneficial activities by arranging to publish reviews and bibliographies on the publications relating to our sister nations of the Orient extending from the Mediterranean to the Pacific World.

The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, Geneva.

The 19th volume of the Monthly Summary opens with the January issue of 1939 and we heartily congratulate the Publications Department on the handy and attractive form in which the chronicle of the League activities is presented. It would be quite convenient now to preserve the Monthly Summary in a book-form for ready reference. The quality of the illustrations goes to make the publication quite

attractive. A single map on the Mandates, (January, 1939) helps the reader more than pages of summaries of the discussion on the problem. So in the February issue we read with pleasure the article on the Transportation of the Spanish works of Art to the headquarters of the League of Nations. That issue also contains the list of members of the various committees and commissions. We are pained to find, however, that in the Far East Advisory Committee composed of 23 members, the Eastern nations, counting more than half of humanity, are represented only by China and Iran. The same lamentable lack of interest in Asia is betrayed by the composition of the so-called "International" Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Out of 15 members composing the Committee only two happened to represent the Asiatic nations: Sir Abdul Kader representing India and Mr. Wu-she-Fee, China; and both these nations unfortunately, not being powerful enough to-day, in the Western sense, their recommendations for a closer intellectual co-operation with the West would have very little chance of being implemented. This explains partially the eclipse of the League of Nations in the intellectual horizon of New Asia.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace—Year Book, 1938.

In this world distracted by violence or threats of violence and war, it is refreshing to handle a book coming out of that noble Endowment associated with the memory of Andrew Carnegie who consecrated his whole fortune to the cause of international peace. Its division of Intercourse and Education is under the direct supervision of Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler, the Director. The Secretary to the Endowment Prof. James Brown Scott is the director of the Division of International Law and the division of Economics and History is directed by Prof. J. T. Shotwell. The Endowment owns a most valuable series of publications which they distribute liberally to most of the academic centres of the civilized world. We note with pleasure that eight out of the twenty and odd Universities of India receive regularly the important publications of the Endowment. A few of the Indian public Libraries and Associations devoted to the study of International Affairs, like the Indian Institute of International Affairs with its three centres of Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay, also deserve to receive the gratuitous distribution of the publications of the Endowment.

The Chinese Social and Political Science Review— (December, 1938), Peking, China.

The current number of the Review publishes an exhaustive article on the Bar Association of China by Y. C. Chang who gives for the first time to the outside public valuable details as to the National Bar Association. Its objects are "to revolutionize legal thought, promote the improvement of the judicial system, complete the independence of the judiciary, establish the Chinese school of jurisprudence and co-operate with the International Bar Association upon the basis of interdependence of the human beings in their existence, in planning for the establishment of a Universal legal system". Howard S. Galt of the Yen-ching University, Peking has contributed an interesting article on the "Theories of education in ancient China and in ancient Greece". A Russian scholar V. A. Riasanovsky has discussed the "Interpretation of the Norms of law." We wish all success to this scientific review of China.

Bulletin of the Yale University (1938-39) New Haven, U.S.A.

Yale is one of the progressive Universities of the New World and it is named after the Honourable Elihu Yale, a former Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, who was one of its earliest donors (1718). The distinguished Indologist Prof. Edgerton is in charge of the Department of Indic Studies. So there are provisions for the study of the religions of India under Prof. Archer. The University is specially strong in its Departments of Anthropology covering a vast field: pre-historic archaeology, ethnology, primitive society, art and religion, Polynesian culture, Oceanic material culture, Indonesian civilization, American archaeology, Museum methods etc. Thanks to a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Institute of Human Relations was organised in 1935 for the study of human beings in co-operation with sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, psychiatrists. Such a department of applied sociology should form part of every forward-looking university.

Vieilles Ballades du Bengale : translated by Madeleine Rolland. Published by C. A. Hogman, Editor Mouans-Sartoux, near Cannes, France. Price 50 Francs.

When Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and his colleague Chandra Kumar De collected the *Mymensingh Ballads* which were published by the

University of Calcutta, few could suspect that those unwritten ballads of Bengal would rouse the enthusiastic appreciation of a world artist like Romain Rolland. His talented sister Madeleine Rolland is one of the most loyal friends of India in Europe. Immediately after the world war when we had the privilege of knowing her she had already translated the *Dance of Shiva* by Ananda Coomaraswamy. She had already established her reputation as a translator of Thomas Hardy and H. G. Wells. She translated the *Chaturanga* of Tagore and was the most devoted helper and collaboratrice to her brother Romain Rolland when he composed his superb studies on Mahatma Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Miss Rolland took up the study of Bengali and kept herself in touch with Bengali literature through the "Prabasi" of Calcutta which she reads regularly. She came in friendly collaboration with Andree Karpeles, another staunch admirer of Bengali culture and art. Celebrated already in the art-world of Paris she worked in Santiniketan imbibing the spirit of the art of rural Bengal and she has enriched this first French selection from our *Mymensingh Ballads* with exquisite designs which are deftly printed with the text from her masterly wood-blocks. The editor Mr. C. A. Hogman no less than Miss Rolland and Madame Karpeles deserve our best thanks for the superb production which should be in the library of all bibliophiles. The editor of "Feuilles de l'Inde" series has already made his mark in the publishing world of France and the series, we are sure, will be strengthened when this beautiful book on Bengal Ballads reach all the corners of the book-world.

In a short yet masterly introduction Miss Rolland draws a vivid picture of Bengal, its rural landscapes and human types as reflected in these ballads of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. The laws, the manners and customs of that Dark Age of Indian history was a queer mixture of almost inhuman harshness and unbelievable forgiveness, of cruelty and refinement, of social injustices and sublime devotions, and of love stronger than death. The female characters easily dominate the portrait gallery : Mahua, Chandrabati, Lila, Kamala and Malua shine like brilliant stars in the night. Through the sensitive, prose-rendering of Miss Rolland, the cultured public of the Western world, will now have the opportunity and pleasure of tasting the sublime tenderness and pathos in the life of rural Bengal. She has rendered thereby a real service to literature and to India for which we should be grateful.

Iqbal's Educational Philosophy by K. G. Saiyidain, Director of Education, Jamnu and Kashmir State. Arafat Publications, Model Town, Lahore, 1938. Price Rs. 2/8/-.

Iqbal was a great poet of modern India and he has won his legitimate place in the pantheon of Indian letters. But only a few realize the fact that Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal was also a profound thinker and author of "The Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam". His philosophy of society has been discussed by Mr. B. A. Dar and we are glad that a keen educationist like Prof. K. G. Saiyidain has applied himself now to the elucidation of the educational philosophy of Iqbal. The author knew the poet personally and with a rare devotion and thoroughness has he tried to reconstruct the system of creative education suggested by Iqbal. To strengthen his argument he has quoted copiously from his original *Poems* as well as from his *Lectures* and other works. The bulk of the book is devoted to the "Education of Individuality", subdivided into the concept and growth of individuality; the dualism of the real and the ideal; the individual and the community, creative evolution, revolt against intellectualism and the conception of good character. The second part of the book discusses the Social order of Islam and a Creative vision of education. Reading these chapters we felt that Prof. Saiyidain is not only a loyal and convincing commentator of Iqbal but also an ardent educationist who is eager to unfold the great heritage of Islam—its democratic education. In an age when Fascism and Nazism are threatening to enslave the individual under the cult of the 'all powerful State', Islam may again render a great service to humanity by developing a new technique of education transcending the limits of reactionary racism and territorial nationalism. Education must be based on reason but it must not forget the great contribution of the human heart in the development of character and personality. Education would justify its title then and then only when it would deliver the "message of freedom, social equality and human brotherhood." These vital truths have been discussed by the author with a rare clarity of judgment and profound sympathy for the degraded and exploited mankind. We congratulate the author on his inspiring book and recommend it to all serious students of educational philosophy and of Oriental culture. Thanks to this feeling tribute to Iqbal, we could catch a glimpse of his educational philosophy suggested by the following unforgettable lines :

“Since I am acquainted with the harmony of Life
 I will tell thee what is the secret of Life—
 To sink into thyself like the pearl,
 Then to emerge from thine inward solitude.”

Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas by C. Minakshi, M. A., Ph. D., University of Madras ; with ten plates and one map—1938.

The Pallavas were the Guptas of South India but unfortunately before the publication of the present volume under review there were little but fragmentary surveys of that momentous epoch of India. Thanks to Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Shastri who has given us his monumental “Studies in Chola History” Miss C. Minakshi, a talented pupil of Prof. Shastri completed very creditably a survey of the administration and social life under the Pallavas. Most of the materials are drawn from the 7th century and after when the great Pallavas of the Simhavishnu line, like the Imperial Guptas, opened a new chapter in the cultural life of India. The author, after discussing “the Northern element in Pallava rule”, developed step by step the two main sections of her book : (a) Administration covering revenue and taxation, the ministerial group, weights and measures, irrigation, famines, provincial and local government and the economic life of the village. (b) The section on Social life is composed of religious and educational institutions, Buddhist and Jaina centres of learning, literature, painting, dancing and a fairly exhaustive monograph of about 40 pages devoted to the intensive study of the south Indian music and its technique. No wonder that the learned author refers constantly to the *Natyashastra* which originated, no doubt, in North India but the best traditions of which were preserved by our South Indian cousins through whom those techniques and traditions came to be transplanted to our cultural colonies of Greater India e.g. Champa and Cambodge, Java and Bali. The Pallava epoch was undoubtedly one of the noblest epochs of Hindu cultural expansion and to do justice to this epoch an accomplished scholar like Dr. Manakshi should be deputed by her University of Madras to visit the archaeological sites of French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies. She will find there not only most suggestive Indian parallels and cognates in the art and culture of Indonesia but will also discover that heaps of articles and studies have already been published by the Dutch and the French savants referring to Pallava rule

and epigraphy, architecture and sculpture. Dr. Bahadur Chand Shastri, Ph. D. (Leyden) attempted a sectional survey but we feel that a complete bibliography of South Indian contacts with Greater India from the Andhra, through the Pallava to the Chola epochs should be undertaken by competent scholars from our sister universities of Andhra, Madras and Mysore. We congratulate Dr. Minakshi on the publication of this highly interesting and comprehensive survey and we hope that she will continue to throw more light on the many still obscure chapters of South Indian history.

Suvarnadwipa, Vol. II, Part II by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University. With 75 plates.

A leading Indologist of our day as he is, Dr. Majumdar threw himself heart and soul into the study of Greater Indian history and culture with the foundation of the Greater India Society, twelve years ago. He personally visited the museums and monuments of Indonesia publishing a big volume on Champa in his series on Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East. He offers to give us a special volume dealing with Cambodia and Siam. Meanwhile, amidst his multifarious duties as the progressive Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, Dr Majumdar has given us two splendid volumes on Suvarnadwipa or Malayasia. In the first part Dr. Majumdar discussed questions like the pre-Hindu civilization in Malayasia and the dawn of Hindu colonization the growth and downfall of the Sailendra Empire and of the Indo-Javanese Kingdoms. There he suggested the probability that the Sailendra dynasty might have come originally from Kalinga and found their way to Malaya through lower Burma.

In the second part Dr. Majumdar discusses in detail the culture and civilization of Suvarnadwipa with special chapters on law, economic conditions, the literature of Java, Bali and Malaya, the Brahmannical, Buddhistic and other sects in Java, Bali and other parts of Malayasia. More than half of the book is devoted to an elaborate description of the art of Java and Bali followed by brief notes on the recent artistic discoveries in Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines and in Malay Peninsula. In the 75 plates more than 100 pictures of the specimens of architecture, sculpture, bronze-figures and various types of iconography have been judiciously reproduced to help general readers in following the descriptive part of the text. The treatment, as it is characteristic of most of Dr. Majumdar's writing, is exhaustive and the presentation is

throughout lucid and highly interesting. Most of the publications on the subject being in Dutch, they remained sealed books to our Indian scholars till Dr. Majumdar gave free English renderings of the theories and interpretation of the Dutch scholars and archaeologists. The book should be in the library of every university and college where Indian history is taught, for a study like that of Dr. Majumdar will surely open the eyes of the teachers as well as the students to the fact that the cultural history of India can and should no longer be confined within the narrow limits of its present political frontiers. Indian history in the proper sense of the term must be studied with close and constant reference to the history of her innumerable cultural colonies in Asia and in the Pacific world. We offer our hearty congratulations to Dr. Majumdar on this valuable publication.

Industrial Enterprise in India pp.—174 with Appendices, by Nabagopal Das, Ph. D. (Econ) Lond., I.C.S. Published by the Oxford University Press, 1938. Price Rs. 7/- only.

The book is an abridged edition of Dr. Das's thesis approved for the Ph. D. (Econ.) degree of the University of London. It is to some extent a sequel to the author's earlier work—*Banking and Industrial Finance in India* and deals with problems of industrial finance and management in India. The scope of the book is, thus limited, and does not cover discussions on the supply of raw and the marketing of finished commodities, or the problems of protective tariffs and internal prices—nor does it deal with wages and labour legislations. However, it must be said to Dr. Das's credit that the book evinces a thorough scholarship and mastery over necessary details, as well as a breadth of vision rarely found in the I. C. S. galaxy.

The first chapter of the book deals with the financial requirements of Indian industries—the capital investment in major industries, the method of raising the fixed capital by private subscription of shares, debentures, partnership, direct deposits etc ; while as regards Working Capital which is raised by (1) public deposits, e. g. in Bombay and Ahmedabad, (2) private deposits of loans by Managing Agents, (3) advances by indigenous shroffs and lastly (4) advances by J. S. banks—the author comes to the well known conclusion that the money market in India is very loosely organised and “the movement of credit between the various markets inside ‘the system’ is extremely sluggish” (p. 24). In the second chapter, Industrial Finance in England, U.S.A.,

and Germany is briefly dealt with, and the "mixed banking" of Germany and her "simultaneous method" of promoting industries seem to have impressed the author. He wants our joint-stock banks, including the Imperial Bank to establish close relation with industrial concerns, make special survey of useful industries, and to get one of their managers appointed as one of the directors of the industrial concerns financed by them (p. 44).

In the three following chapters III to V—the author points out the importance of the Managing Agents in India, and though he does not take up the role of an apologist on their behalf, yet he is of opinion that "viewed in its proper economic background, the managing agency system has, on the whole, been both inexpensive and efficient" (p. 56). These agents not only have acted as the only pioneers and promoters in some cases of costly and risky industrial ventures, but what is more important, they have provided both fixed and working capital of many industries promoted by others, managed the day to-day affairs of not an inconsiderable number of other concerns, while they have saved from ruin many others in their times of dire distress. But the agreements under which the Managing Agents receive commission on sale or output have not been very beneficial. Overproduction, bad quality of the commodities produced, etc., all point out the necessity of basing the remuneration of these Agents on a certain percentage of the net profit of the Companies. Cases are not absent (and they have been noticed by Dr. Das in p. 67 and Appendix VIII, p. 154) where the Managing Agents have been found to have received commission although the mills made losses. Dr. Das has also noticed the evils resulting from inter-investment of funds, the management of several companies by the same Agency, and the practice of Managing Agents taking huge loans or advances from the Companies. If the Managing Agents are debarred by law (as they have been by the New Act) from making secret profits or realising compensations in cases of transfer, which is very often brought about by their dishonesty and inefficiency, and if the commission that they receive is calculated, not on gross but net profits—then the system becomes positively useful.

In Chapter V the author has touched upon the subject of industrial democracy and has amply defended the case of the shareholders as against the Managing Agents and the directors and auditors that are virtually appointed by them. But in P. 86, while drawing an interesting analogy between an investor and an average M. P., Dr. Das writes :

“Moreover, in industry, where the average investor understands the technique of finance and management much less than the average M. P. understands the technique of governmental administration, it is sheer madness to contend that the Board of Directors should be responsible to the shareholders in the same way as the Cabinet is responsible to the Parliament.” Dr. Das finds the crucial test in the fact that whereas the investor is satisfied only with a dividend (pp. 86, 109), the Director cares more for the permanent interests and stability (e.g. through the creation of Reserve Fund) of the Company. In spite of this illustration—a bit wrongly drawn—the case for industrial democracy, especially in the sense of a substantial control and criticism of the actions of the Directors of a company by the Shareholders, in the same way as the M. P.s criticise and remove the cabinet, is, we submit so strong and just as to be almost unassailable. And this right of the shareholders has been recognised in the numerous provisions of the New Companies Act (1936).

In the sixth chapter Dr. Das traces the genesis and the provisions of the New Indian Companies Act and clearly points out its importance in the evolution of India's industrial development. The important provisions of this Act dealing with Managing Agency (viz. sections 87A to 87I) have been incorporated in appendix XII. The suggestion by Dr. Das in p. 112, of a Shareholders' Committee, in addition to their General Association—like the “Commissarissen” in Holland—is very helpful, and we believe it will soon be followed in actual practice, as such a body alone can keep the shareholders informed and effectively criticise the management and guide the investors.

Chapter VII deals with the problem of mushroom and fraudulent companies which wilfully collapse within a year or two after their floatation and whose number is, on an average, more than half the number of companies newly registered every year. Though the provisions of the new Act by increasing the power of inspection and prosecution, of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, and raising the minimum subscription required for the issue of certificate of commencement of business, will act as useful deterrents, yet the real remedy, as pointed out by Dr. Das, lies in the character and conduct of the industrial entrepreneurs and managers.

The last Chapter (VIII) discusses some broad problems of industrial finance and management. In page 124, the author recommends the appointment of a Board of National Investment either

as a department of the Reserve Bank of India or separately. The function of this board will be to do what the underwriters in England and U. S. A, or the Konsortium in Germany do, viz, to enquire into the possibilities of an industrial proposition, and then, having been satisfied as to its soundness and solvency, to appeal to the investors for investment in the concern. This Board, thus, will guide the investing public and instil confidence in their minds. We heartily endorse this suggestion and only add that branches of this Board might be established in each of the Provinces of British India. The other sections of this chapter deal with Investment Trusts, Fixed Trusts and State-aided Industrial Banks. We think Dr. Das's dislike for the latter could have been substantially lessened if he had not ignored the necessity of the emergence of the Fascist corporative and Soviet state-aided and -controlled industrial institutions in Germany, Italy, Spain, Russia and Japan—an emergence in the face of and as against the spirit of *laissez-faire* economics of the West. At the end of the book there are 17 appendices and a bibliography.

Though the book traverses a beaten track, and there is nothing revolutionary or very original in it—yet the treatment is very fine and encouraging and some suggestions are quite useful. We are sure, the book will be widely read, and we can guarantee that a galloping through its pages will amply repay the trouble. It might be said with fairness to Dr. Das, that his is one of the best books on Industrial enterprise in India.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.,—pp. 417 with a map. Published by the University of Calcutta (1939).

Dismemberment of the Maurya Empire led also to the disintegration of the chronological structure in the dynastic history of India. With the rise of the Guptas in the North and of the Pallavas and the Chalukyas in the South, we reach another phase of orderly progression of events and documents. In between hovers still the baffling obscurity of more than five centuries of our Dark Age which has been characterised by Vincent Smith as a “blank in history.” That blank was boldly challenged in the North by the late lamented Dr. K. P. Jayaswal ; and in the history of Southern India Dr. Sircar has succeeded most creditably in filling up the blanks. The volume under review shows at every step how patiently and scientifically he has analysed and

utilised the rare epigraphic documents of this epoch. He has succeeded in bridging the gulf between the Sātavāhanas and the Chālukyas by reconstructing the history of six obscure dynasties like the Ikshakus, the Brihatphalayanans, the Anandas, the Salankayanas, the Vishnukundins and the early Pallavas.

The second part of the book is devoted to the three or more lines of the early Kadambas and to the Kekayas who ruled in the Northern part of Mysore which probably formed part of the later Satavahana dominions. Reading the book we felt at every step that he should be given all facilities for the writing of a comprehensive history of the epoch intervening between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas, Pallavas and Chalukyas. His interest is not confined only to political chronology but extends naturally to the deeper questions of linguistics and institutional history. Hence the importance of some of his discussions on "Kavya style in inscriptions," the Divyas or trial by ordeals, the importance of the Asvamedha etc. The treatment of Dr. Sircar is throughout scientific and thorough. His conclusions may be disputed in details but his survey as a whole deserves the praise and congratulation due to all pioneer works. His study will continue to be utilised for years to come, as an indispensable book of reference for the period covered by him.

Maori Music with its Polynesian Background by Johannes C. Andersen, F. R. S., N. Z. Published as Memoirs (Vol. 10) by the Polynesian Society, Wellington, New Zealand, (1934).

The Maories are known to be the most gifted and virile of all the Polynesian races. Like their cousins the Hawaiians, the Maories display a special predilection for dance and music. The history of the study of that music dates from the first observation in connection with the voyages of Captain James Cook (April, 1769). From that remote date down to our days many important observations and studies have appeared in rare books and rarer journals or bulletins generally inaccessible to us. All such materials have been patiently assembled and artistically treated by the learned author of the "Maori Music". Mr. Andersen was for years Librarian of the famous Turnbull Library (Wellington) which treasures some of the most valuable documents of Maori lore. As Editor of the Journal of the Polynesian Society he has rendered signal services to the cause of Polynesian studies. As early as 1903 he published his first volume of poems "Songs Unsung" and he

greeted many of his friends with his poetic renderings of the "Myths and Legends of the Polynesians" when he attended as a delegate the International P. E. N. Congress of Buenos Aires. He has written copiously on the history and anthropology of the New Zealand people and when we had the privilege of meeting him in Wellington he was entertaining the public, through the National Broadcasting Station, by his illustrated talks on "Birds' song and New Zealand Song Birds." Like most musicians Mr. Andersen is of the mystic temperament which enables him to penetrate into the mysteries of the Maori soul whose "Songs Unsung" he has recaptured and demonstrated with a rare inspiration and fidelity.

About 200 pages of the book are devoted to observations on Polynesian music by early voyagers as well as by modern experts. The next 100 pages were devoted to a most painstaking description and classification of the Polynesian musical instruments. Then follows a fascinating chapter on the Maori Dance and the last section of the book is devoted to the technical analysis of "The Qualities of Maori Music." Throughout the book we feel a touch of the friendly hand of the author who loves poetry because it is music and music because it is poetry. The original Maori words richer even than Italian in vowels, are quoted and keys to them are supplied by his admirable English renderings and commentaries. This makes us bold to suggest that on the happy occasion of the forth coming Centenary to be celebrated in Wellington in 1940, the author of the "Maori Music" be requested to compile a systematic anthology of Maori literature written and unwritten. In such an enterprise he should have at his disposal adequate resources and the valuable cooperation of eminent Maori scholars and leaders like Sir Apirano Ngata, Te Rangi Hiroa (Director, Bishop Museum, Honolulu) and others.

For the typography and the illustrations of the book we offer our sincere congratulations to his publisher. Mr. Andersen's book would be cherished for years and should find its place in the important libraries of the world.

Kshana-lekha by Dr. Surendra Nath Das Gupta, Principal Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2/-

The author of this volume of poems is known to the public through his monumental works on Indian Philosophy, written in English. Few of his admirers outside Bengal, would suspect however, that, for

years, he is a devotee at the shrine of Bengali Poetry. Most of his poems lay scattered in various periodicals and we are thankful to the friends of the author for compelling him to compile his thought-sketches of the moment eternal (Kshana-lekha) in this beautifully printed volume. It is dedicated, in a touching Sanskrit lyric, to Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore who has graciously permitted the inclusion in the volume of one of his superb poems written in response to a beautiful lyrical address by the author to the venerable poet, "Kavi Narada." Dr. Das Gupta supplies the key to his poems through his subtle lyrics on "The Inexpressible" and as we follow the rhythm of his soul through his variegated poems we are deeply moved by the profound human appeal inspiring his lines. The note of the sublime and the universal is necessarily there but it nowhere overwhelms his sense of the concrete realities. The definite light and shade of the landscapes of Bengal suffuse his poem-pictures; and as an inheritor of the priceless love-lyrics of Bengal he has given us some profound improvisations on Love and Beauty, on Womanhood and Eternal Grace. In ancient India poets were our philosophers and there is nothing incongruous in the fact that one of our leading philosophers of to-day is also a poet. We hope that the author will continue to publish more of such poems which harmonize philosophy with poetry.

"Space and time are gone, gone all hankerings.

All have I gained in the midst of an ineffable glance!"

Such lines from his "Comrade" may appear to be unconventional as arguments in *philosophy*; but they thrill with the passion of real *poetry* and we offer our sincere congratulation to the Philosopher-poet of Bengal who was recently honoured by the Universities of Poland and of *Italy*.

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette : Tenth Health Number—
 Edited by Amal Home.

The major concern of a Municipality is the health of a community. But to make the citizens health-conscious there cannot be a better way than the publication of reliable as well as interesting health literature. The Corporation of Calcutta is rendering a great service that way by the publication of the Calcutta Municipal Gazette edited by Mr. Amal Home. He has succeeded in the recent Health Number to assemble some discussions and articles which should be read by all

public-minded citizens. Alderman Dr. B. C. Roy strikes the key-note when he says 'the success of the struggle for existence in which the Indian nation is now engaged, depends to a great extent on the health and harmony of the body, mind and spirit.' Dr. R. N. Chopra contributes a valuable article on the science of nutrition and Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterjee writes on "Community hygiene." Lt. Col. O. Berkeley Hill discusses the problem of "Prostitution" in a most thought-provoking manner. So Dr. Sundarimohan Das, the venerable octogenerian health-champion of our city, writes on "Isomnia" and Dr. A. C. Ukil discusses "Co-operative health organisation" in the journal. Local health problems apart, special experiments in prevention and cure made by other nations have also been noticed and we admire as much the judicious selection as the superb illustrations which go to enrich the health number. May we suggest in this connection that the worthy editor Mr. Home be authorised to develop a modest but permanent exhibition of health education, by arranging his pictorial documents, and other relevant exhibits in any hall of the Central Municipal Building. If the Calcutta Corporation gives only a start along that line, we are sure, that such an exhibition will receive most valuable exhibits on public health from most of the progressive countries of the East and the West.

Folk Art of Bengal by Ajit Kumar Mookerjee published by the University of Calcutta, 1939.

The book is produced by the author after years of passionate search for worthy samples of the popular arts of his native province, Bengal which may take legitimate pride in its being the veritable living museum of folk arts and crafts. The materials are arranged in different groups : Alipana or ceremonial designs ; dolls and toys of clay, wood and pith, miniature scroll and mural painting ; metal and cane works ; embroidery and textiles and miscellaneous objects like masks, painted potteries etc. Our important *fairs* or *melas* are perepatetic museums of popular arts and a list of such *fairs* has been very appropriately compiled by the author and placed on an outline map of Bengal. He has visited most of these village fairs and has also examined several important private and public collections namely, the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art and the collections of Dr. A. N. Tagore, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I. C. S and Dr Dinesh Chandra Sen. More than 50 choice

illustrations go to make the book a most useful manual on the subject. The author has shown rare judgment and devotion in collecting and reproducing the specimens. Any one studying the plates carefully will come to agree with the author who says : "The folk art of Bengal does not belong to a particular period. It is the expression of the Bengali people themselves, of the rural millions who formed the backbone of the nation." The joy of the common men and women came to be registered in art language as rich in its suggestiveness as it is profound in spiritual significance. Like so many of the unwritten ballads of Bengal these art objects speak to us directly and captivate our heart. Through the portals of their mysterious designs they lead us into the realm of Indian folk-lore which is the veritable paradise of the Dispossessed. Centuries of suffering and privation brought a new vision to the suppressed humanity of rural India which took a noble revenge on the civilization imposed by the dominating classes by creating ineffable forms which link up India with some of the most primordial forms of world art. As Sir William Rothenstein wisely observes, in his foreward that "this vital creative and spiritual impetus continued among the Indian peasantry" while "something has happened to chill this activity throughout the world."

We congratulate the author and the University of Calcutta of which he is a worthy alumnus, on this valuable publication and we hope that a regional survey of the materials for popular arts should be undertaken, district by district. As it is, Mr. Mookerjee's Folk Art of Bengal, we are sure, will act as an eye-opener to many art-lovers in India and abroad.

Letters from Nepal

By T. Fukai

Vice-Consul for Japan

Calcutta,
March 29, 1939.

My dear,

Will you kindly forgive my long silence ? Life has seemed too dear to sacrifice in writing prosaic epistles to a friend who is at such a vast distance. My journey to Nepal now seems a pleasant dream of the past. It was such an adventurous and exhilarating trip.....you would have been simply fascinated if you had been my travelling companion. I am giving you a short, whimsical description of my impressions of that unknown country. I trust that it will never bore you to tears. If you consider this earth a sad place to live in, it might be a comfort for you to know that in the twentieth century there still remains a legendary land like the Kingdom of Nepal. Oh dear it sounds like a grand prologue !

Maharaja's Camp,
Amlekhganj, Nepal.
December, 31st 1938.

My dear,

The last day of the year of 1938 was an impressive day for me. Early in the morning I left Raxaul, a small desolate town situated on the border between British India and Nepal. The train ran amidst a dense, chilly fog, and at noon reached Amlekhganj, the terminus of the Nepal Government Railway.

A delightful Nepalese gentleman received me at the platform, saying that the Maharaja was so looking forward to my arrival. This was exciting news. I was accommodated in a magnificent white tent. The green leaves of bananas surrounding the tent were rustling in the fragrant Southern air. His Highness the Maharaja soon granted me a gracious interview at his camp.

"How do you do ?"

"It is extremely kind of Your Highness to give me such a cordial welcome."

"It is our great pleasure to see you in our country."

"This is Japanese silk called 'Habutea'. I shall be grateful if Your Highness would be so gracious as to accept our humble present."

"I am very glad you have followed the Eastern custom."

The Maharaja seemed really very much delighted. I remembered that from time immemorial Nepal and China exchanged gifts every few years, but since the establishment of the Chinese Republic any such relationship ceased to exist altogether.

"I sincerely hope and pray that a more and more amicable friendship may grow between our two Eastern nations which have such great similarity in race, religion, martial spirit, physical stature and many other ways."

"I hope so too. It is very kind of you to have taken the trouble to visit this hilly country. I have just had news that leopards have appeared in the jungle nearby. Would you like to shoot leopards yourself?"

"Thank you so much Your Highness, but I am not at all good at shooting. I am afraid I might shoot human beings instead of wild beasts! I should be so happy if I could have the pleasure of seeing Your Highness' Shikar."

For the first time in my life I rode on a huge elephant and proceeded in the thick jungle. Presently I saw an enormous ring of elephants numbering over 200. They were encircling poor leopards! The Maharaja wanted to take me to the centre of the jungle where the leopards were hiding themselves.

"Your Highness, I am quite comfortable here in the ring."

"You must go. This is the Maharaja's order." Replied the Secretary. Nervous as I was, I did not allow myself to look like a coward. I followed the Maharaja with equanimity and a smile like a dignified Samurai.

After a few minutes there started a most furious and exciting fight between the Maharaja and leopards. There leopards roared and attempted to jump upon us. How thrilling and indeed risky it was! I thought my life was endangered and prayed for certain things in case I was killed. You don't know what relief and delight I felt when all the leopards had finally been shot. The Maharaja said to me.

"Did you enjoy the Shikar?"

The Maharaja is exceedingly kindhearted and never fails to entertain me with charming smiles.

"I cannot tell Your Highness how immensely I have enjoyed it. I have never seen such a thrilling game in any part of the world. However I must confess I was quite frightened !"

"Please stay another four or five days untill I shoot tigers."

It was a romantic moment when I was returning to the camp on the elephant. The sun which was about to set below the horizon of the vast jungles looked more beautiful than ever before. A cheerful camp fire, hot bath, delicious curry rice and a comfortable bed with a mosquito net were waiting for me at the tent.

In a happy and restful mood I revelled in meditation and thought of the eventful year of 1938. I have indeed had my vicissitudes. Is life always chequered with fortunes and misfortunes ? Did I ever dream of spending the New Years Eve in Nepal under this beautiful moon ? I am glad that I have had an invitation to the festival of this beautiful earth.

Though I think of you a lot, you are so far, far away across the mountains and the seas that I feel indeed as if you live only in an imaginary world ! However ephemeral your existence may be, distance will lend enhancement and I shall never forget you. On this New Year's Eve, I am praying for you in the Himalayan Kingdom which is proverbially the Home of the Gods. What are Gods ? I know not what life is, nobody ever does. I cannot get you over unless this eternal problem is solved. Could anybody blame me ?

I thank you for the many many comforting letters you sent me in 1938 from your distant island. They were all so entertaining that to read them was to forget all the troubles of the world. Indeed it was highest hospitality. Is this not great happiness ? I must thank my lucky stars. This is my last line in 1938. Good-night my dear.

Maharaja's camp, Amlekhgunj,
Nepal.

January 1, 1939.

My dear,

This is the first day of the year. It is strange that in Nepal nobody ever says "A Happy New Year" to me. It seems as if everybody in Nepal has forgotten that it is the New Year's Day. This land is so peaceful and so secluded from the world that perhaps it does not

occur to the people what day it is ! I hear in Nepal no respectable person drinks wine. I should have brought Japanese "Sake" to entertain myself !

I met the Senior Commanding General Sir Mohan Shumshere this afternoon. What a very kindhearted, thoughtful and intelligent gentleman he is ! I put to him rather delicate questions about the international status of Nepal, but he was both congenial and enlightening. I need not disclose the contents of our conversation. I am afraid it will take me ages to make you understand such complicated matters.

This evening I had a delightful walk in the Jungle, where thousands of Nepalese were camping in tiny tents made simply from grass. A romantic atmosphere was prevailing all round. Presumably most of them belong to the Army and move with the Maharaja.

I am my own master in this magnificent tent which is escorted by nearly ten imposing Nepalese. Perhaps I shall never again be waited upon by so many persons ! No Nepalese ever dare to have meals with people of a different caste, to say nothing of foreigners. For this reason you know I am feeling rather lonely, although people surrounding me are kind and hospitable. To comfort myself I have been reading "The Importance of Living" by Lin Yutang. I think we must transcend national boundaries from time to time. Otherwise this world would seem too prosaic to live in. Oh dear ! I must not forget to wish you A Very Happy New Year and all the best things it can possibly bring to you.

Camp at Birganj, Nepal,
January 4, 1939.

My dear,

A few days ago we moved to another camp 20 miles away. I am writing this amidst a lovely, yellow field, basking and revelling in the glorious winter sun of the Himalayan highland. I am surrounded by luxuriant Indian flowers. You know in the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of dancing daffodils, a lovely country walk and of-course to However, only wild beasts are likely to turn up in the surrounding field !

I enjoy wandering from one place to another like a gipsy. I am frightfully keen on such caravan life. In this transient life we are all like vagabonds, aren't we ?

When I asked some Nepalese gentlemen to entertain me with their favourite songs, they said,

"We will sing a war song. It is our faith written in our Bible "Gita" that if we die on a battlefield in service to our fatherland, we can go to Heaven. So we like war."

Then they went on singing. I also sang a Japanese war song . a timely quid pro quo : I will show you the English translation of their song which I obtained from them.

"March on my brothers valiant
In this thy home so free ;
If thou perchance be stagnant here
Oh Shame ! to all the land
Expand thy chest with courage great,
But more, expand thy fame and land ;
Rest only when on pyre art thou,
Sleep only when in death thou lie.
March on and on till all the earth thou hold,
Stay not till the sky and sea thou also get ;
The more the land thro' blood thy Khukri carves,
The more thy poets shall thy glory sing.
The seat of ancient Hindu culture great,
Thy blood shall be the oil to keep undimmed this light ;
Thy God is here, thy parents here,
Relatives thine and friends are also here.
Thou moulded art from mud of this Nepal
To ashes turn for Her, Nirvana if thou dost desire."

Sisagarhi, Nepal,
January 5, 1939.

My dear,

This morning I bade farewell to the Maharaja. "I have so enjoyed the camp life, and I am overwhelmed with gratitude for your generosity and hospitality. I shall never forget these exciting and indeed historic days in my life."

"I am glad you have liked the Shikar. It has been our great pleasure to have you in our camp with us. We all so much enjoyed your company."

"I shall proudly tell all my friends what a very wonderful time Your Highness had given me."

The Maharaja smiled and said,

"I have phoned to Kathmandu and told the Commander-in-Chief to arrange for the show of your Japanese films. I wish you a pleasant journey and a happy stay in our capital."

"Thank you very much indeed. From the bottom of my heart I wish Your Highness and The Kingdom of Nepal every happiness and prosperity for all time to come."

When I left the camp, the august-looking soldiers and everybody serving in the camp paid salaam to me in most quaint manners moving their fingers up and down. As a matter of fact, it is not fair to call them quaint, as our way of bowing over and over again may indeed be quaint to other people. Hardly ever have I left my place with such satisfaction. From the camp I had an exhilarating drive through a thick jungle, wild field, along pretty rivers and valleys, after two hours I reached Bhimphedi, from where I was carried by a most primitive and enjoyable vehicle called Dandy. There were altogether 8 coolies, all delightfully cheerful souls, and 4 coolies carried the vehicle in turn. I felt like an ancient Samurai! The warm winter sun was shining radiantly on me. I read your beautiful epistle again and again. Believe me, how wistful a longing I have to travel with you in such an entertaining vehicle!

I am writing this by a fire in a Government bungalow at Sisagarhi pass 6000 feet high. It is so cool here the fire is very tempting. What a thrilling prospect it is that to-morrow I can see the white snows of the Himalayan ranges and the exotic picturesque valley of Nepal which so few foreigners have ever visited. You might be interested to know that of all the closed lands of the world Nepal is the only survivor. A barrier exists and has always existed against all foreigners with the least possible exception, say 3 to 4 a year. To think that Nepal is the least known country of either hemisphere gives me a curious sense of adventure. On the eve of entering into the unknown, my imagination is running riot.

Kathmandu, Nepal.
January 6, 1939.

My dear,

What a very marvellous day it is to day! After being carried on the dandy for seven hours I found myself on the top of Chandragiri pass 8,000 feet high. Across the hazy Valley of Nepal I saw the

absorbing magnificence and incredible splendour of the colossal Dhaulagiri Massif over 25,000 feet high. The Himalayan snows dominate the northern horizon with indescribable grandeur and are shining sublimely between the blue sky and the purple valley a scene of grand impressive beauty, such as no human words can possibly describe. If there is a fairyland on earth, here it is !

As I usually do at such a heavenly spot, I lie down on a soft green meadow and indulge in daydream in the exquisite surroundings. Can I ever have a happier moment ? It is a dreamy day and the distant peaks of Mt. Everest look like a mirage. It is indeed like dreams come true !

How I wish I could send you by television this stately view. No place better deserves the name of the abode of the Gods. Be a dear and lose no time in making a miraculous flight from your isle to Nepal. You ought to be fascinated and intoxicated by this superb scenery on earth. This is the chance of a lifetime. I am now on the roof of the world !

Thus feeling like an angel I revelled in day-dreaming and slumbering for two hours. It was an unforgettable moment in my life. A ravishing damsel could not have given me a better time ! As I descended to the foot of the pass, the Dhaulagiri ranges changed their shape and colour and looked still more glorious in the evening glow.

At Thankot I was received by a delightful Nepalese gentleman who was specially appointed by the Maharaja to look after me during my stay at Kathmandu. I shall call him S. in my letters. He was once charge d'affaires at London. We had a thrilling drive to Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal ; everything and everybody attracted my utmost curiosity. The changing scenery outside the window was—oh what a tremendous treat it was to a romantic and impressionable traveller !

I am now at the guest house of the Nepal Government. This is a pretty bungalow and the verandah where I am writing this letter commands a fine view of the surrounding mountains. After a refreshing bath, I had delicious dinner which was presumably a curious mixture of Nepalese, English and indeed Japanese food.

After a strenuous journey I am slightly but pleasantly tired. I wonder what my stay in this unknown and mysterious land will be like, but I am now so sleepy that I would rather dream of you in a comfortable bed than write sweet nothings that will bore you to extinction !

Good night my dear.

The Constitution of Japan

By Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L.

THE PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The bloodless revolution of 1867 drew the curtain over the Shogunate, and the Great Emperor Mutsuhito, not yet out of his teens, set out in right earnest to launch the ship of his state in uncharted waters. The antiquated governments of the two-hundred seventy *daimyos* were quickly liquidated and all pomp and luxury of the officialdom with its attendant corruption, vanished with lightning-rapidity before the advent of a thoroughly enlightened rule. The feudalism which was a product of medieval military system, had flourished and continued in Japan, long since it had died out in Europe. But the lack of central consolidation due to the archipelagaic condition of Nippon, was quickly made up by the modern instruments of transport and communications which the Emperor was the first to avail of. In the very first year of his reign, the Five Imperial pledges declared : (1) "We will call councils and rule the nation according to public opinion ; (2) Men of Upper and Lower classes without distinction shall be united in all enterprises, (3) Civil officials and military officers shall be so treated that they attain their aims and feel no discontent ; (4) Old unworthy ways and customs shall be destroyed and the people shall walk along the high way of heaven and earth ; and (5) Knowledge shall be sought among the nations of the world and the Empire shall be led up to the zenith of prosperity" (*Japan Year Book*-1938-39-p. 80). And henceforth began a series of constitutional and social reforms, as a combined result whereof Japan stands to-day as one of the foremost nations of the world. In 1870, the social castes were done away with, the "Daimyo" (feudal lord) and the "Kuge" (court noble) were transmuted into "Kozoku"; the Samurais got their class-name Shizoku, the common people came to be called "Heimin"—all designations elevated and purged. The intermarriage between the peers (Kozoku) and the common people was recognised in 1871. The monopoly of all military power by the Samurai was no longer permitted and the military system was thoroughly democratised by the institution of the conscription

in 1873, the fifth year of the Meiji. Legal reforms went hand in hand with social reforms. In 1879, the local assemblies were opened for the first time to deliberate and advise on prefectural and municipal matters, while the great Penal Code of Japan was promulgated in the next year. The participation of the people in the administration of state had ever been the dominant motive of the Emperor, who on May 2, 1874 in an Imperial Rescript declared: "We are convening an Assembly of Representatives of the whole nation so as to ordain laws by the help of public discussion, thus opening up the way of harmony between the Government and the Governed and of the accomplishments of National desires" (*Japan by the Japanese*, p. 2). Already in 1375, the Genro-in (Senate) had been established and important clansmen, wealthy people and experienced statesmen had their representation. In the same year the Supreme Court of Judicature was also established. But on 12th October, 1881, the Imperial Edict declared the royal intention of summoning the Diet in 1890. In 1882 Ito was sent to Europe for studying Western constitutions and in 1881, the drafting of the Constitution began. As a preparation for the House of Peers, the five ranks of nobility—Prince, Marquis, Count, Viscount and Baron—were defined; while, as a foundation of true constitutional government, a Cabinet of the modern type was formed in 1885. The draft of the constitution, now being ready, was put before the Privy Council and after its approval, the Dai Nippon Teikoku Kempo was promulgated on 11th. February, 1889, the date of the 2549th, anniversary of the accession of Jimmu Tenno—the first Emperor of Japan.

The constitution of 1889 is the bed-rock of Japan's political eminence. On the one hand, it consolidated the central authority, on the other, it gave a definition to the people's right to share in responsible government. As Ito said, its object was "to give precision to the rights and duties of subjects and gradually promote their well being by securing unity to the sovereign powers of the Head of the State, by opening a wider field of activity for serving the Emperor and by preserving with the assistance of the Minister of State and advice of the Diet, the whole mode of the working of the machinery of State in a due and proper manner (*The Constitution of Japan*—by Marquis Hirobumi Ito, in—*Japan by the Japanese* P. 32).

Besides this fundamental Law of the State, there are other provisions of an equally fundamental nature, e.g., the Imperial Household Law (Supplemented in 1907 and 1918) and the Law of the Houses. The Imperial Ordinances concerning the House of Peers, the election of Members of the House of Peers, the Cabinet, the Privy Council, the Military Establishments, were created before the promulgation of the constitution. The Judicial Court Formation Law, the Court of Administrative Litigation Law, the Board of Audit Law and the Electoral Law, also contain fundamental constitutional provisions. Lastly, there is a large body of constitutional practices and usages which form an integral part of the constitution—in fact the unwritten constitution of Japan.

2. THE NATURE OF THE CONSTITUTION

Let us now study the nature of this constitution. Opinions vary about its type, character and proper interpretation. Most of the foreigners have branded it as characteristic of oriental despotism, while almost every Japanese regards it as one of the finest and most unique of state papers yet extant. Of course, the most important question about this constitution is whether it originated out of an agreement and contract by the sovereign with the people, or it was a gift of the Emperor to the subject. With reference to extensive executive legislative and judicial powers of the Emperor and the method prescribed for amendment of the constitution, I think, we must agree that "the Japanese constitution is a gift from the throne, a gift granted to the subjects by the Imperial House" (Matsunami—*Constitution of Japan*—p. 15). Such a conclusion is also arrived at by a reference to the Imperial Edict of 12th. October, 1881. The Constitution of 1889 is a plant of the nineteenth century liberalism grafted on one of the unshakable foundations of the Japanese life—the Emperor-cult. Hence, in character it is a fusion between liberalism and post-Napoleonic legitimism—the retrograde principle enunciated by Talleyrand which interpreted a constitution as a condescension or gift by the king to his people and thus revocable when necessary. But in the Japanese constitution there is no such retrograde element. The constitution cannot be revoked. Though it is in reality an ordinance, unilateral in origin, devised without the assent or consent of the governed, yet numerous Imperial Rescripts and solemn oaths have made it irrevocable. Thus in the Imperial Address on the Promulgation of the Constitution (Feb. 11, 1889), the Emperor declared the Constitution as "immutable fundamental law." In the Imperial Proclamation on the Constitution of the Empire, the Emperor again described the constitution as containing "principles by which we are to be guided in our conduct" and "to what our descendants and our subjects and their descendants are for ever to conform." The Emperor also took the "solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to our subjects in the observance of the laws hereby established" (Imperial Rescripts etc—*Japan by the Japanese*—p. 7). I, therefore agree with Hawgood when he says: "The constitution, though granted by the Emperor out of his divine goodness, is, once in existence, to be regarded as "the will of the State", and is not to be changed or abolished simply by imperial decree, though the initiative for any such change rests exclusively with the Emperor." (J. A. Hawgood—*Modern Constitutions* since 1877, p. 311). Though the Japanese constitution is a written one in the main, yet there are numerous constitutional conventions, e.g. the Cabinet system, the theory of joint responsibility, ministerial responsibility to the Diet, etc, which have preserved its organic and vital character. Further, the very general character of this constitution which has intentionally left out questions of administrative, legislative and judicial details to be treated by ordinary legislations, has enhanced its dignity and value. One cannot but feel pride when one finds

Professor Goodnow of U. S. A. writing thus in 1917 : "The fact that the Japanese constitution has been practically unamended during twenty seven years of its life, is attributed both to the ability of those who drafted it and to the political genius of the people who are governed by it" (*Principal of Constitutional Government* p. 53). Indeed the very brevity of the constitution has increased its elasticity.

As regards amendment, it has already been pointed out that the Japanese State being a "theocratic patriarchal constitutionalism" (in the words of Dr. Hozumi—quoted by Dr. Matsunami in his *Constitution of Japan*—p. 20) all proposals for amendment must proceed from the Emperor. Art. 73 of the Constitution says :—"When it has become necessary in future to amend the provisions of the present constitution, project to that effect shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet by Imperial Order." The Imperial Diet can open the debate on the proposed amendment only when two-thirds of the whole number of members of both Houses are present and "no amendment can be passed unless a majority of not less than two-third of the members present is obtained".

The constitution of Japan contains only seventy six articles divided into the following seven chapters : I. The Emperor, II. The rights and duties of subjects, III. The Imperial Diet, IV. Judicature, V. Finance, VI. Administration, VII. Supplementary rules.

3. THE EMPEROR

Japan has been governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal, and the rights of sovereignty of the state are claimed by the emperors as an inheritance from their great ancestors. Dr. Matsunami writes : "The Imperial dynasty is, according to the Japanese expression, coeval with heaven and earth. There are no Stuarts, no Plantagenets in Japan as you find them in English History, nor Tang, Sung and Tsin dynasties as in Chinese history" (*Constitution of Japan*—p. 38). Due to this unbroken descent and the traditional and religious (Shinto) background of the royal dynasty—the notion of sacredness of the Emperor is universal in Japan. The Emperor is regarded as the Son of Heaven and absolute fountain of all authority. His portrait is kept and worshipped in all public schools and offices. The succession to the throne cannot be regulated by any law of the people. Article 10 of the Imperial House Law says : "Upon demise of the Emperor, the Imperial heir shall ascend the throne and shall acquire the Divine Treasures of the Imperial Ancestors." The imperial heir must be a male descendant in the male line of Imperial Ancestors. When an Emperor ascends the throne, a new era is inaugurated in his name which remains unchanged during the whole of his reign. Thus, since the restoration we have three eras—the Meiji (1868-1912) or the enlightened peace ; the Taisho (1912-26) or the great righteousness ; and the Showa or radiant peace of the present Emperor Hirohito. During the minority of the Emperor or when he is prevented by some permanent cause from personally governing, the Imperial

House Law (Art. 19) provides for a regency. In a case for regency, the issue is to be determined by the Imperial Family with the advice of the Privy Council ; "but the matter" says Ito, "lies in a region that admits of no interference of the subjects" (*Ibid*—p. 39).

The Japanese Emperor is the fountain-head of executive, legislative and judicial powers, but this does not mean that the Emperor is autocratic. The concentration of all these powers in the Emperor was effected more in conformity to the theoretical principles of sovereignty then obtaining in the West, than with a view to introduce irresponsible government in Japan (See Ito—*Ibid*—p. 39). The Emperor exercises the following prerogatives (1) to appoint officers in civil and military posts and to give salaries and pensions ; (2) to determine the organisation and the peace standing of the Army and Navy ; (3) to declare war, conclude peace and treaties of friendship, commerce and alliance ; (4) to reward merit and to confer marks of honour and distinction on his subjects ; (5) and to pardon, grant amnesty and restore public rights that might have been forfeited. There are, besides these, various powers in relation to the Cabinet, Diet and Judiciary which the Emperor exercises with the assistance and advice of the Ministers of State, the Genro, the Privy Council and the Grand Keeper of the Imperial Seals. The Emperor also exercises ordinance making powers on two occasions which are radically distinct—(1) one for regulating measures and details for the carrying out of any particular law, (2) the other for maintaining public peace and order and for promoting the welfare of subjects. Both have binding effects, but "in case of conflict between law and ordinance, the law will always have the preponderance over the ordinance" (Ito—*Ibid*—p. 36). Thus, it is found that the Emperor of Japan exercises in theory a substantial amount of real power. The prerogative of the Mikado is again qualitatively different from that of the King of England. Dicey defined royal prerogative thus : "The prerogative appears to be both historically and as a matter of fact nothing else than the residue of arbitrary authority which at any given time is legally left in the hands of the crown" (*Law of the Constitution*—p. 420). The English prerogative is thus a residuary power which the law allows to the crown. The Mikado's power on the other hand, is original, unlimited or self-limited. Every law, even the constitution itself originates as a sanction from the Emperor. But as the constitution merely codifies the ancient principles of government already in vogue, it is quite clear that the Emperor possesses powers no more, no less than what he had actually practised before 1889. But though the Emperor had theoretically all powers centered in him, yet in actual practice, it was exercised in his name and on his behalf by various important clansmen and feudal chiefs. An acute student of Japanese politics and institutions thus wrote many years ago : "A study of Japanese history shows however, that the Mikado has rarely exercised much of his power in practice. Almost always has it been wielded in his name, often sorely against his will, by the members of some ambitious house which has managed to possess itself of supreme influence over the affairs of State. Thus the Fuziwara family, soon

after the civilisation of the country by Buddhism, then the Tara, the Minamoto, and the Hojo during the Middle Ages, and the Tokugawa in modern times held the reins of State in succession." (B. Chamberlain—*Things Japanese*—p. 217). Since the restoration, a very substantial amount of political power has been practically monopolised by the two great clans of Satsuma and Choshu—while three other clans next in influence—Tosa and Hizen and Saga are their only rivals in the political arena. Besides this, the Emperor never exercises any of his wide powers without the formal advice, opinion and counsel of the various state-bodies of Japan.

4. THE EXECUTIVE

Let us now try to understand the relation between the Emperor and the five Executive bodies of the State, viz, the Genro or Elder statesmen, the Imperial Household Ministry, the Privy Council, 'the Supreme Command' and the Cabinet. The Genro is a body of elder statesmen consulted by the Emperor on all crucial issues. Nitobe says : "Never has a cabinet been appointed, however large its following in the diet, without the Emperor first asking the Genro's opinion" (Nitobe—*Japan*—p. 175). Originally it included five highly influential clan leaders, Yamagata, Ito and Inouye of Choshu and Oyamo and Matsukata of Satsuma. Later on, two others were similarly designated : Katsura of Choshu and Saionji, the Kugé. The regulations of the Civil Service know nothing about these people. They have come into prominence by their merit, by a process of natural selection. Though the opinion of the Genro has been rather conservative, yet it must be remembered that on the whole its contribution in the evolution of representative government in Japan, has been beneficial. The institution, however, is extra-constitutional and for a smooth functioning of responsible government, it is rather believed that it will probably have to die away with the death of Saionji—the only living Genro.

The Imperial House-hold Ministry is another extra-constitutional body which wields considerable influence over the administration. It consists of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Minister and the Lord Chamberlain. It is an organ of the Court, and the Emperor takes no action without the advice of this agency, especially, of the Grand Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Of all the constitutional bodies that advise the Emperor, the Privy Council is the highest, though as Ito points out, its opinion may be accepted or rejected by the Emperor (Ito—*Ibid*—p. 52). The Council is composed of one President, one Vice-President (non-voting) and 24 Councillors, all of whom are officials of the highest rank (Shinnin). The members are appointed by the Emperor on the advice of the Prime-Minister, and the Cabinet Ministers can attend its deliberations and have the right to vote. Princes of Blood, resident in Tokyo, can sit in the Council, if they have attained majority. Most important state matters, like interpretation of the constitution, proclamation of martial Law, imperial ordinances, treaties and international

pledges, and all other matters referred to it by the Emperor, and those which fall under its jurisdiction according to the provision of the Imperial House Law, are discussed by it. (See Japan Year Book 1938-39, p. 106). But the influence of the Privy Council upon the actual administration is almost nil, though it claims the right of veto. According to A. Morgan Young "Government of all complexions were inclined to ignore it whenever possible" (*Imperial Japan*—1926-38—p. 56). But in the case of London Naval Treaty of 1930, we know that it recommended ratification of the treaty against the Ministry of Navy and in 1931, it demanded an explanation from the Army and the Navy for bomb attack on Chinchow. However, it should be remembered that the Privy Council in Great Britain has long ago entered a state of senescence, while its German analogue, the Prussian Gheimrath has also died a natural death. Nitobe, following Dr. Minobe, opines that in Japan too, it should delegate most of its powers to the Diet (*Nitobe-Japan*—p. 194).

The Supreme Command : Under Art. XII of the Constitution, the Emperor determines the organization and the peace standing of the Army and the Navy. The Japanese Army and Navy are "under the direct command and control of the Emperor and neither the Government nor the Diet has any right to interfere in the strategic actions or the number of men or ships to be maintained" (Japan Year Book—1938-39—p. 214). The Emperor in his Imperial Precepts to the Soldiers and Sailors declared : "The Supreme Command of our forces is in our hands and although we may entrust subordinate commands to our subjects, yet the ultimate authority we ourselves shall hold and never delegate to any subject. It is our will that this principle be carefully handed down to posterity and that the Emperor always retain supreme civil and military power, so that the disgrace of the middle and succeeding ages may never be repeated." The reference is, of course, to the insubordination and disruptions of the feudal ages when the *daimyo*s under their generalassimos governed the country in a spirit of semi-independence. The "Supreme Command" under the constitution of 1939, consists of the Ministers of War and Navy, the Chiefs of Army and Naval General staffs, the Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals and the High Military Council. Through unbroken usage these organs enjoy the privilege of advising the Emperor directly, that is, without collaboration of the Premier or the Cabinet as a whole, on matters of national defense and strategy. The plans agreed upon by the Emperor and the Chiefs of the respective General Staffs are handed to the Prime Minister, who in his turn consults the Diet as to the necessary appropriations. The Diet, while powerless to interfere with the actual naval and military projects, is entitled to determine the appropriations, but if the latter are reduced in such a way as to nullify the projects, such interference by the Diet is regarded as an encroachment upon the royal prerogative under Art. XII of the Constitution.

The military spirit of Japan has become almost proverbial and the semi-independence of the Ministries of War and Navy, their

refusal to bow down to the decisions of the Diet or even of the Cabinet, has created many acute constitutional and political problems of Japan which are not very easy of solution. The political instability, the parliamentary wrangles, the frequent assassinations of responsible ministers of the state, in short—the gangster politics of Japan is chiefly due to the irresponsibility of the Army and Navy Ministers to the Diet. Thus, Premier Takahashi was murdered in Nov. 14, 1921, Premier Hamaguchi in Nov. 1930, Mr. Inoue Junosuke on Feb. 9, 1932, Baron Dan Takuma in March 5, 1932, Premier Inukai on May 15, 1932. All these political murders, however, paled into insignificance before the general massacre of 26th Feb. 1936, when bands of soldiers under command from their superior officers set out in early morning and hacked to death Admiral Viscount Saito, Keeper of the Privy Seal; Mr. Takahashi, the Finance Minister; General Watanabe, the Inspector General of Military Education; Colonel Matsuo, brother-in-law of Admiral Okada, the premier. The Premier himself, Prince Saionji, Count Makino, and many others were also intended to be killed but were providentially saved. The whole conspiracy was a coup not only against the Government, but against the Throne as well.

Though there is a general dissatisfaction against these fascist methods of the Army, and against its extravagance which often dislocates the budget, yet a very strong criticism of it by the newspapers of Japan is seldom seen (Vide—*Imperial Japan* by A. Morgan Young p. 275). The Army exercises its power by laying down general principles not only as regards foreign affairs, but also on finance, social problems, and even constitutional issues. Thus, the Army demanded immediate dissolution of the House of Representatives, on the resignation of the Hirota Cabinet in January 1937, and on refusal thereof, the War Minister, Lieutenant-General Terauchi resigned, "evincing thereby the uncompromising attitude of the Army on the issue" (*The Japan Year Book—1938-39*-p. 142). It has also been found that the Army can compel an imperial nominee for premiership to resign by refusing to co-operate with him, as was the case in Premier Ugaki's failure to form a Cabinet in 1937. The internal discipline of the Army is often broken by young officers who disobey the orders of the Superiors in moments of heat and political passion. The discipline of the Navy is better and intrigue less prevalent, but there is also the same tendency on the part of the General Staff "to look upon the minister as a sort of liaison officer, whose chief duty was to make the Diet understand that it had to pass the estimates" (Young *Ibid*-p. 53). These characteristics have destroyed joint responsibility to the Cabinet and enhanced ministerial irresponsibility to the Diet. Really, as Nitobe wrote: "when the civilian members of a Cabinet come to respect the presence of all opposition, and resign because of it, the Naval and Military ministers can complacently continue to hold their seats, immune from political changes" (*Japan*--p. 185).

This danger against Japanese civil life and liberty has recently drawn the attention of many of her thinkers and politicians. Thus, on January 21, 1937, Mr. Kunimatsu Hamada of the Seiyukai strongly

condemned the actions of the military in 'May 15 and February 26 incidents', drew the attention of the House to the undercurrent of fascist or despotic ideas in the talks and movements of a part of the military circle and vehemently criticised Mr. Hirota, the premier, whose hasty and purposive revision of the rules regarding the appointment of Ministers of Army and Navy, in such a way that these portfolios could be assumed only by high officials in active service—was solely responsible for these unconstitutional and terrorist outrages. What Mr. Hamada said in 1937 was foreseen by Ozaki, the great parliamentarian of Japan who demanded as early as 1918 that "the posts of administrative chiefs and second chiefs of the Departments of War and Navy and Governors-General of Korea, Formosa and Kwantung should be open to civilians as well as to military men" (Ozaki—*Voice of Japanese Democracy* p. 82). The recruitment of the Ministers of War and Navy from officers in active service has preserved an *esprit de corps* of the Supreme Command, which has made itself predominantly felt in the Cabinet and destroyed both the joint responsibility of ministers and the evolution of democracy in Japan. The only redeeming feature in this dismal outlook is this, that the people have begun to see the baneful consequences of this system and already there are politicians who think that the Constitution and various Imperial Rescripts contain sufficient provisions whereby this sinister practice can be constitutionally altered without derogating from the sovereignty of the Emperor in the least.

The last and the most important organ of the Japanese Executive is, of course the Cabinet, though Harold Quigley describes it as "the least important of the elements of the crown in the determination of policy—limited to suggestion rather than to decision, to administration rather than to discretionary action" (The Government of Japan : *The Open Court*, May, 1935, p. 153). As regards appointment of the Ministers of State, the Imperial Address relating to official Discipline (December, 24, 1893), declared : "As to the appointment and dismissal of our Ministers of State, it rests entirely with our pleasure and no interference can be allowed on the part of any one else." The ministers are not only appointed by the Emperor, but are also responsible to him only for all advice that they shall give him under Art. LV. of the constitution. This responsibility of the Ministers is secured by a counter-signature of any one of them to all laws, ordinances and Imperial Rescripts of every kind. Ito clears up the issue of ministerial responsibility in Japan, thus : "In our constitution the following conclusions have been arrived at : first, that the Ministers of State are charged with the duty of giving advice to the Emperor which is their proper function, and that they are not held responsible on his behalf ; secondly, the Ministers are directly responsible to the Emperor, and indirectly responsible to the people ; thirdly, that it is the Sovereign and not the people that can decide as to the responsibility of Ministers, because the Sovereign possesses the rights of sovereignty of State ; fourthly, that the responsibility of Ministers of State is a political one and has no relation to criminal or civil responsibility nor can it conflict therewith, neither can the one affect the other" (*Ibid* p. 51). While agreeing

with the other conclusions of Ito, I think, we cannot agree with his third one, as the Constitution nowhere positively lays it down. Rather, the establishment of the Diet, the various Imperial Rescripts and proclamations, abundantly show that the Emperor is anxious to see that the representatives of the people should express their approbation or disapprobation of Governmental measures, and that the executive should try its best and utmost to abide by their will and expressed opinion ; for, the Emperor has declared it many times that what he wants above all is the realisation of the harmony between the people and the Government. Thus, there being this will of the Emperor, and there being nothing to obstruct the evolution of democratic Government in Japan, Ito's remark cannot be taken as a very useful interpretation of the constitutional position of the Ministers *vis-à-vis* the Emperor. As regards joint responsibility of the Ministers, Ito says : "the Minister President and the other Ministers of State being alike personally appointed by the Emperor, the proceedings of each one of them are in every respect, controlled by the will of the Emperor, and the Minister President himself has no power of control over the posts occupied by other Ministers, while the latter ought not to be dependent upon the former". I submit this to be a very conservative, illiberal and harmful interpretation of Art. LV. of the constitution. It is true, as Mogi and Redman point out, "the Prime Minister in Japan is far less independent than the President of the U. S. A. because of the invisible authorities over him" (*The Problem of the Far East*—p. 84), but it should be remembered that there is nothing in the constitution which can retard the growth of a healthy ministerial responsibility of the joint type in Japan. Ito has elsewhere developed a theory that the Sovereign, instead of exercising his power himself, can delegate this power to his political advisers, i.e., Cabinet Ministers or Generals in command of Army (e. g. in pp. 36-37, where Ito draws a distinction between Departmental and Imperial Ordinances under Art. IX.). Similarly, the Royal power of appointment, control, co-ordination, and dismissal of Ministers of State might be delegated in practice to the Prime Minister, by convention, as is the case in England, and Ito himself declares the necessity of joint responsibility in cases of "important internal and external matters of state" (p. 51, *Ibid*).

Happily, however, constitutional evolution of Japan has been rather democratic. Mr. Ozaki, admirably reviewing all the Ministerial appointments since the formation of the first Cabinet, remarks : "For acts done by the head of a department of State of his own volition and not by virtue of resolutions passed in the Cabinet, the Minister concerned alone is responsible ; while for acts done pursuant of resolutions passed in the Cabinet, all the Ministers are conjointly responsible" (*The voice of Japanese Democracy*—p. 64). Ozaki also opines that excepting special circumstances, the Emperors of Japan have always appointed the Ministers "jointly and collectively and upon the recommendation of the (prospective) Minister President" (p. 60—*Ibid*). Indeed in the Imperial Address on the reorganisation of the Cabinet, the Emperor declared on December, 23, 1885, that the Cabinet "should have direct control in all matters of state and that

its action should be uniform." And it has also been declared in the Cabinet Organisation Ordinance that the function of the Prime Minister is to preserve unity among the state Ministers (vide—Japan Year Book—1938-39—p. 98). Thus, the powers of the Prime Minister and the theory of joint-responsibility, both are rapidly growing in Japan. The practice of appointing the leader of the Majority Party as the Prime Minister, followed since 1900, was broken only with the appointments of Viscount Saito in May, 1932, Admiral Okada in July, 1934, and Koki Hirota in March 5, 1936. But in all these cases, it should be remembered, the political parties though disagreeing with the Government in details, always passed all the financial appropriations and important legislations in both Houses. The Hirota Cabinet as well as the succeeding Hayashi Cabinet were forced to resign when they failed to get the necessary support in the House of Representatives. The Hayashi Cabinet, notwithstanding its defeat in the General Election of April, 1937, had tried to subvert parliamentary government in Japan by refusing to resign. But on May 31, 1937, it was forced by popular opposition to vacate and thus uphold the growing democratic tradition of the constitution.

The Cabinet in Japan is composed of the Prime Minister and 13 other state Ministers, who hold the following portfolios: (1) Foreign Affairs, (2) Home Affairs, (3) Finance, (4) War, (5) Marine, (6) Justice, (7) Education, (8) Agriculture and Forestry, (9) Commerce and Industry, (10) Communications, (11) Railways, (12) Overseas Affairs and (13) the newly created Department of Health and Social Affairs. The following matters are prescribed to be presented to the Cabinet council: (1) All legislative and budget bills, (2) Treaties and other international matters of importance, (3) Ordinances to be issued, (4) Disputes among the various Departments regarding jurisdiction, (5) Petitions from the people received from the Emperor or from the Diet, (6) Outlays not prescribed in the budget, (7) Appointments and removals of officials of "*chokunin*" rank and also of prefectural governors. The dismissal of prefectural Governors appointed by a former Government and appointment therein of persons subscribing to the views of the party victorious at the polls, is undoubtedly making the permanent officials of the Executive dependent upon the vagaries of the election, and in America such a system known as "Spoils" is very much discouraged. But in Japan it is not regarded as a turpitude for "both parties (Seiyukai and Minseito) indulged freely in this vicious practice, protesting that they considered it very harmful, but that such dreadful men had been put in by the other party that purity in the general election could only be secured if the Governors were such men as the Ministry could regard as fair and unbiassed" (A. Morgan Young: *Imperial Japan*, 1926-38, p. 25).

By the Imperial Ordinance No. 593, promulgated on October, 14, 1937, a Cabinet Advisory Council, consisting of Councillors chosen from among experienced political, military and businessmen, has been established. It is an extraordinary Council, its function being to give

advice to the Premier and the Cabinet on important national policies "pertaining to the present national and international situations" (Japan Year Book *Ibid* P. 101). The Cabinet functions through a system of several bureaux e. g. the Secretariat, Pension Bureau, Statistics Bureau, the Printing Bureau, the Legislation Bureau, the Merit Bureau, the Board of Planning etc., each of which discharges the task proper to it. Each of the thirteen Executive Departments of the state has several bureaux, e. g. the Department of Foreign Affairs has got five bureaux, viz., (1) East Asiatic, (2) European and Asiatic, (3) American, (4) Commercial and (5) Treaties. After 1924, several parliamentary Vice-ministers were appointed to act as liaison officer between the Government and the Diet. By this system of a dual Vice-ministry, "it was hoped to maintain the stability of the Civil Service independent of any change of the Cabinet just as in Britain. But so far the principal permanent secretaries, such as those of the Home and Finance Ministry, have been changed with each change of Cabinet, owing to difficulty in working with new superiors" (*The Problem of the Far East* by Sobei Mogi and H. Vere Redman P. 84).

The Japanese Cabinet, is thus, like the English Cabinet, a hyphen that links the crown with the Legislature and therefore with the people. It is a body of ministers of the Executive and not of the Legislature. Its function is to prepare, initiate and urge for acceptance by the Diet of measures and legislations of national importance. It also directs the performance of day to day administrative works, issues ordinances, appoints or dismisses officers and with the approval of the Emperor determines treaties, incurs expenditure, and performs all sorts of highest executive works. It is in theory responsible to the Emperor only and not to the Diet, but in practice, it is becoming gradually dependent upon the voice of the people in the Diet. The Emperor is the sole sovereign authority in theory, but in practice he has always acted on the advice of responsible ministers of state, the Privy Council, the Genro, and other executive and advisory bodies in the state. The Japanese executive is not responsible to the Diet in the same sense as the English Cabinet is to the House of Commons. Its power over finance is very extensive. As Harold Quigley remarks: The Executive "dominates finance through control over various categories of appropriations which are excepted from the scope of Diet participation" (*Ibid* p. 155). Lastly, the Executive's power to issue ordinances extends over the whole field of legislation, though ordinances which amend or repeal a statute must have *ex post facto* approval of the Diet." Necessarily, in view of these wide powers of the Executive, the Legislature in Japan will be a comparatively harmless and unimportant organ whose powers can be at most critical, debatory and consultative.

But in my view, the nature of the Japanese Diet does not radically differ from that of the Legislatures of other countries. For, even in England, the question of Executive encroachment upon the rights of the Legislature and the Judiciary has become so much significant that Chief Justice Lord Hewart was compelled to write

that "it is a strong thing to place the decision of a Minister in a matter affecting the rights of individuals beyond the possibility of review by the Courts of Law. And it is a strong thing to modify by his personal or departmental order the provisions of a statute which has been enacted" (*The New Despotism* p. 19). Though I admit that the Japanese Diet has less powers than those of the English House of Commons, yet I submit, there is nothing in the written constitution of Japan to prevent the growth of democratic traditions in Japanese parliamentarianism. Let us now study the actual powers of the Diet.

5. THE EMPEROR AND THE LEGISLATURE

According to Article 5 of the constitution "The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Diet." But in Japan Law has two meanings (1) Horitsu or an Act of Parliament and (2) the other is ordinance. The first can be passed only with the consent of the Diet, the second can be issued by the Emperor or by the Government without the consent of the Diet, but in the latter case, such ordinances should be laid before the Diet when it sits in a session for the first time after their issuance, and the Diet should decide whether they should remain in force or not (Art 8). Further, all laws passed by the Diet require the Imperial Sanction which can order them to be promulgated and executed (Art. 6). The projects of law, however, can be initiated either by the Government or by the Diet. The Diet is composed of two Houses (1) the House of Peers and (2) the House of Representatives. Both Houses have equal power, but money bills are first presented before the Lower House. No House can proceed with any work unless it has been invoked by the Emperor, who can also open, close or dissolve the Diet.

The House of Peers is constituted in accordance with provisions of the House of Peers Ordinances, the latest of which, that of 1925, provides that the House will be composed of (a) all the Imperial Princes above 20 years of age, and the Kataishi and Kotoison if above 18. (b) All Princes and Marquises above 30 years of age, with the term of office for life. (c) 18 Counts, 66 Viscounts, and 66 Barons elected by the Peers of their respective ranks. They must be above 30 years of age and their term of office is 7 years. (d) Imperial nominees from among statesmen and scholars who have made valuable contributions to politics or science. They must be above 30 years of age and their term of office is for life. Their number must not exceed 125. (e) 4 members of the Imperial Academy, elected by the members thereof and nominated by the Emperor. Their term of office is 7 years. (5) Members elected by and from among the highest tax-payers, in any prefecture, in direct national taxation on land, income, and business profits. Each member represents 100 such high tax-payers, his age must be above 30, and his term of service is 7 years. The number of this class of members must not exceed 66 (Japan Year Book—p. 109.)

The House of Peers thus contains 150 elected Peers, and 199 representatives of statesmen, scholars, scientists, and wealthy

business-men, and a certain number of Imperial Princes, Princes and Marquises, whose number cannot be fixed on account of the nature of their status. But one thing is clear. When one bears in mind that Princes and Marquises are ranks that can be and are attained by men of ordinary birth, and that by the ordinance of 1925, the majority of peerage members was brought to an end and their number was made equal to that of the untitled members—one can easily see that the Japanese House of Peers is more representative and democratic than the English House of Lords. Indeed, though the Act of 1911 increased the powers of the House of Commons, yet the predominantly hereditary character of the House of Lords has compelled many English statesmen to think about reforms of this House and the Bryce Committee's recommendations to that effect strangely coincide with some of the provisions of the Japanese House of Peers. This Upper House in Japan is constituted of men of prudence, experience, erudition and great wealth. By the framers of the constitution, it was intended, as Ito pointed out, "to preserve an equilibrium between political powers, to restrain the undue influence of political parties, to check the evil tendencies of irresponsible discussions, to secure the stability of the constitution" (*Ibid* p. 45). And I should rather say that the House of Peers has more than fulfilled all the high promises that were expected from it. It has definitely developed along democratic lines. When the Lower House has failed to represent the popular will either due to bribery or due to suppression (as was done by Baron Tanaka in 1930), the Upper House, by voicing the public sentiment has upheld the principles of justice and democracy. Still, there are some movements in Japan favouring reform of the Upper House along these lines: (1) the reduction of the number of its members (at present over 400); (2) the abolition of stipends (an annual allowance of 3,000 *yen* is given to all elected members and Imperial nominees); (3) the proportion of titled members to be reduced and the method of electing them to be revised; (4) the appointment of Imperial nominees not to be left to the arbitrary choice of the Cabinet; (5) the age limit of members to be fixed; (6) the term of membership to be limited. (See—Nitobe: *Japan*—p. 199)

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The House of Representatives is constituted on the basis of the Electoral Law, which has been revised many times, in accordance with the development of democratic ideas in Japan. The latest revision, that of 1925, has provided for *universal suffrage*. It has abolished the division of districts into rural and municipal, and adopted a system of constituencies each electing from 3 to 5 representatives. All male subjects of the Emperor, of or over 25 years of age, having domicile in the electoral district for one year or more previous to the drawing up of the electoral list and still continuing to have it, are entitled to vote. Voting is done by secret ballots, and a candidate must be 30 years of age or over. But some persons have neither electoral nor eligible right, (Arts. 6--11; *Law of Election*) e.g. (1) lunatics and

idiots, (2) undischarged bankrupts, (3) persons who have been deprived of public rights or whose public rights are suspended, (4) men in the army or in the navy while they are in actual service, (5) the heads of families of nobility. The following persons have electoral right but are not eligible (Art. 9—13): (1) officials of the Imperial Household Department, (2) judges, (3) public procurators. Members of the prefectural assemblies cannot at the sametime be members of the House of Representatives. (See—Matsunami—*Constitution of Japan*—p. 78).

Art. XLV. of the Constitution declares that when the House of Representatives has been ordered to be dissolved, members shall be caused by Imperial Order to be newly elected, and the new House shall be convoked within five months from the day of dissolution. This provision is very important as it guarantees the continued existence of this House. Ito rightly pointed out that "should the constitution not have fixed the time for newly convoking the House after its dissolution, its existence would be left to the mere caprice of the Government" (*Ibid*—p. 48).

The number of members of the House is at present 466, while the number of voters have increased from 757,788 in 1904 to 13,938,456 in 1937. Still the franchise is not very broad-based, for women are not entitled to vote and the age restriction is rather high in comparison with Western countries. It has been pointed out that the powers of this house are equal to those of the Upper House, but the standard of debate is not so high. Further, as Uyehara pointed out, "the bureaucracy working hand in glove with the House of Peers—the political and legal character of the Lower House is not very strong" (Uyehara—*The Political Development of Japan*—p. 167). Lastly, the party character of the House, its multiplicity of views, and absence of general agreement among its members have prevented it from standing to the forefront of Japanese politics.

The Japanese Diet exercises its powers within the limits of the Constitution. Its constituent power is limited to deliberation on proposals of amendment initiated by the Emperor. Its consent is necessary for the continuance of an ordinance and for the enactment of a Bill. It can pass the appropriation, or reduce or throw them out. The national budget, excepting in cases of national emergency (Art. 70), must be presented before the Diet every year. When appropriations set forth in the titles and paragraphs of the Budget have been exceeded or when expenditures not provided for in the same have been incurred, the subsequent approval of the Diet has got to be obtained. But the financial powers of the Diet are not extensive. The Diet can not reduce the following expenditures: (1) Imperial House expenditures. (2) "Already fixed expenditures based by the constitution upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor", including (a) ordinary expenditures required by the organisation of the different branches of the Administration and by that of the Army and Navy, (b) the salaries of all civil and military officers (c) expenditures that may be required in consequence of treaties concluded with

foreign countries (d) expenditures that may arise by effect of law (e.g. expenses of the Houses of the Diet, annual allowances, pensions, salaries etc.) or from the necessity of fulfilment of legal obligations of the Government (e.g. interest on national debt, redemption of the same, subsidies, financial guarantees, etc.). Lastly, if the Diet refused to pass a budget, the Government is empowered by Art. 71 to carry out the budget of the previous year. Apart from these limited financial powers, the Diet can receive petitions from the people and can present written appeals to the Emperor against the actions of the State-Ministers. The Diet can also discuss all matters of national importance, criticise the conduct of the administration, ventilate the grievances of the people, and with regard to all these matters, the members enjoy complete freedom of speech. Unparliamentary, defamatory or indecent utterances are dealt with by the Diet in accordance with the rules made by itself. The Diet is empowered to regulate the internal business and procedure of the Houses and thus enjoys self-government. It is convoked annually by the Emperor, sits usually for three months, can prolong its session or may be convoked again for dealing with extraordinary matters. But the power of opening, closing, proroguing and dissolving rests with the Emperor. Each of the two Houses has a President and a Vice-President, who are appointed in the Upper House by the Emperor, but in the Lower House, the Emperor makes the appointment from among three candidates chosen for each of these positions. Each House has an Official Budget for internal management, while there are five and four standing committees for the Upper and the Lower House respectively. The Committee system saves much time and energy and gives a precision to discussion which would otherwise be lacking, as in the vast majority of cases, the report of the Committee determines the attitude of the Houses. (*Kennedy-Encyc. Britan.* vol. 12. p. 915.)

6. THE JUDICIARY IN JAPAN

Justice is administered by the Courts of Japan in the name of the Emperor. The function of the judiciary in Japan, as elsewhere, is to pronounce judgments upon infringement of rights, according to the provisions of law. The judges enjoy completely independent power of adjudication. They are appointed by the Emperor from among those who possess such qualifications as are determined by law and their security of office is guaranteed by Art. LVIII of the Constitution which says : "No judge shall be deprived of his position unless by way of criminal sentence or disciplinary punishment." Ito remarks that "the disciplinary rules applicable to judicial functionaries are fixed by law and carried out by the decision of a court of law" (*Ibid* p. 54). All trials and judgments of a court are conducted publicly excepting when there is danger, or harm, either from the point of view of peace and order or morality. No case can be determined by a special court unless such has been provided for by law. Art. LXI of the constitution, however, makes provision for Courts of Administrative Litigation whose function is to decide

on all issues in which administrative authorities are alleged to have infringed the legal rights of the people by illegal measures. This special protection of the Government Officers has brought considerable censure upon the Government of Japan, but it should be remembered that such administrative privileges exist in many Western countries, even in Republican France. The *Droit Administratif* of France is based upon two considerations (1) "that every servant of the Government possesses, as representative of the nation, a whole body of special privileges or prerogatives as against private citizens and that the extent of these rights, privileges or prerogatives is to be determined on principles different from the considerations which fix the legal rights and duties of a citizen towards another" and, (2) that "the government and its officials ought (whilst acting officially) to be independent of and to a great extent free from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts" (Dicey—*Law of the Constitution*—p. 332-333). In Japan, similar considerations impelled the framers of the Constitution to provide for these special courts. Ito, the man behind the constitution justifies this special procedure on two grounds. First, he says, the administrative authorities ought to possess power to remove obstacles that may be put against the carrying out of measures which they consider necessary for the State and for which they are constitutionally responsible to the Emperor. Secondly, "the question of administrative expediency is just what judicial authorities are ordinarily apt to be not conversant with..... Administrative cases ought, accordingly, to be left to the decision of men well versed in administrative affairs" (*Ibid* p. 55). But the organisation, procedure and rules of this Court are established by Law, just as the organisation of the judiciary in general.

In Japan the ordinary Courts of Law for the adjudication of civil and criminal cases consist of (1) District Courts (Ku-Saibansho)—courts of the first instance (2) the Local Courts (Chiho-Saibansho), courts both of the first and second instances, (3) Courts of Appeal, hearing appeals against first instance judgments of the Local Courts, and all other appealable matters that do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. All civil cases of the first and second instance, brought against the members of the Imperial family are adjudicated upon by the Tokyo Court of Appeal. (4) The Supreme Court (Taishin-in) is the highest Court of Law and possesses power to hear (a) appeals against judgments rendered by the lower courts (b) complaints determined by Law against decision or order rendered in the second instance by the Local Courts or by the Courts of Appeal. (c) Complaints against decisions to reject appeals made by the District or Local Courts.

Since 1923, Japan has adopted the jury system in criminal trials, where the punishment may be capital or penal servitude or imprisonment for life. The accused can claim jury trial when the imprisonment runs longer than 3 years. No jury trial is allowed in cases which come under (1) the special authority of Supreme Court, (2) offences against Imperial House or sedition (3) Violations of Peace Maintenance Law, (4) Violation of any law relating to the Military, and, lastly (5)

violations of Public Election Laws. The jury is composed of 12 men ; the verdict is determined by majority ; but, where the judge regards it as improper, the case may be referred to another jury. From a sentence based on a jury's verdict, no appeal lies, but revision may be prayed for in the Supreme Court. The Judicial System of Japan is an excellent institution. On the one hand, it has preserved the legal rights of the subjects of the Emperor, on the other, it has wonderfully adjusted itself to the exigencies of the state. In one particular point the Japanese Judiciary may claim superiority over all others, and that is in its keen desire to distribute justice absolutely impartially. By the Criminal Compensation Law, the state allows compensation to all innocent persons or their relatives, when the victims are dead, who have been improperly or wrongfully punished or kept in detention, the amount of compensation varying with the extent of injustice, the status of the victim, the duration of punishment etc. Here is something in Japanese Judicial System which many Western states would do well to imitate.

7. JAPANESE SUBJECTS AND THEIR RIGHTS

Several writers are in confusion as to the proper place of the Japanese people in the Constitution. Thus Watson wrote : "It is difficult to discern from the written constitution of Japan exactly what is the theory of the people's place in the polity of that constitution" (*The Future of Japan*—p. 291). But one thing is clear : there is no place for the theory of popular sovereignty in Japan. Nevertheless, the Emperor has declared times without number that "all measures should be decided in accordance with public opinion." The Constitution, further, has enumerated several duties and rights of the people, which are the following Rights :—Liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits of law (Art. 22) ; not to be arrested, detained, tried or punished but in accordance with law (Art. 24) ; the house of a subject can not be searched or entered into without his consent ; the secrecy of his letters cannot be violated ; the right to property, the freedom of speech, writing, publication, joining or calling public meetings, of religious beliefs are all preserved within the limits of law (Art. 25 to 28). In times of war or emergency, these rights can, however, be suspended by the exercise of Royal prerogative. As regards obligations, the constitution specifically mentions only two, viz., to serve in the Army or Navy, and to pay taxes that are lawfully determined (Art. 20, 21). The rule of Law, thus, exists in Japan. The various provisions of the Criminal Code (Articles 278-82) have definitely laid it down that any police or prison official arresting, detaining or treating any one harshly, otherwise than in accordance with law or exercising violence in order to extort confession, will be condemned to specially severe punishment. The liberty of speech, association, etc., is no more controlled in Japan than in some of the western democracies, while in comparison with the people's political condition in Germany and Italy, it must be said that Japanese ideal of individual liberty is far higher than that of the Nazis, Fascists, or Bolsheviks.

8. THE EVOLUTION OF THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION

There are some western writers who foresee in Japan a tremendous revolution in the conception of political liberty. Watson wrote : "In Japan a nation is bound to discover the humanity of a fleshy God and the unreligious conception of the state" (*The Future of Japan* — p. 351). Without any hesitation, we may say, that this is a very wrong conception of Japanese national psychology. The spirit of the Japanese constitution is supra-rational. It is out of accord with the 19th century nationalism or 20th century positivism. The Japanese people are not unaware of Locke and the contractualists, of Bentham and the utilitarians, of Hegel and the metaphysical authoritarians, or of Marx and the Communists. Yet, they have refused to part with their original native character, their ancient, age-old institutions, or the cult of Emperor-worship. Japanese conception of liberty is singular. Nitobe rightly says : "The idea of Liberty has been neither a historical inheritance nor a psychological libido of our people" (*Ibid* p. 219). It is communal and not individual. This aspect of liberty is very valuable, indeed indispensable for the present state of Japan. Considering her international difficulties, it is this conception of liberty which can bring Japan out of her troubles. Japan needs above all a national consolidation, and from this point of view, her constitution, the independence of the executive, the supremacy of the military, etc. are all valuable. Japanese chauvinism is the safeguard of Japanese liberty and international interest. But Japan has got to learn the western conception of liberty as well. It is a question of time. Already we find the Japanese ready to accord political rights to women. Already we notice as many as twelve political parties in Japan, some of them drawing their inspiration from Moscow, while others sketching their programmes in accordance with the spirit of western Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism. The Seiyukai, the Minseito, the Rono-to (Labour and Farmer's party), the Shakai Minshi-to (The Social Democrats) as well as the National Patriotic party—all are striving their best to promote individual freedom, and economic prosperity of the people. But all of them agree that the nation must not stand divided in its international front. In studying Japanese constitution we must remember that the Japanese military is mostly composed of farmers and labourers ; that literacy in Japan is tremendously high ; that people often express their political opinions without being intimidated by the State : that the economic and populational problems of Japan are extremely acute, and in the interests of justice, she must be given additional space under the sun. In the light of these circumstances, I think, political evolution of Japan has been tremendous, and with the satisfaction of her national wants, further reforms in the line of Western democracies is only a question of time. But one thing stands beyond doubt : the position of the Japanese Monarchy. The question of Bolshevik revolution in Japan is foolish. The constitution is elastic enough to preserve the sacred royal dynasty and yet to accord highest liberty to the people.

Fifty Years of Constitutionalism in Japan.

By

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In 1867 the feudal government of the Tokugawa Shogunate was overthrown and the Meiji Government established. This political change necessarily called for a drastic reorganization of the state on modernistic lines so as to meet effectively the political demands of the time. It was necessary to replace the old feudal regime with a new system of politics.

It should be noted, however, that the Imperial Restoration was due, not to a democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie, as in the case of Western countries, but to the movement against feudalism in which the feudal warriors (samurai), supported by their lords, took the most prominent part. No wonder that conditions in the early years of Meiji were as yet not sufficiently favourable for the adoption of the parliamentary machinery of government after the model of Western nations. It is true that this sort of administrative machinery was by no means a strange thing to the people by this time ; they knew it not only in its theoretical, but even in its practical aspects, either by personal observations or through various literary mediums.

But their understanding of it was on the whole superficial. The new Government, for a short time immediately after its establishment, when the antedated mechanism of feudalism decisively proved its own impotency in saving the new situation, could not reorient its course abruptly in the direction of a constitutional government. It was obliged to devise various makeshift measures and put them into practice as transitional experiments.

On March 14, 1868 (the first year of Meiji) the Emperor presented himself before his ancestral Gods and made the well-known Charter Oath, and then publicly proclaimed in an Imperial decree that the articles of the Oath would constitute the fundamental principles of his administration. The Oath reads as follows :

1. An assembly widely convoked shall be established, and thus great stress shall be laid upon public opinion.

2. The welfare of the whole nation shall be promoted by the everlasting efforts of both the governing and the governed classes.
3. All subject, civil and military officers, as well as other people shall do their best, and never grow weary in accomplishing their legitimate purposes.
4. All absurd usages shall be abandoned ; justice and righteousness shall regulate all actions.
5. Knowledge shall be sought for all over the world, and thus shall be strengthened the foundations of the Imperial polity.

Thus, the Meiji Government, with the proclamation of these five articles, made known its enlightened policies to the people. In order to win their confidence, the Government, proclaimed that the clansmen would be offered every opportunity to express their opinions, that careers would be open to men of talent, irrespective of their birth and social rank, and that the Government would foster friendly relations with other nations in place of former hostilities.

An edict was issued in the intercalary fourth month of the same year, which, to keep in line with those principles, made the following declaration :

All administrative powers shall be attributed to the Cabinet (Dajo-kan) in order that all laws may be uniform. The power of the Cabinet shall be divided into the legislative, the executive, and the judicial, to the exercise of any of which power equal importance shall be attached.

It was also decreed at this time that governmental offices should be elective and that the personnel would change every four years.

One should not overlook the fact, however, that the principle of mutual independence among the legislative, the executive and the judicial powers, as was defined in this decree, was significant only because it gave definition to the division of ministerial functions. As for the so-called election of government officials, too, those to be elected were subject to qualifications so scrupulous in reference to social rank and birth that the elections were anything but public ones. Likewise, the legislators were appointed but they were permitted only to act as a consultative body. In brief, the political reforms which the new Government launched at this juncture were but an imitation of Western procedures, experimentally installed on the remnants of the traditional feudalism.

Systems of civil service examinations, *choshi* or *koshi*, were also established. Their purpose, it was explained, was to "pick up" the "talents" from the clans and thus, through them, to pave the way for the expression of public opinion. But under the circumstances, with the feudal clanship still surviving, it was impossible to carry out these attempts to any satisfactory extent.

The number of the "talents" which could be selected from among the commoners was necessarily restricted, as they were, so to speak, at the mercy of the upper classes.

At any rate, it is important to observe that these examinations were established only for the purpose of gathering a handful of men from the feudal clans and to ask their opinions on some questions. These institutions persisted for a considerable length of time, with some modifications either in designation or in method, but they were after all a kind of feudal assembly. Their influence was limited to discussion and the offering of advice as a consultative body.

In 1872 (the fifth year of Meiji) the *Sain*, which constituted one of the organs legislative *de jure*, but consultative *de facto*, as has just been mentioned, began to prepare a draft of the Constitution. This was the initial enterprise undertaken by the Government for the preparation of a constitution.

This decision on the part of the Government might have been due, among other things, to the necessity of establishing an organic law befitting a modern power. This necessity had come to be felt more and more keenly since the preceding year, when the modern system of local government (prefectural) was effected in place of the former clan system. One must remember also that the interest of the people in the parliamentary, that is to say, Western scheme of government was increasing rapidly.

Two plans were drafted at this time. One was for a bicameral parliament and the other was for an assembly of representatives elected by the government, which was purported as a temporary expedient to be convoked prior to the former. But before these plans could obtain the necessary approval from the Ministers of State, the cabinet had to face a crisis over the Korean problem, which resulted eventually in the Satsuma Rebellion, the last of the military revolt by the feudal samurai.

In 1874, Itagaki Taisuke, Goto Shojiro, Eto Shinpei, and their associates, who had advocated strong measures against Korea, sub-

mitted a memorial to the government petitioning the latter to grant a "popularly elected" institution. They criticized severely the absolutistic attitudes of the bureaucrats and insisted that the establishment of an institution of this nature would be the only way to insure the glory of the Imperial Family and the prosperity of the Empire. This petition, it should be noted, gave a forcible impetus to the movement for the establishment of a *national assembly* and, from this time on, cries for such an institution gradually came to be heard from the masses as well.

It happened that Iwakura Tomoyoshi, Kido Takayoshi, Okubo Toshimichi and their suite returned from their tour of inspection to to Europe and America, deeply impressed by the actual operation of parliamentarism in those countries. Kido, the most progressive of these leaders, particularly had great foresight. He firmly believed that the constitutional system of government was the best one and presented to the Ministers a written opinion to this effect. He went even so far as to publish a constitutional draft, a remarkable document and one which will long remain to his credit.

It was under these circumstances that the Memorial by Itagaki and his associates was submitted to the Government, and the authorities concerned, therefore, could not neglect a petition of this kind any longer. In 1876, an Imperial message was issued ordering the Senate (Genro-in)* to draft an Imperial Constitution. The Senate, established in the preceding year, immediately applied themselves to the task of investigating the constitutions of the various European and American nations, which bore fruit in the shape of a draft bill.

This draft, however, which provided for a constitutional monarchy and a bicameral parliamentarism was disapproved by the Ministers, especially, Iwakura, on the ground that it granted, after the fashion of the British Constitution, too many powers to the parliament. On the whole, the enthusiasm for liberal democracy reached its climax within a few years after the subjugation of the Satsuma Rebellion. Cries for a constitution and a national assembly ran rampant throughout the country. Innumerable political associations were organized one after another, and the doors of the Government, as well as the

* This was an appointive body, its purpose being to discuss and decide upon measures of new legislation or the revision of existing laws. It had no initiative powers, and could only discuss measures sent down from the cabinet by command of the Emperor.

houses of high government officials, were knocked without cessation by enthusiasts who came to Tokyo from every corner of the country with petitions in their pockets.

After all, the peculiarity of the Japanese constitutional movement lies in the fact that it had been promoted solely by petitions issued principally by ex-samurai.

Never at any time had an appeal been made for direct action. Those petitions had this in common, that all of them, with due regard for the natural rights of mankind, stressed the formation of a responsible (party) cabinet system based on a constitutional monarchy. In one word, the public opinion of that time unanimously insisted upon the promulgation of a constitution and the convocation of a national assembly, a slight diversity being discernible only in the point of the organization of the parliament, i. e. whether it should be unicameral or bicameral.

On October 12, 1881, an Imperial decree was issued promising to convene a national assembly in 1890 (the twenty-third year of Meiji) and announcing that the constitution to be promulgated should be a moderate one, granted by the Sovereign. With this decree, the way was firmly paved for the introduction of constitutionalism.

As a preparatory measure, the Government sent Ito Hirobumi to Europe, 1882, to observe the actual operation of constitutional government. Ito, with his staff, fulfilled this mission chiefly by investigating the governmental system of Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony. He studied in the meantime the principles of public law under the guidance of those German publicists, Rudolf von Gneist and his disciple Albert Mosse and Lorenz von Stein who was at that time at Vienna. Ito returned in the following year 1883. In 1885 he created, in preparation for the adoption of constitutionalism, a modernized cabinet system in place of the semi-feudal *Dajo-kan* system. On April 28, 1888 he established the Privy Council in order to deliberate on the draft of the constitution and the collateral status, which he had worked out with Inoue Kowashi, Ito Miyoji, and Kaneko Kentaro according to the counsel of foreign advisers, especially that of Hermann Rossler, the instructor to whom the Japanese framers constantly referred.

The statement that Itô delivered at the opening of the deliberation, which continued from May 25, 1888 to January 31, 1889, might well be cited as an indication as to what the framers of the Constitution intended in drawing up the draft. The statement runs as follows :

"To effect a constitutional government in our country is in every sense an unprecedented event, as it has never been practised before in any of the Oriental countries. It is impossible, therefore, for us to pre-estimate exactly its possible effect on the future of our Empire. It might prove salutary to it, but with equal possibilities, it might not.

But there is every reason to doubt that there can exist any vehicle which will prove more effective in the administration of the state than the constitutional system of government. Moreover, feudalism was abolished in our country twenty years ago.

What remains for us to do, therefore, is to use great prudence in the formulation of a constitution and endeavour to carry it as far as possible to perfection. Before turning to the formulation, however, we must fix a pivot upon which the constitution may operate. A democratic system of government without this pivot will most likely bring disorder and adversity to the State. In the countries of Europe constitutionalism is more than ten centuries old, and the people are not only experienced in the manipulation of of this mechanism, but also provided with a religion which has served as a mental pivot to the operation of this system.

In our country, on the contrary, there exists no religion whose influence upon the people's minds can be strong enough to serve in this capacity. This pivot, however, shall be found in the Imperial Family in our country. This pivot, therefore, has never been lost sight of in drafting the constitution, in which, as will be seen from the text, the Imperial prerogatives are held in the highest possible esteem...

Thus in this draft, absolute sovereignty forms the pivot on which the constitution is based, and every care has been taken not to neglect it. It is, therefore, entirely different in nature from the European constitutions which have been instituted either on the basis of divided sovereignty or in accordance with the principle of condominium....."

Generally speaking, our Constitution was formulated almost as the framers had wished it to be. Briefly summarized it is as follows :

1. Our country is ruled over by the Emperor whose line has never been broken for ages eternal.
2. Affairs related to the Imperial Household are beyond the scope of the Diet. (Absolute Imperial autonomy).

3. Membership in the Cabinet is appointive and irrespective of party affiliations. (Non-party cabinet system).
4. The Privy Council functions as the supreme consultative body in response to questions from the Emperor.
5. The two Houses are accorded equal powers.
6. Powers to carry out diplomacy, declare war, and conclude peace are the Emperor's prerogative.
7. The Emperor is the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy.
8. The Diet enjoys only a restricted power in legislature as well as in the deliberation on the budget.
9. Rights granted to the people are not unqualified.

In other words, this constitution provides only the most general of general rules, and the provisions are extremely succinct. As an organic law, it is incomparably instrumental to the maintenance of the Sovereignty and the expansion of the prestige of the State. The fact that it could have worked for so long a time up to the present without any need of revising, testifies to the presence of its additional virtues, i.e., a tremendous elasticity for application and adaptability to the changing circumstances.

The promulgation of this constitution took place on Empire Foundation Day (February 11th) of the year 1889 (the twenty-second year of Meiji), amid much national rejoicing. The first Diet was convoked in the following year. At this time, however, the standard of property qualification for electors was still considerably high. The minimum being fixed at the payment of direct taxes aggregating no less than fifteen *yen*, franchise was accorded only to some 450,000 of the middle and upper landlords and other portions of the propertied class, i. e., about one per cent of the entire population.

At any rate, the Japanese constitution, the first of its kind in Asia, now began to function. The Diet at first had to witness repeated attacks launched by the representatives upon the government on such problems as how to foster the national resources, or how to cut the government expenses, etc. Budgets presented by the the Government had more than once to be deplorably cut down. It should be observed, however, that such enmity and opposition could exist only in the debating on questions having no bearing on the Imperial Household or international troubles.

As history tells us, once the latter came on the *tapis*, both of them united instantly to fulfil their duties.

Essentially, the two great parties of the early Meiji era—the Liberal (*Jiyū*) and the Progressive (*Kaishin*)—consisted likewise of the radical liberal democrats. The leaders of the two parties were Itagaki Taisuk^o and Okuma Shigenobu respectively. The former party was somewhat more radical than the latter in its conception of constitutional monarchy, while the latter placed its ultimate object in the formation of a party cabinet after the pattern of the British system. It is true that they could not always conduct themselves in concert during the early years of the Diet. But the traditional critic spirit, which had been cultivated by their continued experiences as non-governmental parties, would not die so fast. Acting upon this spirit, they had been found not infrequently to have united in attacking the Government. Especially so, after the Liberal Party was purged of its ultra-radical members who had, from 1882 to 1884, repeatedly appealed to direct action in various places to overthrow the clan government.

At one time, when the government ventured an interference in an election, their opposition to it eventually developed into an affair of bloodshed, which, however, ended in victory for them.

The ministry at first refused to recognize the party cabinet system, as has been mentioned above, so that cabinets changed one after another irrespective of political parties. Not until 1898, when a coalition cabinet was organized by Okuma and Itagaki, did there appear in this country a party cabinet. This was organized on the footing of the two former leading parties, now united as a new Constitutionist (*Kensei*) party. It proved highly ineffective, however, on account of discord among the ex-Liberals and ex-Progressists, and dissolved in a short time amid criticisms. This dissolution, again, was followed by a renewed succession of bureaucratic cabinets.

Political parties, nevertheless, continued to accumulate their influence, keeping pace with the social advancement along modernistic lines. Ito Hirobumi, who had once refused so flatly to recognize the political party, now decided to organize one by himself. It was the Friends of the Constitution (*Rikken Seiyukai*), consisting principally of the ex-Liberals of the Constitutionist party.

The conclusion, at last, seems to have been arrived at that the political party should not be neglected if one were to set the Diet in operation smoothly. The political parties, too, were not always in

sharp opposition to the clan-bureaucrats. The fact was that they took their action more often than not in relative concert with each other, finding some way or other to a compromise. It must be due to the political outlook of the time that the necessity of effecting a more compact co-operation between them came to be felt keenly.

The salient feature of our constitutional government, that whatsoever the party it would spare no time in bringing about a complete unity in case of any national emergency, has been mentioned. At no time had it been more clearly revealed than during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. When these wars broke out all parties stopped their political strife and united in a body to give strong support to the war budget and to encourage the people and the soldiers at the front.

As the Meiji era drew near its end, there appeared a marked tendency for men in industrial and commercial circles to launch into the field of politics. The cabinet, therefore, could not effectively conduct the administration without making due concessions, not only to the political parties, but to those circles as well. It is needless to say that this circumstance occasioned the political parties in the long run to become, in a sense, the representatives of influential commercialists and industrialists, although they had never broken away from the bureaucrats. It is true that the unpropertied class, too, came to the fore in the society, but they were at this period, naturally enough, not sufficiently influential as yet to form a political party of their own.

The political machinery at this time was being manipulated principally by the Friends of the Constitution and the Constitutionists in co-operation with the Elder Statesmen. The movement in defense of the constitution, which sprang up at the end of the Meiji era, is very indicative of the increased influence which political parties exerted on the bureaucracy. It happened that Katsura Taro was ordered to form a cabinet. This command, which was made allegedly without due regard for political parties, was considered "fatal" to the principles of constitution. The Katsura Cabinet was exposed in consequence to the combined opposition of all the parties and resigned. In this case, the Elder Statesmen were also severely criticized, because they had done inexcusable wrongs to the proper operation of constitutionalism, so asserted the party statesmen.

In September, 1918, Hara Kei, then chief of the Friends of the Constitution formed a cabinet which happened to be the first party

cabinet worthy of the name in Japan. These Friends of the Constitution together with the Constitutionists organized by Katô Kômei in March, 1915, continued for a considerable length of time to constitute the two principal political parties of Japan.

From this period, however, the currents of the time turned in favour of a universal suffrage, the people becoming dissatisfied with a mere revision of franchise.

A universal suffrage bill was presented to the Diet at its forty-second session, 1919, by the Constitutionists and the Nationalists (Kokumin-tô).

On account of this bill, however, the Diet was dissolved by the command of Hara Kei, because such a bill, as he styled it, was "improper". Universal suffrage was thus denied once and for all. It is worthy of notice that it was denied by the first party cabinet of this country. Hara Kei was stabbed to death on November 4, 1921, and a new cabinet was formed by Takahashi Korekiyo.

After the Takahashi Cabinet resigned in June of the following year (1922), the cabinet organization again threatened to return to its former transcendental state. The succeeding cabinet was formed by Kiyoura Keigo, its ministers being recruited largely from the House of Peers. At this occurrence, opinions were divided among the Friends of the Constitution as to whether or not they should give support to this cabinet.

In an instant, the flags of defence of constitutionalism against bureaucratic cabinet were hoisted at the same time from the parties of Constitutionists and Friends of Constitution, as well as from the Reformists' Club (Kakushin Club). The Kiyoura Cabinet resigned at last.

In June of the same year, Kato Komei, then chief of Constitutionists, was ordered by the Emperor to form a cabinet. He accordingly organized a coalition cabinet on the basis of those three parties which had combined to defend constitutionalism. It is this cabinet, it should be noted, that gave the final approval to the *universal suffrage*. This "Constitutional Defenders' Cabinet", as it is usually termed, dissolved itself through its internal discord in July, 1925, and was succeeded by the Constitutionists' Cabinet formed by Kato Komei, and then by Wakatsuki Reijiro, because of the death of the former.

It was during this period that well-organized "Labour and Farm" movements gradually gained their ground among the masses, and by the force of circumstances, the Peace Preservation Law was promul-

gated. Nor less worthy of notice are the particularly energetic political activities at this juncture, which were marked and inspired by the practice of universal suffrage.

On April 20, 1927, the Friends of Constitutions' Cabinet formed by Tanaka Giichi took the place of the Wakatsuki Cabinet. In the meantime, the Constitutionists and the True Friends of the Constitution (Seiyu-honto), led by Tokonami Takejiro, were combined into the Popular Constitutionists (Minsei-to). And Hamaguchi Yuko, then heading this Popular Constitutionist Party, became premier, succeeding Tanaka Giichi. It might have clearly been seen that the party cabinet system was quite spectacularly in prevalence during this period. Two major parties were alternatively taking the reins of government, and everything seemed so wonderfully in order that such a situation was believed by most people to be the "regular way" of constitutionalism. Political parties presented themselves almost as the vital forces of parliamentarism.

It is important to remark, however, that incurable corruptions were already at work to undermine those parties when they were at the zenith of their glory. This prejudiced the public so unfavourably against them that little sympathy could be expected from it when bureaucracy came to prevail again in the cabinet organization after the assassination of Premier Inukai Ki on May 15, 1932. This situation was looked upon rather as a deserved fruit of corruption. Wages of sin must be paid, after all, so thought the people.

Just half a century has elapsed since our Constitution was promulgated. During this period, the Parliamentary Government passed through a long stage of development: first, under the control of Elder Statesmen and bureaucrats, and later, under the co-operation of bureaucrats and political parties.

There was a time when political parties took the lead in the arena of politics according to the party cabinet system. Then came the dramatic shift of scene, as has been mentioned, in which the political parties were supplanted by new bureaucrats, and there has appeared, most recently, the *whole-nation* cabinet. The latter advocates "universal affinity" in response to the present emergency which has been instigated by the Sino-Japanese conflict.

The constitution, however, has been functioning constantly as a basic formula of our government. It has not undergone the slightest change, having remained above influence from any source whatsoever. This is undeniably due to the fact that the Japanese people hold it in the highest esteem, looking upon it as a symbol of the august virtue of the Emperor, because it was promulgated by His Majesty in person.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The degradation of the Overseas Indians

Occasional discussions and desultory debates in our central legislature on the abject plight of Indians abroad betray the significant fact that the gravity of the problem is but vaguely understood. Not only there is no permanent and efficient organization to cope with that problem but even an up-to-date Information Bureau has not been started either by the Central Government or by the National Congress. The Department of Education, Health and Lands professes to deal with the Indians living within the British Empire, but how often has that Department given satisfactory explanations, what to speak of adequate protection, to our suffering brethren abroad? No reliable statistics of the Indians in non-British territories are available so far and even the figures of the Indians in different parts of the British Empire are not up-to-date in many cases. In rough calculation the total strength of Overseas Indians is accepted to be nearing 3,000,000 millions and with only 4,000,000 millions the Irish made their mark as a nation and a proud member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Overseas Indians are potential assets of great value, and in as much as they represent the Greater India of the future, we appeal to all Indians official as well as non-official, to join hands and to develop a permanent Overseas League for India with its political, legal, international, economic and cultural divisions. It may start functioning as a Bureau of Information collecting and disseminating authoritative news and statistics. But it should aspire to send every year social, economic and cultural missions led by recognised specialists to the various zones of Indian settlement. We fully endorse the opinion of our veteran leader Mr. N. N. Joshi who observed that "until Indians both abroad and in this country organised themselves they could hope for little redress." The Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay, the Servant of India Society of Poona, the Greater India Society of Calcutta, among others, should co-operate to initiate a clear-cut policy and to rouse public interest so as to build a permanent fund for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of our unfortunate countrymen abroad. The Indian Institute of International Affairs

from its head office at New Delhi and its branch centres of Calcutta and Bombay may also undertake systematic researches into the economic, social and legal status of the Overseas Indians.

The Calcutta Branch of the Indian Institute of International Affairs

The Calcutta branch, happily located at the Imperial Library, has undertaken the modest yet significant task of surveying the "essential interests of India" in a volume *India and the World*. Hindus, Moslems and Britishers meet in a spirit of friendly collaboration each surveying the problems from his individual point of view and at the same time subjecting such personal interpretations to general criticism. This study-circle aspires gradually to develop along the line of the Chatham House study-group but concentrating on the problems of India as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and on its strategic, economic and cultural role in the history of New Asia. Trends of affairs in the Orient are changing so rapidly that such systematic surveys of International Affairs in the East must be of great importance, and it is a matter of congratulation that the Royal Institute of International Affairs is taking keen interest in the development of the Calcutta branch with Dr. Kalidas Nag as chairman and Mr. J. F. Sinclair as secretary. They have received messages of friendly co-operation from Mr. Ivison S. Macadam, Prof W. K. Hancock and Lord Lothian. Miss Margaret Cleeve of the Library and Publications Department of the Chatham House has kindly undertaken to prepare select bibliographies for the members of the Calcutta study-group and valuable books and bulletins are coming from the Chatham House as well as from the Australian and the Canadian Institutes of International Affairs.

Growing interest in Asiatic history and culture

Thanks to the noble initiative of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the University of Calcutta is proud to own to-day a special Department on Ancient Indian History and Culture with its allied Depts. of Medieval and Modern History, of Philology and Anthropology. The professors, lecturers and research-scholars of this Department are contributing substantially to the stock of Oriental learning, as it was explained by Dr. Kalidas Nag in course of his Poona lectures at the invitation of the organisers of the *Vasanta Vyakhyana Mala*.

Recently Dr. Nag was invited by the Government of Kashmir, Department of Education under K. G. Saiyidain, the Director, to

deliver a series of lectures on "Asia, ancient and modern." Starting with the pre-historic dawn of the Peking Man and the Java Man, Dr. Nag surveyed the proto-historic and the historical epochs, suggesting the magnificent background of the later historical episodes and dynasties. His passionate appeal for the inclusion of the history of Asiatic culture in the syllabus of studies of our universities was strongly endorsed by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, the learned Director-General of Archaeology who presided over the lecture in Srinagar. The students and professors as well as the general public both in Srinagar and Jammu flocked to the lectures of Dr. Nag who was warmly received by the ministers and high officials of the State who were lavish in their hospitality and who offered all facilities to the professors and students of the University of Calcutta desiring to study any problem of Kashmir, its history, archaeology or anthropology. Mr. R. C. Kak the renowned antiquarian and now the Chief Secretary was specially interested in the project of Dr. Nag for a systematic exploration of Kashmir which, as he said, was a vast reservoir taking the inflow of diverse cultures : Indian, Iranian, Central Asian and Tibetan. It is a happy augury that the Kashmir Government has entrusted Dr. Nalinaksha Dutta of the Calcutta University with the task of editing the rare Buddhist manuscripts discovered in Gilgit, now the British leased area.

While visiting the historical sites and monuments of Kashmir, Dr. Nag was invited by the state of Patiala through Sardar H. K. Bhattacharya, M. A., the Director of Public Instruction. The Hall of the beautiful Mohendra College was packed when Dr. Nag delivered his addresses on the "Makers of New Asia", on "The Cultural trends in the New Orient" and on "Rabindranath, his life and art." As a member of the Education Re-organisation Committee of Bihar, Dr. Nag was also requested to give a special lecture on Mahatma Gandhi's Wardha Scheme and Basic Education and it was followed by lively discussions in which the learned Director and his staff of Inspectors and Teachers participated. Dr. Nag was shown some of the rare historical records and documents by the Secretary of the Foreign Department. The Fort, with its wonderful collections of old arms and the superb art objects in the beautiful palace of Motibagh were shown to him by Sardar Gokul Chand. Every department of the State appeared to be roused into a new enthusiasm radiating from the personality of the youthful Maharaja of Patiala who is showing a rare capacity for work and sympathy for his subjects.

Sir Leonard Woolley on Indian Archaeology

Invited by the Govt. of India, the renowned British Archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley made a rapid survey of our Monuments and Museums during the winter months. Endorsing his opinions we quote below a few significant sections from his valuable Report just released from Simla :

Archaeology could and should play a far more important part than it does in the life of the Indian people. Especially for an Indian at the present time is it important that he should learn how the India which he knows has come into being, understand what is in the light of what has been, and in the clashes of race and creed, should stress not the accidents of strife but the power of the Indian spirit to assimilate what was good even in an enemy culture without sacrificing its own individuality. Here archaeology can help and the Archaeological Survey as the official organ of archaeology has a duty to perform.

This observation is made by Sir Leonard Woolley in his report on the work of the Archaeological Survey of India, just published. The Department, says Sir Leonard, ought to arrange for the publication, at a low price, of small well-illustrated books which will bring the ordinary reader up to date regarding the discoveries and the problems of Indian archaeology.

The second channel through which the Archaeological Survey can fulfil its educational functions, is the museums. The need is, therefore, emphasised of closer association of the Department with museums maintained by Provincial Governments, municipalities and learned societies. Closer collaboration with the universities and colleges of India is also advocated.

Sir Leonard considers that immediate progress can be achieved in a hitherto neglected branch of archaeology, namely, proto-history or the study of the Stone Age. India is one of the richest countries in the world for remains of the earliest phases of man's existence. Though the study of the Stone Age antiquities is a highly specialised one, there are Indian specialists, trained for this work by the leading authorities in Europe, who can be recruited without delay to the Archaeological Survey.

Central Museum

The policy of local museums on excavated sites has, in the opinion of Sir Leonard, proved a failure. The first function of a museum is to

house and preserve antiquities ; the second to further, by means of its collections, the advance of science either through studies carried out by the museum staff or by giving facilities for study to other scholars ; and thirdly to be an educational centre for the instruction of the general public.

The museums at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Nalanda and Nagarjunakonda fail to fulfil the main functions of a museum and should be closed down, says Sir Leonard. The unique collections at present housed there should be transferred to museums which are accessible to the public.

In the existing Central Asian museum at Delhi there are collections which have little connection with the main currents of Indian culture and even these are inadequately housed. A plea is, therefore, made for a Central Museum at Delhi, which should be a national museum capable of exhibiting worthily the magnificent material available.

A radical change is recommended in excavation policy. Though knowledge has been obtained of various periods from the Indus civilization down to historical times, no cultural framework has been established, and there are gaps in knowledge which require to be filled in. With significant exceptions the study of pottery, which is recognised as a sure basis for the compilation of chronological scheme of cultural history, has been selected. Instead of sporadic excavations and excavations at sites which have yielded complete results, sites should be selected with the object of discovering missing links in the cultural chain.

Pre-Requisites for Excavation

In selecting a site for excavation the conditions which should be satisfied are that the site should have been inhabited over a long period, so that stratified conditions are probable affording evidence for a chronological sequence, that some of the strata should belong to some known historic periods, that the site should have been in the past of such importance that articles representative of the culture of the period are likely to be found, and that the site should be one lending itself to excavation.

The merits of various well-known sites in North India are considered, and the conclusion is reached that Ramnagar, in the

Bareilly district of the United Provinces, is the most likely to reward systematic and scientific excavation. In South India, the problem is more difficult, as no single site is likely to produce a continuous type sequence, but the view is expressed that several sites might contribute towards the establishment of such a sequence for South Indian Archaeology, and that the start should be made with a late site, so that work may advance from the known to the unknown.

Preparations should be made for a detailed archaeological survey of the whole country. Sites of every kind should be listed, mapped and a record compiled of objects collected at each site. A detailed survey of this kind would later enable a programme of a future work to be drawn up, calculated most surely and most economically to answer to the varying demands of advancing knowledge.

India needs for the education of its own people a vast amount of archaeological material which it cannot afford to exavate itself and greater encouragement should be given to excavation by foreign scientific expeditions. So far there has been little response from outside expeditions, and the view is put forward that, while Indian interessts must be safeguarded, expeditions by foreign museums must be assured of liberal treatment by means of a statutory provision guaranteeing a half share in all antiquities discovered. In the Near East, particularly in Syria similar liberal treatment has succeeded in attracting foreign expeditions and has enabled those countries to build up museums worthy to rank with the great museums of the world. Only by a similar policy can India reap the full advantage of its artistic inheritance.

The prolificness of Indian styles of art, the constant discovery of antiquities similar to pieces previously believed to be unique, the value to the credit of the country from the exhibition in foreign museums of objects worthy of Indian culture, the large number of sites which would repay excavation and the fact that the soil of India will yield far more material than Indian museums require make a policy of generosity expedient.

But, at the same time, more stringent rules should be made for the control of expeditions to ensure that they have the requisite finance and technical ability for scientific excavation work. It is also suggested that the Director-General of Archaeology should be given powers to attach students or officers of the Department to expeditions, so that a cheap means of training staff would be available.

Friendship with all : Siam's Foreign Policy

- The substance of the speech of Siamese Foreign Minister Chao Phya Shidharmadhibes, delivered over the radio was received recently. The basic principle of the Siamese foreign policy is friendship alike with all nations, the Foreign Minister stressed in his radiocast.

The gist of the broadcast, entitled "Siam's Foreign Policies," is presented below :

I welcome this opportunity to address my fellow countrymen on the subject of Siam's relations with foreign powers. I shall speak with frankness, because we have no secrets to conceal. All our treaties have been published. I shall also endeavor to use very clear language, because my purpose is to promote good understanding and avoid any possible misunderstanding.

The basic principle of Siamese foreign policy has been frequently stated—it is friendship alike with all nations. This policy represents not only the traditional policy of the Siamese people, but also the declared policy of the present government. The direction of our foreign policy has been established by a long tradition.

We are in population and material resources a small nation and all we seek is continued independent national existence based on reciprocal relations of equity and justice and friendly cooperation on equal terms with other powers.

We are therefore prepared to give justice with an equal hand, to rely on international law and to apply it, and to observe strictly our international agreements, being confident that we count on the same treatment in return.

In fact we wish to do a little more than that. We wish to manifest to all friendly nations not only the justice to which they are entitled, but also a large measure of courtesy and cordiality whenever the occasion permits.

Very recently such opportunities were presented by the visits of Sir Shenton Thomas, the Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Malay States, by the visit of Vice-Admiral Le Bigot and the officers and crews of the French squadron, and a few days ago by the visit of Vice-Admiral Sir Percy Noble and his ships. An informal visit by two American ships is expected shortly.

These courtesies would not have accomplished their real objective if they had failed to make it very clear to the representatives of these

friendly powers that Siam is a peaceful nation with no aggressive intentions, is occupied in achieving national development and progress, and is animated by sincerely friendly intentions toward distant as well as neighboring countries.

Even more important than these international courtesies is the fact that all our new treaties have now been ratified and are in force. I cannot ask that you all study the texts of these documents although of course they are public and available, but I can tell you in a few words what they mean.

They are solemn agreements to the effect that Siamese abroad may freely pursue their lawful affairs without hindrance and with full protection from the governmental authorities there and that equally foreigners in Siam may freely go about their legitimate business without hindrance, for the government has undertaken to protect them.

These treaties without exception are on a basis of equality and reciprocity and have become part of the law of the land. Our good faith, our own interest, and our reputation as a law-abiding nation require a strict observance of these engagements, as indeed we expect the same observance on the part of the other nations.

It would be a mistake to assume that all these matters having been settled, no further problems of importance remain. A nation is never static. Our country particularly has a long list of tasks to be accomplished, in the development of the country, the enlarging of our commercial interests, and in raising the standard of living.

True accomplishment is the result of careful planning and careful execution, without sudden changes of policy or drastic measures. The government will therefore proceed with proper care.

The task which lies ahead is a large one. Siam has extensive territories and a relatively small population. National development requires an increase in our population, for there are still vast tracts of land remaining to be developed. Land must be developed by the population itself, for it is a national heritage; and this must not be allowed to be impaired.

I have no doubt that our problem will be recognized by other nations and due approval be given to our natural desire to reserve for our descendants the inheritance that has come to us. Indeed, in the treaties to which I have referred, a proper basis is laid for safeguarding the public domain for Siamese subjects.

While nations all over the world are piling up armaments, we

have had likewise to equip ourselves with a certain amount of modern armament, strictly required for defense purposes. We have no other purpose than self-protection. We have no aggressive designs.

We are a peace-loving nation and we are especially glad that in these rather troubled times, we can reasonably expect that we shall remain a peaceful country uninvolved in inter-national entanglements and, with sincerely friendly feeling for other countries, be left tranquilly to pursue a course of freedom, justice, and national development.

Iran Spanned by Lofty rail line

The correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor writes :

The rumble and clank of railroad trucks has over-taken the monotonous music of camel-bells on the historic trade route across Iran from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf.

In 1939 the Trans-Iranian railway will be completed. Already trains are running from end to end of the 865-mile line, opening up foreign markets to Iranian trade and giving the traveler a thrill from his first window-view of one of the world's great engineering feats.

Completion of this £30,000,000 project marks the surmounting of tremendous problems.

The driving power bringing the scheme to fruition has been that of Reza Khan Pahlivi, the Shah. The idea of building the railway dates from before the World War. But conflicting interests delayed a start until Iran achieved independence under Reza Shah in 1927. He was determined that a railway should run from end to end of his country. Now he has achieved his object and paid for it out of national resources, without resort to foreign loans, although a great many foreign firms have participated in the contracts.

An International Crossroad

Iran (as Persia) has through the centuries played a vital part in the trade between East and West, owing to its geographical position astride the communications from Europe to Asia and the Far East.

One of the objects of the new railway is to eliminate the hold which Soviet Russia had long exerted on the country by its monopoly of transportation facilities northward out of Iran.

The railway stretches from its terminus at Bandar Shah on the Caspian Sea to Bandar Shahpur on the Persian Gulf. The most

difficult sectors were the crossing of the Elburz Mountains in the North and of the mountains of Luristan in the South ; in both the line rises to an altitude of about 7,000 feet above sea level.

The stations and rolling stock of the railway are of modern design. The terminal ports of Bandar Shahpur and Bandar Shah have been dredged and quays built to accommodate ocean-going steamers.

This achievement of the Shah by no means represents the summit of his ambitions. The surveys have been carried out and work begun on a line from Teheran to Meshed, and, more important still, on one from Teheran to Kasvin, Tabriz and thence to the Turkish frontier at Bayazid. There it will join a new Turkish railway system now in the course of construction to Erzerum and Trebizond.

This further 1,000 miles of Iran Railway will have far-reaching effect as it will eventually make possible through railway transit to Europe, which will aid closer relationships between the West and the Middle East.

President Quezon Urges Change in Immigration Law

Enactment of a new immigration law which would remove discrimination against certain Oriental peoples, including the Japanese, who seek admittance to the Philippine Islands, was urged by President Manuel Quezon in a speech before the National Assembly.

Pointing out that the legislation now in force prohibits the nationals of many Oriental nations from being admitted to the islands, President Quezon declared that it is necessary to modify this law "to protect the interests of our people and repair injustices."

"Ours is an Oriental country", he said, and we are an Oriental people. We belong to the same racial stock as some of those excluded by our laws. So long as other foreigners are allowed to immigrate to the Philippine Islands, we should admit, under the same terms and conditions, those coming from Oriental countries."

In order, however, to avoid a large influx of immigrants from any one country, President Quezon recommended that the Assembly establish a uniform quota to be applied impartially to all persons coming from all nations.

Referring to national defense, the Philippine leader urged the legislature to give careful consideration to all matters concerning the future security of the country.

"If eternal vigilance is the price of freedom", he declared, "let us ceaselessly be vigilant."

The French Revolution—150th Anniversary

France is getting ready to celebrate this year the *Cent-Cinquantième* of her great Revolution. In May was opened a special exhibition relating to "Versailles in 1789." This will be supplemented by another exhibition, in the Carnavalet Museum, on "the French Revolution in History, Literature and Art." In the historic Tuileries gardens will be held another exhibition of the engravings and prints of the Revolutionary epoch, from the collection of Ed. de Rothchild. A special ceremony in the Chaillot Palace commemorated (23rd June) the Oath of the *Jeu de Paume* and the Proclamation of the Constituent Assembly. On the 12th of July will be celebrated, before the Hotel de-Ville of Paris, the adoption of the Tricolour and the arrival of the national song "Marseillaise" in Paris. On the 14th of July there will be a grand military procession culminating in a ceremony in memory of the Festival of the Federation of 1790. The famous battle of Valmy will be remembered by another national festival on the 20th September and on the 21st of September there will be a special *fete* of the birth of the French Republic accompanied by a grand popular demonstration in which the youth of the nation and the labouring population will march through Place de la Nation, the Bastille Square and the Gate of Vincennes. A special stamp has been issued by the Republic with the picture of the storming of the Bastille prison and the memorable words—*Liberté', Egalité', Fraternité'*.

We, on behalf of the Indian lovers of freedom beg to convey to the French nation, our hearty felicitations on the solemn event, hoping that France will succeed in infusing a new spirit of idealism in Europe of to-day and prepare the way for World Peace.

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EDITORIAL

War is a public calamity. Its causes may appear to be varied and confusing. But its effects, immediate if not remote, can only be measured in terms of incalculable suffering suddenly surprising, millions of souls who may or may not know how or why they are dying. So in this tragic interlude of our history we send our profound sympathies specially to those who tried to avoid war and yet got involved in it.

It is almost impossible to trace the real causation of war while the war is in progress. Still, judging from the general march of events from the crisis of last September when Hitler almost plunged Europe into war, we can say that Nazi Germany not only proclaimed war to be an instrument of national policy but made a veritable apotheosis of the cult of Violence. That is possibly the reason why a man like Mahatma Gandhi who more than any other living human being wishes the world to grow in peace, wrote that significant letter to Hitler imploring him to desist from war. In the latest issue of his *Harivan* he records his conviction: "I have come to the conclusion that Herr Hitler is responsible for the war. I do not judge his claim.....My complaint is that he will not let the claim be examined by an independent tribunal." Here as often before we felt that the simplicity of the saint, was strengthened by the overwhelming evidence of international Law and Politics. Disputes are bound to occur in human relations, individual as well as international. Thanks to the development of Common Law in all civilized nations, the disputing parties need not and cannot murder one another to prove their title. But in international relations unfortunately the nations are still permitted to think and act in term of group-murder or collective slaughtering as the convincing

method of settling national disputes ! But sooner or later the primordial sense of security in man will organise methods of neutralizing or, if necessary eliminating from history, the individuals or nations that threatened public peace and human civilization. The last World War failed to inculcate this lesson adequately and hence this second crisis within a quarter of a century. Unless and until we can work out a real and stable World Order, the human race and civilization would be perpetually threatend as to-day. So the first and foremost duty of all those who believe in Democracy and in the future of Man is to be sincere in thought and deed. Democracy to deserve its title must apply not only to the localised groups whom we call nation but to the entire human race. The democratic nations of the West have probably tried to behave democratically towards their own people. But, in their dealings with other peoples, they have glaringly violated (consciously or unconsciously we need not argue) the basic principles of Democracy. The worst sufferers on this account are undoubtedly the non-European peoples at the hand of European Imperialists, whether Parliamentary, Republican or Totalitarian mattering little. There was plenty of tall talks on Idealism, on Pacifism, on the right of Self-determination for minor nationalities at the end of the last World War. But there was such a shocking discrepancy between profession and practice that in the present war, when Democracy is really threatend, we find the democratic nations lacking that unity of purpose and that undivided loyalty which should have strengthened them at such a crisis.

Nazi Germany at first appeared to be a sworn enemy of Marxist Soviet ; but the ideological enemies suddenly emerge as diplomatic allies throwing the traditional democracies into utter confusion. It is reported to be only a *non-aggression pact* and not a pact of *mutual assistance*, as in the case of the Anglo-French negotiations, to quote the significant words of Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister. The colour and character of the pact may change very easily, in face of the ominous suggestion conveyed through the recent article in the official Soviet paper *Pravda* to the effect that "the Soviet were staking a claim in Poland, where, they allege, there are nearly 10,000,000 million Ukrainians and White Russians". Here we detect a sinister similarity between the diplomatic languages of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany and a convenient partition of Poland appears to be inevitable. The democracies of England and France may still

try to draw temporary consolation from a hypothetical chance of "thieves falling out", but they cannot afford to ignore the fact recently revealed by Reuter that the Soviet has mobilised 4,000,000 men "to cover every eventuality." And who can say that, in the case of a supra-continental state like Soviet Russia, the diplomatic complications will remain localised in Eastern Europe only. Already there were signs that the Soviet was paying considerable attention to the Far East.

Now we are startled to read extracts from an article of Demaree Bess, published in the *Saturday Evening Post* (July, 22) and partially reproduced in the *China Weekly Review* (August, 19) which for the first time announced the possibility of a Russo-German Pact. The article is entitled "Stalin Prefers Siberia" demonstrating the methodical Soviet drive in the East. China, we are afraid, is not only supported by Russia materially but ideologically as well; and Sovietization of China was the danger against which Japan was trying to erect the barricade of Manchuria and Mongolia. Naturally the Pact between Germany and Russia tended to estrange Japan away from the Axis Powers and a leading Japanese paper *Asahi Shinbun* (August, 24) wrote a bitter commentary on the event through an article entitled the "Spirit of Anti-Comintern Pact Trampled Under foot." It may be convenient for the time being for Russia to patch up her traditional feuds with Japan; but there can be no doubt that the Japanese Empire will be placed by Soviet Russia in the same "Black List" with the French and the British Empires. Japan knows that in Outer Mongolia the Soviet has kept an army 400,000 strong to attack Manchukuo and Japan. It is also true that Outer Mongolia with about 1,000,000 population is practically a component part of the Soviet Republic. Thus there is every possibility that as soon as the Soviet will swallow its own morsel of unfortunate Poland, Russia, under the Asiatic Stalin, will turn her attention to the Middle and the Far East. England, France and Japan must take these factors into immediate consideration and try to work out a line of collaboration safeguarding the permanent interests of mankind. The chaos in China should be liquidated as soon as possible. The peoples of Indo-China should be given a real Republican constitution and India should be won over by Britain granting full responsible government, justifying the expectations of Democracy.

Letters from Nepal

By T. Fukai

Vice-Consul for Japan

Government Guest House,
Kathmandu, Nepal
January 7, 1939.

My dear,

Kathmandu is a far more fascinating city than I ever dreamed of, so attractive to the eye and full of interest to strangers. It is not going too far to say that there are nearly as many temples as houses, and as many idols as inhabitants. It is a lovely surprise that Kathmandu so resembles ancient Japanese towns like Nara and Kyoto. Believe me, street scenes in Kathmandu must indeed be seen to be believed. I am amazed to find that more than half of the passengers belong to the fair sex. They all wear bright and fascinating dresses and look terribly sweet. They seem to have a keen sense of humour and entertain this stranger with rosy and cheerful smiles. You cannot blame me if I consider it indeed a charming and comforting change from dull and monotonous scenes in Calcutta streets, where literally 99% of the passengers belong to our own sex. I am convinced the wisdom of transcending the myth of the *purdah* system cannot be questioned at least from a tourist's point of view !

The inhabitants are extremely curious about me, and wherever I go, I am surrounded by a huge crowd. While resting at a garden which commands a fine view of the Himalayan snows, I said to S :

"Why do your people get so curious about me ? I don't look very different from them, do I ?"

"That is the very reason why they are so anxious to have a look at you".

"That is a remarkable statement. Yes, you look quite like us. No wonder I feel so perfectly at home. I notice your people are happy and are not spoilt by any manner of means. At Kathmandu gloomy faces are conspicuous by their absence."

"They have seen practically no foreigners. They think life is like this everywhere, and are contented with their lot."

"Perhaps therein lies the wisdom of the policy of isolation which your country has consistently pursued".

"We are determined to pursue the same policy in the future."

I remembered the significant words of Chandra Shumshere, the most famous Maharaja in Nepalese history. Everywhere where two rhythms of civilization, those of East and West, had come in contact, discord, confusion and discontent had accompanied the immediate benefits. How strange it is that in 44 years only 153 Europeans visited Nepal and that no foreign eye has ever seen more than a twentieth part of this Kingdom. Perhaps they are happy in the thought that Nepal is indeed for the Nepalese, and want to enjoy the spirit of quiet independence and complacency ; S. went on to say :

"We think it is a good policy for our innocent and ignorant people."

"I quite agree with you. Not every foreigner is a desirable person, though he may pretend to be a gentleman. The world has had severe lessons that certain people are past masters in exploiting unfortunate and backward people of other countries."

"This is a popular saying among Gurkhas :

'With the Bible comes the bayonet ;

With the merchant comes the musket'."

"Oh dear me, I have brought no Bible, nor am I a merchant !"

"I recollect your country also pursued the exclusive policy in the Shogunate period. I welcome you from the bottom of my heart."

"That's very nice of you. I think I look as innocent as a lily of the valley !"

My dear Nepalese friend smiled and did not reply. God knows what was in his mind. I changed the topic and said,

"I remember at the time of the Russo-Japanese war Nepal sent some students to Japan."

"Yes, we have always admired Japan as the Saviour of Asia. But after those students returned to Nepal, they had to perform special religious ceremony called *Pani Putia*, or purification by water, in order to atone for the sin which they had committed by going to Japan."

I was taken aback. I did not understand what he said,

"You mystify me. What on earth do you mean ?"

"If we ever cross the black seas or high seas, we are excommunicated from our community, because going abroad across the black seas is a grave offence in our religion."

"How extraordinary ! I never know that."

"It was only after having great difficulty with the priests that we were able to establish our Legation in London."

"Really ?"

"There was much misunderstanding about the international status of our country. We are vastly different from Native States in India. It was in order to declare to the world that Nepal was an independent country that we established costly Legation in London. You know Native States cannot have Legation."

"I am most frightfully interested in what you say."

"It was a great pity that people of other countries thought Nepal was something like a native state. It is absolutely mistaken. In order to remove this deplorable illusion we defied our priests, and they eventually gave way."

"I never dreamed that there was such an episode behind the establishment of the Nepalese Legation."

"But recently the priests have given permanent sanction to our people to go abroad across the black seas for political mission only, but not for any other purpose."

Believe me by this time my ears had burned.

"I am most intrigued. What a mysterious land Nepal is ! You believe in such mystic things as are hardly intelligible to common or garden persons like me."

"Our ancestors came from Udaipur in Rajputana, and we strictly observe all Hindu customs."

"Early this morning I was astonished to see thousands of people including young girls taking cold bath in the river, when I was shivering with biting coldness."

"For the whole month of January they offer prayers every morning in the river Baghmati."

"I admire their religious passion. No wonder they make nothing of going through fire and water."

After tiffin I visited Patan, one of the three cities in the Valley of Nepal. Patan was founded by the daughter of the Emperor Asoka more than 2,000 years ago. S. told me a legend about Patan, but the city was so attractive that I did not listen to him. Everywhere pagodas, temples, all types of Indian architecture decorated by picturesque red and green bricks, brown wood, gilded bronze, were shining deliciously in the Himalayan sunlight. M. Sylvain Levi,

the famous French author on Nepal, may well have described Patan as a vision of fairyland, the most beautiful place he had ever seen.

On my way to the guest house I suddenly got out of the car to see the horizon. I can hardly express in words how very excited I was to see the sublime and mysterious snowy ranges in the evening glow. I was entranced and could not speak a word. Thanking the Himalayan gods for blessing me with such a marvellous day, I prayed for long until the last glow on the summit of the peaks disappeared.

Government Guest House,
Kathmandu, Nepal.
January 8, 1939.

My dear,

This morning I wandered about Kathmandu here, there and everywhere. It goes indeed without saying that I am never allowed to go out alone. I think it is characteristically Nepalese that I am always escorted or guarded by S or one or two soldiers, presumably in case inhabitants annoy me or I make insidious trouble in this sacred land. Evidently I create a great sensation everywhere, because wherever I go I am surrounded by an enormous crowd. You can take me literally when I say hardly an hour passes in Nepal without my taking hundreds of snaps. S. said :

"You are very keen on photography."

"Honestly speaking, I simply hate it, but I can't help it. I am one of the few lucky foreigners who have been given the privilege of entering your country. All my friends are tremendously looking forward to seeing snaps of Nepal which they can never visit. Do you understand, this is my painful duty ?"

"I admire your amazing patience."

"Your people look very happy. They are so cheerful and easily amused. Is it because they have known nothing better?"

"Another reason is that they don't have to pay any tax. In most countries heavy taxation is a source of discontent."

"I don't believe you."

"Really we don't have to pay any direct or indirect tax. Nobody pays income tax. The only exception is land revenue and custom duties but land due is rather a religious duty."

"Now I know the secret of the happy smiles of your people. But it appears that you impute almost everything to supernatural agency. How intensely religious !"

"May be."

The Darbar Square is the heart of Kathmandu from where picturesque streets radiate in all directions. Artistic pagoda roofs, profuse carved wood-work, picturesque wayfarers with bright and fascinating dresses of all shades of colour all combine to give the Darbar Square a very attractive and indeed Japanese or Chinese appearance. What strikes me in Kathmandu is the curious absence of everything Indian. You may not understand what I mean, but for racial, political, economic and other reasons which I have no freedom to disclose, it is perhaps inevitable that there is little lost between Nepal and India !

In the afternoon His Excellency Sir Padma Shumshere, Commander-in-Chief, was so gracious as to grant me an interview for nearly two hours. It was altogether a most stimulating and delightful meeting. His Excellency is acting for the Maharaja during the absence of the latter. He is extremely charming, popular, hospitable, every inch a genuine soldier, and speaks out his mind. I regret I have no flair for giving a vivid description of our pleasant and congenial conversation. Moreover, if discretion is the better part of valour, I should better be cautious and not disclose everything. May I quote a few impressive passages from our conversation ?

"How do you do, Your Excellency ?"

"I am very glad that you have visited Nepal from Japan, that great country in Asia."

"I am exceedingly grateful to Your Excellency for all the kind welcome I am given."

Are you comfortable at your place ?

"Thank you so much, Your Excellency. I could not be more comfortable."

His Highness phoned to me from the camp in Terai and ordered me to give Mr. Fukai every possible comfort."

I was indeed touched at hearing this. The Maharaja is camping a hundred miles away !

"We must treat guests even by making ourselves starve, is a familiar saying in Nepal. This is the faith of our Hinduism."

His Excellency was quite serious. I thought what a stirring thing he said.

"How wonderful ! I am deeply moved by your sincere hospitality."

"What do you eat in Japan."

"Rice is our staple food, we can't do without rice even for a day!"

"We also take much rice. Nepal and Japan have so many things in common".

"Much travelled as I am, I have never been so at home in any other country, I almost feel as if I have returned home."

"I used to think that the Nepalese army was the strongest in the world, but I must now confess that the strongest army in the world is the Japanese army."

"I feel flattered that Your Excellency have such high opinion about our Army."

"This is no flattery. I am a soldier and I like to speak out my mind."

"I do appreciate your kind words."

"When do you think the war in China will come to an end?"

"It is difficult to foresee as I am not a prophet, but it is deplorable that certain people are giving China false encouragement, thereby prolonging the hostilities indefinitely. Out of the present tragedy, we are endeavouring to create a new order which will secure stable and permanent peace in East Asia. I refuse to believe that this is a forlorn hope."

"I do hope that two sister nations will quickly become friends".

"All of us sincerely hope so. But the interests of third powers are also involved. This may be another question, but you know that a vast part of Asia is under Western control. How many nations are there in all Asia that are really independent? Japan, Nepal, and....."

"No more.....".

"It is idle to imagine that the world will remain forever the same. Dynamic changes seem inevitable in this world. What has happened has happened. Our first and foremost concern is to remove all causes of another catastrophe in the future and establish a new order founded on justice."

"I understand and appreciate what you mean."

"By the way, what is the foreign policy of Nepal towards Great Britain? I hear Britain and Nepal have been allies for the last century."

"We want to maintain friendly relations with all nations. But it is human nature that if someone likes you, you like him. There is this relationship between England and Nepal. Isn't it always better to be friends than enemies?"

"Before I came to Nepal I had a nebulous idea that Nepal was perhaps being controlled by England. But now I am glad to realize that there cannot be a more unfortunate mistake. It was all myth."

"Of course our foreign policy is in the hands of His Highness, so I am not in a position to say anything definite about it. But on important diplomatic problems we may have a friendly talk with Britain, because she is our only neighbour except Tibet, and the only country in the world with which we have diplomatic relations."

"It is exceedingly generous of Your Excellency to be so frank over such delicate matters. By the way, what happened to the Nepalese who gave up their idea of visiting Japan?"

"Because of the outbreak of the war, we thought that we had better put it off."

"But in Japan it is as peaceful as if no war was going on."

"We couldn't foretell it. We thought world war might follow. However, as soon as the war is over, we hope to send students to Japan. Please treat them like your own sons. This is my heartfelt request."

"Certainly ; it will be our great pleasure."

His Excellency has a magnetic personality and his conversation is at once entertaining and enlightening. I must not forget to tell you that he is in a position to succeed the Maharaja of Nepal sooner or later. I went on to say :

"It is a pleasant surprise to find so many Japanese goods in Nepal. I have just heard that over 70% of the goods in the market are Japanese goods."

"We must say Nepal is not a rich country and the purchasing power of the people is small. Naturally we prefer cheap Japanese goods."

"I have seen some shops which sell only Japanese goods."

"I am not supposed to give advice to a country like Japan. So this is not criticism, but just my friendly advice. In recent years the quality of Japanese textile has improved immensely. These shirts and trousers of mine came from Japan. What disappoints us is your electric bulb. Though it is far cheaper than English bulb, its life is so short that we are no longer tempted to buy Japanese bulbs. This is our only complaint. The demand for such necessities of life will not be affected by a higher price."

"I am amazed that Japanese bulbs have such a transitory life. I must see what I can do about it. Thank you ever so much for being so considerate on our behalf."

"We want to industrialize our country. The industrial progress of modern Japan has been simply a wonder to the world. Why not help us?"

"I think we should be only too pleased to help you, if circumstances permit."

"I hope you are enjoying your stay in this country."

"Yes, I am having a wonderful time. I have come to Nepal as a pilgrim. You know our predominant religion is Buddhism, and what a pleasant surprise it is to know that Buddha was born in Nepal. We are your spiritual children, so to speak."

"We admire Japan for having made phenomenal advance in every field. Of course we have no racial or religious prejudice against any nation or religion. It is the faith of Hinduism and Buddhism that every religion is true and good. Christians and Mohammedans think that only Christianity or Mohammedanism is all in all and that other religions are no good".

"I cannot help wondering which attitude is more religious. However, I must not take more of your time. I do not know how to express my heartfelt gratitude to Your Excellency."

Government Guest House,
Kathmandu, Nepal.
January 9, 1939.

My dear,

I had a refreshing drive to Nagarkot, a pretty little village which is said to command the finest view of the snows. Heavy clouds, however, completely obscured the horizon, and I had to think philosophically that the uses of adversity were sweet. Enjoying tasty lunch on the green meadow, I was gazing upon a path winding away into the distance.

"Where does that path lead?"

"That is the main track to Tibet."

"I wonder how the passes leading to Tibet are possible. They must be nearly 20,000 feet high and covered with icy snow all the year round."

"Long ago a Chinese and Tibetan army of very great strength invaded Nepal. They poured down over the Kuti and Kyirong passes

and remained within two marches of Kathmandu. But they were anxious to conclude a hasty treaty with us and to get back to dry Tibet before they could be caught by the heavy snows of winter."

"It sounds all so romantic."

"For three months of the year some of the passes are not unduly hard to traverse. There has been intercourse with Tibet and China from time immemorial."

"How long does it take to reach Lhasa from Kathmandu?"

"Nearly a month. In Tibet the Dalai Lama used to be the religious and spiritual ruler, but recently he has taken political supremacy as well."

"I haven't the faintest idea what Tibet is like."

"Many Tibetans come down to Nepal with sheep and goods."

"Do Nepalese merchants also go to Tibet?"

"Yes, they do. A certain amount of Japanese cotton piece-goods is re-exported from Nepal into Tibet?"

"Really?"

"Do you know we enjoy extraterritoriality in Tibet?"

"Dear me, I never knew that."

"Since the opening of Kalimpong road our intercourse with Tibet has dwindled, but there are still strong religious links between Lhasa and Kathmandu."

"By the bye, I haven't seen a single church in Nepal."

"Christian missioneries are not admitted into Nepal. Moreover, it is our pride that we have never been subjected to Moslem invasion."

"Congratulations. It is a pity people do not realize that Nepal is the only independent Hindu Kingdom in the world."

After a short while I asked S. why Nepal had no paper currency. We had a grand discussion on the Nepalese currency, foreign trade, exchange rate, banking system, industrial resources, and what not. Both of us are enthusiastic students of all subjects, and we forgot that the surroundings were far too sublime for such academic and prosaic matters to be discussed. In twilight we entertained one another by telling tales out of school. May I just quote one of the most edifying passages from his tales :

"Our Nepalese girls are virtuous like anything."

I must tell you one extraordinary thing about the night-life of Kathmandu. Curfew tolls the knell of parting day at 9 o'clock, after which nobody is allowed to go out. You may think it incredible, but

I hear it has been the custom from time immemorial. No wonder the people looking after me make great haste at dinner time so that they may reach their house by 9 o'clock, I heard that a cook who was found walking after 9 a few days ago was arrested and put into prison until 2 p. m. of the following day.

To-night it was alas and aback nearly 10 o'clock when I finished dinner ! Those waiting upon me seemed to be greatly perplexed and perturbed. I said :

"Can you safely return home ?"

"No sir. If we are found in the street we shall be arrested. So from this bungalow we must find our way quietly and secretly across the dark gardens and fields, where no policemen are on guard."

I was astounded. Nepal is indeed the legend of the 20th century.

Government Guest House,
Kathmandu, Nepal.
January 10, 1939.

My dear,

I visited the Temple of Bodhnath. This is the largest Buddhist temple in Nepal and has its unique impressiveness, standing entirely alone in the field and gazing up in the heaven and snows with two imposing eyes. This temple is visited by hordes of Tibetans and for northern Buddhists is the holiest shrine out of India.

The wooden temple of Pashupatinath is the holiest Hindu shrine in Nepal, and is a link between Kathmandu and Benares. Many pious Hindus come from far and wide to die on the banks of the sacred waters of the Baghmati running behind the shrine. Many a Maharaja spent their last moments here Their soul must surely have ascended to Heaven.

An English friend of mine in the British Legation at Kathmandu invited me to dinner at their bungalow to-night. My friend and his charming wife gave me a friendly welcome, and I tremendously enjoyed the evening. It was a cold night and the hearth was tempting. You can bet it was such a happy and refreshing change when I tell you that ever since I entered Nepal ages ago, I never had the pleasure to dine with a single human being. You know eating all alone is terribly dull and makes one feel lonely and deserted. We are essentially social beings, and must prefer fellowship to solitude. Indeed I cannot help wondering if East is east, West is west and never the twain shall meet.

"I had an exciting time enjoying the Shikar at the Maharaja's camp."

"You are very lucky. Very few foreigners have had the privilege of seeing it."

"Do you like to live at Kathmandu?"

"Yes, it is nice being here for a short period, but not for years."

"Though the scenery is exquisite, it may sometimes be rather dull. Do you mix with Nepalese people?"

"No, we never meet Nepalese. They are not allowed to invite strangers to their house."

"How extraordinary! It appears as though the permission of His Highness is necessary to do almost anything."

"We are seldom asked to meet Nepalese."

"There is no cinema in the city. I wonder if people don't care for this kind of pastime."

"As a matter of fact, films are shown every week to Government officials at the theatre of the Maharaja's Palace, but they ask us to come only very occasionally."

"Really?"

"Still we have an enjoyable time among our small English community, five or six of us all,"

"Nepal reminds me of my own country."

"Does she? The inhabitants here, especially the girls wearing bright coloured dresses look very attractive. Aren't they awfully sweet?"

"Yes, I thoroughly agree with you. Really it is a pleasant and welcome surprise that they are so lovely. I never dreamt of such a nice treat!"

"I guess they are rather like Japanese girls."

"Yes, they are. When I want to take snaps in the street, lovely Nepalese girls shower smiles upon me. Nice goings-on indeed! Who can imagine anything like this on the Indian plains?"

"I am sure you are having a good time."

"Not particularly. There seems to be a world of difference between Indians and Nepalese. I hear British officers like Nepalese soldiers very much, although they didn't care two hoots for Bengal soldiers. I wonder how it is."

"It is impossible not to like Nepalese soldiers."

"That is the sort of compliment one hardly expects to hear from Englishmen."

"They are wonderfully loyal. They never question anything and always do as they are ordered."

"No wonder your intimacy with them is proverbial."

"We have thoroughly enjoyed reading your charming book '*Cherry-Blossoms in England*'. You must write a book on Nepal."

"I would like to read very much. You must tell me all that you know of this fascinating country."

"We don't know much about it really."

"I had an idea that the function of the British minister at Kathmandu was similar to that of British Residents in Indian Native States. Now I realize I am quite mistaken."

"It is an absurd idea. We have nothing to do with the administration of Nepal."

"An Englishman once told me that the British minister in Nepal was almost like a prisoner."

"It is a legend."

"I met His Excellency yesterday. He was so kind to me."

"Oh yes, he is awfully nice."

"The Maharaja is also very kindhearted. The Nepalese get never tired of telling me that His Highness is the *de facto* ruler, and is all in all. His word is law."

"I should think absolute dictatorship is easier in Nepal than in a country like Germany, because in Nepal there is no middle class, whereas in Germany the masses are educated."

"The Maharaja is frightfully keen on shooting, isn't he?"

"The Maharaja shoots as many as 70 or 80 tigers every year."

"Very fierce indeed!"

"You know the Maharaja has the most marvellous title imaginable, which it takes ages to read from the beginning to the end. Look at this." I was taken aback. It was as follows:—

"Ojaswi Rajanya, Projjwal Nepal Tara, Ati Pravala Gorkha Dakshija Bahu Prithuladheesha, HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA JOODHA SHUMSHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA, G.C.L.H., G.C.L., G.C.S.I., G.C.SS.M.L., G.C.I.E., Yi Teng Pao Ting Shun Chian, Luh Chuan Shang Chang; Honorary Lieutenant-General in the British Army, Honorary Colonel of all the Gurkha Rifle Regiments in the Indian Army; Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of NEPAL."

We talked about the Maharaja, Commander-in-Chief, and many other commanding generals. Believe me it was an absorbingly interesting conversation, which I enjoyed to my heart's content. You might be amused to know that on my way to the guest house policemen on guard stopped the Legation car more than 5 times, as it was indeed 3 hours past 9; The driver shouted something inarticulate and I escaped being arrested. Presumably the Legation had previously obtained the special permission of His Excellency.

Government Guest House,
Kathmandu, Nepal,
January 11, 1939.

My dear,

Bhatgoan is an attractive little country-town. Like Kathmandu and Patan, it is surrounded by an impressive atmosphere of romance and historical association. At the Darbar Square there is the Golden Gate which was described by Percival Landon as "the most exquisitely designed and finished piece of gilded metal-work in all Asia."

What a romantic surprise it was to see Nyatpola Deval, for I could not distinguish it from the Pagoda of Horyuji in Japan! It is almost incredible. It appears as though someone built a pair of pagodas to symbolize and inspire fraternity between Japan and Nepal. This desirable thinking, however, is shaken by the fact that Horyuji was constructed nearly 10 centuries earlier than its counterpart in Nepal!

Nothing is more arresting than the first sight of the Singha Darbar, the Royal Palace of His Highness the Maharaja. This is the centre of the whole life of Nepal. There are two magnificent Darbar halls or reception halls, one constructed by Chandra Shumshere, the other by the present Maharaja Joodha Shumshere. Especially the latter is a most gorgeous and absorbing illustration of romantic Nepalese life and civilization. It was illuminating to see the choicest art of Nepal arranged in such exotic, fascinating manners. I wonder if in all India there is a hall of such magnificence.

Fancy, images of Buddha and Hindu Gods being enshrined side by side in the hall. What mystifies me is the curious and striking blending of Buddhism and Hinduism. No wonder there is a consistent rumour that Buddhism and Hinduism have met and kissed each other in Nepal!

Government Guest House,
Kathmandu, Nepal.
January 12, 1939.

My dear,

By the kindness of the Maharaja and Commander-in-Chief, I had the rare fortune of giving a show of Japanese films at the Royal Palace—"Japanese Home Life," "Three Weeks in Japan," "Sporting Japan," "Nippon Merchandise," which I carried all the way from Calcutta over hills and dales. When I entered the theatre with the Commander-in-Chief, all the big officials and business magnates of Nepal numbering some 300 who had been awaiting us stood up. This made me keenly conscious that I was a distinguished guest of the Maharaja of Nepal!

My mother country soon appeared on the screen and the talkie gave a wonderfully effective and impressive description of the land of the Rising Sun. In my childhood, did I ever dream of seeing my beloved country and hearing Japanese music in this Himalayan Kingdom?

Almost incessantly I heard people say "Ah! Ah!,—a sigh of alarm and admiration. I was thrilled and overwhelmed with stirring emotion. It was a mixed feeling of pride and nostalgia. Is this my fatherland? Surely life is too dear to sacrifice for her sake? I was simply jubilant at the success of the show, and my love for the fatherland became all the more intense. The show lasted for over two hours, and throughout I was all excited. The Commander-in-Chief praised the films to the skies and said:

"You have taken all the best points of the world and refused to take bad points. You lucky people!"

"I am so grateful to Your Excellency for this excellent arrangement."

"You have taken so much trouble in bringing films here. It is we who ought to thank you. I thought we had something, but Nepal cannot possibly be compared to Japan."

Sir Kaiser Shumshere, Commanding General, said: "It was not only interesting but very instructive. I was impressed by similarity between our two races. You also take off shoes at the door, and a Japanese wife gives a graceful salute to her husband when he returns home. We have learnt a great deal. It has always been a wonder to us how you can produce so cheap things. I must admit Japanese

soldiers are far better than Gurkha soldiers. But why didn't you bring films of war? Frankly speaking, we are more interested in warfare and the activities of your brave soldiers than anything else."

Believe me, I was considerably astonished.

"I didn't want to create the impression that I intruded into your peaceful country for propaganda purpose. But if you are so understanding, I am sorry I have brought no war film."

Someone said,

"I was in Japan at the time of the Russo-Japanese war. What phenomenal progress Japan has made! There is no comparison between now and then."

On our way home I received a surprise from S.

"We were all deeply impressed and inspired by your film. It is such a rare entertainment that His Excellency is anxious to show it specially to the ladies of the Palace to-morrow. Would you kindly lend us the film for a day or two?"

"I should like nothing better. I am so glad. By the way, would it be possible for me to come? I dare say I am in a responsible position to see that everything is done all right."

I fully knew that it was out of the question for me to meet any respectable Nepalese lady. I just wanted to tease and disconcert my serious-minded friend! May I disclose one significant episode? Yesterday I asked S. if I might invite my English friends at the Legation to the cinema show. To my great surprise he was extremely reluctant to accept my moderate proposal. His reply was anything but encouraging.

"Are you really so keen that they should come?"

This was certainly an awkward question.

"Not frightfully. I just thought they might like to come."

"If you are very anxious, I might intimate your wish to His Excellency in order to get his special permission."

I couldn't resist the impression that he implied that invitation to Englishmen had better be withheld.

"After all I have brought the films to show to Nepalese people. So please don't bother."

"Thank you very much. You know it is rather awkward when we invite Englishmen to such a party."

"I am sorry I didn't quite understand your custom."

I was intrigued and mystified. The mysterious reluctance of the Nepalese to mix with Britishers residing even in Kathmandu surely speaks volumes.

Government Guest House,
Kathmandu, Nepal.
January 13, 1939.

My dear,

Commanding-General Sir Kaiser Shushere is an exceptionally attractive personality, a man of many hobbies and especially interested in literature. He was once the Foreign Secretary of His Highness. I had an unforgettable hour with him at his residence. It is indeed like a museum. He has a magnificent library the magnitude of which no stranger can possibly imagine. I just marvelled at his library when he took me round. He possesses hundreds of thousands of precious books of every description, on all the countries of the world.

"In all my born days I have never seen so magnificent a library."

"My purpose in life is to know the world. Reading has been my greatest passion."

I might as well tell you that Kaiser's astonishing width of reading and versatile knowledge is proverbial in the world. He suddenly said:

"Can you recognise who he is?"

What a surprise! I saw the august photograph of His Majesty Emperor Meiji.

"What a delightful surprise!"

"The life of Emperor Meiji impressed me so much that I ordered this enlarged photograph from London."

"Stirring news indeed!"

"Here is a photograph of Prince and Princess Chichibu. I made friends with Prince Chichibu a few years ago when I represented Nepal on the Coronation in London. As a memento he gave me this photograph."

We had a stroll in his marvellous garden, which is often compared to Hampton Court in England. He took a few oranges from orange trees and gave them to me, saying that he had the trees sent from Japan. A series of lovely surprises!

"Has the Treaty of Friendship (of 1923) been observed both in letter and spirit?"

"Anyhow Britain respects the independence of Nepal. I heard of a renowned Japanese soldier who declared that he was sure the British Empire would decline in his life."

"Newspapers always publish sensational and exaggerated news. It may be inevitable that nations have chequered fortunes in their national destinies. However, who could pretend to be an omniscient prophet ? Will you please give some message to our people ?"

"I prefer to be silent. Silence may be our message. I only hope a peaceful solution will soon be found to the present tragic war between two great sister nations of Asia. No matter how silently and bravely you may bear sacrifices, war means that all human happiness ceases."

Government Guest House.

Kathmandu, Nepal.

January 14, 1939.

My dear,

After meeting Commanding-General Sir Babar Shumshere whose kindhearted hospitality I enjoyed and appreciated to the full, I came to the conclusion that all the Generals who are to succeed the Maharaja of Nepal in due course possess an exceedingly charming and attractive personality. I hardly ever was so favourably impressed by so many people of one country.

I paid a visit to His Excellency to bid farewell. Once again he welcomed me like an old friend and we had an illuminating talk for an hour. At the end of our conversation I said :

"I have enjoyed my stay in Nepal more than I can possibly say. Believe me Your Excellency, it will always remain one of the happiest memories of life. I shall and can never forget Nepal."

"Kindly convey your impressions to the Japanese people just exactly as you felt here. I sincerely hope to hear one day that you have been appointed Japanese...in one of the European countries."

"Thank you ever so much. I am indeed touched. Your kind words will be an inspiration to me all my life."

After our dramatic parting I whispered to myself, "He is a Samurai if ever there is one."

To offer my prayers of thanks, I went to Swayambhunath, the finest and most revered Buddhist shrine in all Nepal, situated on the brow of a hill. In the "Holy of holies" Tibetan priests keep alive a sacred fire, which is, as symbolic of the supreme deity, supposed to burn for ever, nor has it, legend goes, ever been extinguished since the beginning of time itself. S. took me to a lovely spot, where I was told Buddha gave his first sermon in Nepal about two thousand five hundred years ago. I sat down on the green grass, closed my eyes, and prayed nearly for an hour without uttering a word. I felt that

I could not be too grateful to Providence for numerous blessings. I never felt more pious. When I opened my eyes after the long peaceful prayer, I saw the sublimest thing on earth, snowy Himalayan ranges shining in crimson in the rays of the sinking sun.

"It was impressive to see you in silent prayer."

"Thanks-giving for this peace of mind and sublime happiness—."

"We believe in transmigration of soul. We are spiritualists and are contented with our lot. One may have sad days in life, but Almighty God, Creator of the world, cannot give us sorrows and sufferings without purpose."

"My dear friend, this divine and supreme moment at this heavenly spot, I shall never, never forget."

Government Guest House,
Raxual, British India.
January 16, 1939.

My Dear,

Yesterday I made my adieu to Kathmandu and all its inhabitants. The last glimpse of the Valley of Nepal and the Himalayan snows from the Chandragiri Pass made me feel the sweet and sentimental sorrow of partings. It gave me exquisite pain when I thought that I might never again see this fairyland.

I indulged in so many hours of daydream on the summit of the Pass that I soon became a belated wayfarer and had to walk in the darkness for hours. We had not light but the stars. It was half past nine when I arrived at the halting place of Sisagarhi. Naturally I heartily appreciated the cheerful fire and comfortable bed that had been anxiously waiting for me. Thus my last night in Nepal was gone!

To-night I am in British India, just on the other side of the Nepalese border. My strenuous adventurous journey is at long last over.

I have only scribbled a few impressions in a rambling way. I have thousands of other interesting things to tell you about this fascinating country. Some day I hope to give you the chapter and verse of them. You will have patience, won't you?

Royal Hotel,
Lucknow, United Provinces,
British India.
January 18, 1939.

My dear,

I have returned to the warm Indian plains. After refreshing myself by a cold bath, I am revelling and basking in the glorious Indian sun, drinking delicious beer and eating beef for the first time this year. It is so restful to laze here in the sunny city of gardens. I am half seas over, and everything now seems to me like a dream.

The Cultural Education of the Australian Youth

By George W. Dye, Brisbane

To the people of Europe and of the East, Australia is a very different and thus an interesting country. Its youth finds itself in a community little more than one hundred years old. To establish fine cultural background is their trust. Their task is not an easy one. Australia needs and has a place for them all. Their opportunities are limitless, their outlook optimistic, and their worries few.

The Australian Public School has a very good influence on its students in some respects. It tends greatly to form that sense of team-work and co-operation which is so necessary in life. Inter class, inter-house and inter-school competition in work and games encourages and guides much of the young talent. Yet against this is set the examination system. In the greater part of the high school eight or nine subjects are taken each year. The year is divided into three terms and at the end of each term examinations are held. Obviously this can have but one result. The year is spent, not in learning for learning's sake, but in order to pass examinations. Subsequently the pass standard has been lowered and in order to offset this system many prizes in books and scholarships are given.

Young Australia's leisure hours are spent in the search of companionship and entertainment. They have a great love of sport, swimming, picnics, hikes, tennis, dancing and shows. One might think that their full social life would afford marvellous opportunities for discussions on world affairs, philosophy and topics of the day. But the usual conversation centres round cricket, tennis, school life and vacation's pleasures. Ambition, which dominates men's lives, is seldom discussed, nor are personal aims. I find it hard to explain this lack of worldly interest in Australian youths. The young people of Australia are contented with their own lives, their own friends and own country.

Home influence is one of the greatest factors in our early lives. The cleanliness, neatness and the atmosphere of our homes we carry with us wherever we go. By our behaviour on the street and in public places our homes can be judged. Young Australia's home-life is generally one of comfort and good cheer. Amongst the wealthy and middle classes home means not just a place to sleep and eat in, but a place in which to entertain one's friends, where also comfort and quiet can be found. And yet, with all that they have, they are not spoilt. Little things, which mean nothing to many, are often appreciated to an almost astonishing degree. Anything novel, anything new is taken up with the greatest zeal. This may seem contradictory in the face of my previous statement concerning their contentment. I believe they could go on living without these changes and be quite happy. When someone comes along with something new, with novel ideas they will be made much of. In time the new will become old and so life will go on.

We think of culture in the highest sense as the knowledge and appreciation of good music, art and literature, yet I have not mentioned these subjects. As with the greater part of modern youth, so in Australia, interest in true art and literature is dormant until after the early years of youth are past. But considerable interest is taken in forming clubs for the study and discussion of literature and music. These are presided over by one of the teachers. The study of art and music as curricula work is not very thorough, but can be taken in special classes. Though Australia is practically isolated by distance from the rest of the world it offers much in the way of good music, art and literature. It has produced several renowned artists and every year Australia is visited by singers and musicians from the Old World. In its large cities are excellent art galleries and its libraries are full of the best literature.

Australia is a land of quiet geniality, a land of abundance, brimful of opportunity. Its people cannot help being generous, friendly and very sociable. It will in time grow into a world factor of the greatest importance. May it be one which shall carry with its better qualities, one which shall spread its mantle of Peace to more troubled lands.

Medieval and Modern Chinese Philosophers

By

Anil Kumar Mukherjee, M.A.

At the back of every movement, whether political or social, there is some philosophy to guide the thinkers and leaders of the age. So in order to understand the great Revolution in China of 1911 and the strength of the national opposition against foreign domination, we must have a peep into the mode of philosophic thinking of China in the 19th and the 20th century.

Prof. Alfred Forke of the Hamburg University has done immense service to us by the publication of his monumental work *Geschichte der neuen chinesischen Philosophie* (Hamburg, 1938). It is one of the few books that have treated Chinese philosophy systematically and it has thrown a flood of light on many obscure points in the field of Chinese philosophy. In fact, it may be said that he was the first to bring into the lime-light the whole philosophy of modern China. We give after him a general survey of Chinese thought.

Medieval Chinese philosophy is a revival of Confucianism. It was set up against Buddhism as a rival doctrine. Many of the medieval Chinese philosophers had to undergo privations, persecutions and even death at the hands of their opponents as was the lot of many thinkers in Europe in the age of Renaissance. Still they clinged to what they thought to be right. And we cannot but admire their unflinching devotion to what they held to be true.

At the outset we must remember that these philosophers did not produce separate thesis on philosophy. In fact, in Chinese there was no such term as 'Philosophy'. The Chinese *tsu* includes not only philosophy but much that can be put under the head Politics, Ethics, Sociology etc. Only in the middle of the 19th century, a new term *Che' Hsio* was coined to correspond to the term philosophy.

The medieval philosophy of China begins with Shih Chieh (1005—1055) and Cu-Yang H'sin (1007—1072). It was they who

revived the doctrine of Confucius. This doctrine was carried down and developed in the successive centuries. Hence they and those who followed them are known as Neo-Confucians. They vigorously opposed Buddhism, but they had little originality. The more original among them was Wang An Shih (1019—1086). He attempted to identify Nature and Spirit.

One of the most important of these early medieval philosophers was Ch'en I (1033—1107). According to him there is universal dualism. The dualism between good and bad, just and unjust, the heaven and the earth, man and woman, day and night extends to everything of the Universe. Human beings are produced by the thickening of a fluid, ether (*chi*). Ether corresponds to *Tao* which appears to mean the laws of heaven (*t'un-li*). The principle of every movement is the Spirit of the heaven and earth. The creator of the human beings, Heaven, is always the visible sky, the celestial vault which has in it something of materiality. The human life is two-fold—the dream and reality, the life and death. Human soul is composed of two elements—one earthly and the other celestial. After death one of these turns to the heaven and the other to the earth. The plants have no existence like the animals. The animals are capable of a sort of social life, but they are not endowed with thought. It is only man who is capable of thinking. The knowledge of the heaven is necessary to man, just as the senses are necessary to him, in order to be able to understand sounds, colours, odours and taste.

The *Taoism* has given to this philosophical speculation some elements, specially the need of meditation and of contemplation. Nevertheless, Buddhism exercises some influence on this mode of Confucian thought.

Hu Hung (1100-1155) had no precise philosophical language. According to him Fate is an immutable law ; it limits what man does. Nature completed the forms of all human beings. Man appeared as the condensation of an etherial principle that fills the whole Universe. The life and the body are condensation of this ether in various modes. He partially realised that some how or other the external things are within us.

Chu Hsi (1130-1200) is undoubtedly one of the greatest Chinese philosophers. He built up a complete system. He began with a cosmogonic reconstruction based on the attempts of his predecessors. Between the heaven and the earth exists ether ; and, in accordance

with a rational principle it creates all the beings. From the initial Chaos the matter of the Heaven and the Earth are first separated. From them arose the whole of beings. In the order of creation, man is the last and it is man that is the most perfect in the world.

Chiu-Yuan (1138-1191) held that in the Spirit the space and time have a singular position.

During the thirteenth century, philosophy became almost stagnant in China, though much was done in other spheres. Fourteenth century however saw somewhat of a revival of the philosophic spirit. Fang Hsio Ju (1357-1402) is the most notable figure of that period. He brought into light the philosophy of life. The man, he said, not only eats but studies i. e. thinks ; and if he does not eat he dies and that is all ; but if he does not think he lives like a brute. It is better to die than to live like a brute. And man is not only a thinking being, but he is also endowed with the power of reasoning.

After Fang Hsio Ju there were a few who kept burning the lamp of philosophy, but the light became dimmer and dimmer ; and it was at last quietly put out in the eighteenth century. Let us however notice a few figures that strove hard at independent thinking. Wang Yang-Ming (1472-1528) showed the necessity of finding inside oneself the entire Universe. He may be considered as an Idealist. Ku Yen-Woo (1613-1682) was the founder of the inductive method in China. Yen-Yuan (1635-1704) sought to dismiss the vague affirmations of the Confucians and took, as the point of departure, the practical actions. He may be called a Pragmatist.

Tai Ch'en (1723-1777) is the last luminary in the field of Chinese philosophy. He pointed out the hollowness and inconsistency of the fluid of ether from which the Neo-Confucians would have made the Universe. He held, however, that there is some reason in believing in the principle of Heaven which implant on the human Soul after its birth. He recognised a unique vital fluid the more subtle parts of which form the Spirit. It is a sort of Monistic Materialism. Man is elevated among the animals because man alone possesses the one celestial virtue from which arose three Confucian virtues—Humanity, *Jen*, Morality, *Li*, and Justice *I*.

And with Tai Ch'en passed away the last flame of independent Chinese thinking in the field of philosophy. No doubt there are and were in the 19th and the 20th century some eminent thinkers, but their thoughts are at best reflections of the speculations of the West.

The prominent figures in the 19th and the 20th century, were the figures of Tsang Kuo-Fan (1811-1872), Kang Yu-Wei (1858-1927), and Liang Ch'i-Chao (1873-1929). But their thoughts today are being forced out by the extreme ideas of the 20th century. However the Chinese youths are reconsidering some of their theories.

From 1912 upto this day, Chinese philosophy consists mostly of translation and adaptation of the thoughts of the West. Yen-Fu (1853-1923) produced translations (sometimes abbreviated) of Adams Smith, of Montesquieu (*L'esprit des lois*), *Logic* of John Stuart Mill., *Sociology* of Spencer, Jevon's *Logic*, writings of Huxley etc.

But it was Wang Kuo-Wei (1877-1927) whose versions first commanded attention. He translated Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, and the writings of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. Li Yu-Ying (b. 1882) has translated the works of Lamarck, Kropotkin, and has introduced the philosophy of Bergson into Chinese.

The Chinese are, indeed, of most of the nations of the East, voluminous translators. Within these years they have translated the writings of William James, Eucken, J. Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Whitehead, Rickert, Fichte, Hegel, Feuerbach, Hackel, Wundt, Paulsen, Driesch, Freud etc.

Let us now turn our attention to some of the personalities of the present day China who may claim some amount of originality, though undoubtedly their thoughts are moulded by the ideas of the West. Wu Chi-Hui (b. 1865) rejects all the previous philosophical and religious systems. He has ingeniously evolved a system which is incompatible with Materialism. The ideas of Ting Wen-Chiang (1887-1936) are however more balanced, sensible and precise. In a small volume *Where China acquired her Civilization*, he has shown the ardent wish of his fellow-countrymen to participate in and collaborate with that work of Civilization in which the Europeans claim to play the larger role. He has shown that the contribution of China would not be less in proportion.

Another creative philosopher of modern China is Hu Shih (b. 1891). He is now the ambassador of China in Washington. He has written on the *Development of the Logical Method in China*. He has also written numerous works in Chinese. He was, first, a pupil of the American Pragmatist John Dewey and helped enormously to extend mass literacy by evolving a standard Mandarin dialect for all China. Then he inclined towards Materialism. Now he seems

to be a rationalist. He has, in a very lucid style criticised the Neo-Confucian doctrines. He considers this movement as an attempt to liberate China from the Buddhistic thought ; but the meditations and introspections of the Neo-Confucians are in substance nothing but a new version of *dhyāna* and *prajñā* of Buddhism. These partially went to make their attempt sterile and useless. Let us conclude our survey hoping, with Dr. Hu Shih, in the renaissance of the Chinese thought armed with modern science and technology.

The Face Invisible

A languid golden note in half circuit,
Thinner, thinner it melts on myrtle boughs
In twilight dim. The dreamful drowse
Helps me hence in oblivion so sweet.
Again I hear that sound in measured beat,
Still louder, softer still ; no plaintive vows
The heartlet heaving did more nimbly mouse.
My soul to dwell on earth it makes unfit.
No more that madd'ning, drowning, piercing cry !
No more, ye sylvan elf, or else I die !
My forlorn heart doth quit a shivering sigh.
The evening star stands steadfast, confused, pale.
The roses weep ; the sea-nymph rings her bell.
A tearful face rents out of foamy veil.

R. G.

The Spirit of Japanese Art

By Taikan Yokoyama,

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Art is expressed through the three elements of nationality, tradition, and culture. It is only natural therefore that countries with different nationalities, different traditions, and different cultures should produce distinctive types of art, but it seems undeniable that art of the East generally differs greatly from the art of the West in fundamentals of expression. With due allowance for points open to question, European painting as a rule primarily takes the form of a sensuous experience and from that point emphasizes the visual effects of the object. Japanese painting, on the other hand, founded in a peculiarly Oriental tradition of spirit, perfected and refined through centuries of development, springs from lofty contemplative ideals. Its mode of presentation is therefore fundamentally different from the realistic exposition of an objective world, for the basic aim of a Japanese artist is to express his contemplative sentiment and soul by the employment of direct, pure, and poignant methods. It may be said that Japanese painting follows a way that has neither limit nor end, a way that runs through eternity. In other words, it aims to take an organic subject and express through it an inorganic spirituality, a symbolic presentation of a subject and its innate spirituality in their complete harmony. This necessarily leads to a process of symbolization which is an expedient way of grasping the spirit of the subject, a process called in the theory of painting *denshin*—literally the transference of the spirit. Only when the spirit of the subject harmonizes with the contemplative soul of the artist can the spirit transferred assume the character of the subjective mind and thus attain artistic heights, a phenomenon which is called “the expression of the spiritual tone.” To do this an artist must possess a high born character and enjoy the environment of noble cultural ideals. Since the expression of this personal tone implies the expression of the spirituality of the artist himself, emphasis is not laid on the form or colour of the object.

To give a few examples, in painting flower and bird pieces Japanese artists not only give their thoughts to the beauty of floral exuberance, but seek in addition such elements as the loftiness of personal tone, the tenor of sentiment, the strength of vitality, and the

glorification of personality. The artist strives to penetrate beyond what strikes his sense of vision and to grasp the spiritual elements latent in every object. This also applies to landscape painting. There is an ancient saying that the mountains of spring seem to smile, the mountains of summer seem to rise in wrath, the mountains of autumn seem to be adorned, and the mountains of winter seem to slumber. The pictorial presentation of mountains and their moods on a piece of silk will be impossible unless the spirituality within their outward forms is grasped.

A line in Oriental painting is a line to be sure, but in addition it contains a deep soul within itself. Indeed, a line may be so made as to express not only hardness or softness, strength or weakness, but even the whole gamut of human feelings and even the loftiness or the baseness of human sentiment. A line may mirror the individuality of not only the artist who paints it, but of any age that may be desired. There is in Japanese painting what is called *bitsu*—brush expressions—which originated in calligraphic art. Each stroke of the brush may be expressive of anything; a rise or fall, a turn or a curve may actually breathe with life. The briefest form of such expressions is called *ten*, or point. In Oriental painting the mode of expression is a continuation of brush (for the word "line" is not used in the Oriental artists' vocabulary) and *ten*. The whole form, needless to say, is a vital being with its own life, so its constituent lines and points are all vital beings, each with its own soul. Since they are thus each endowed with the artist's infinite spirituality, they are not lines or points in the sense commonly accepted in the West. The word "line" is used only because of the lack of a more appropriate term to represent it.

In Japanese painting, like in oil or water colour painting in the West, depiction may be achieved without the use of points and lines. This type of art is called *mottkotsu*. From the traditional point of view, however, importance is attached to the work with hair-brush and ink.

When painting on paper or woven silk some parts of the paper or silk are left untouched. This portion free from brush work is used in the case of landscapes to give distance to sky or water, thus imparting an impression of the vastness of heaven or the depth or earthly views. In the case of flower and bird pieces, the untouched spaces are often perfumed, so to speak, with the predominant senti-

ment of each season. It is characteristic of Japanese painting that the blank spaces are often more deeply significant than the delineations or the brush marks. This peculiar art of making untouched blank spaces assume a deep significance, a painting more significant because unpainted, springs from the contemplative idealism which dwells in the Oriental soul, the idealism that is identical with the doctrines of Lao-tse and Chwang-tse and the Zen philosophy of contemplation.

The doctrines of Lao-tse and Chwang-tse are schools of thought which flourished in ancient China, their main principle being the freedom of the mind in the fullness of contemplation. These schools of philosophy were introduced to Japan at a very early period. The Zen sect, which originally sprang from Gautama of India and later developed as one of the most outstanding divisions of Buddhism, falls into two schools : the Northern sect which by means of scholastic pursuit aims to advance step by step toward the depths of inner contemplation ; and the Southern sect, which, without reliance on scholarship, but through the law of Karma, aims at the direct attainment of truth. All of these philosophies aim at the attainment of enlightenment, a state of mind attainable outside the realm of letters and language. The Japanese, however, have been imbued with an indigenous sense of simplicity, purity, and love of nature, so that the introduction of these concepts from India and China were accepted, absorbed, and developed in the most natural way. In as much as these doctrines hold all worldly affairs unworthy of attention and wholeheartedly aim at the community of thought with nature, minds trained under their influence naturally take more interest in painting nature-objects such as mountains and stream, birds and flowers.

The East also has a distinctive type of ink painting ; that is, a type of art which is presented only by the use of one colour of ink. Yet through one colour only an extensive range of thought and sentiment can be directly expressed and effectively presented. This is hardly surprising in the East where there has prevailed a type of art known as divination by ink writing. Through the study of a single character traced in black ink the diviner is able to tell not only the past but the future of the writer. How much more evident, therefore, must be the character of the artist when he has freely wielded his hair-brush

It is said that ink has five different shades, and when a painting of this class is observed and studied, it must not only be "seen" but "read" by the mind. The East has an expression, "the reading of

painting," which means not the appreciation of what is depicted, but the comprehension of the spirit of the artist through what is pictorially presented, the depicted object itself being a suggestion to the viewer's imagination. This means, for instance, that flowers drawn in one colour of ink serve as a medium through which the observer feels the presence of colourful bloom, green foliage, or the brown limbs of trees. This means not that sensation are excited by the picture, but that ideas within the observer's mind are awakened through the medium of its suggestion. This is accomplished not by exposition but by enlightenment through contemplation.

Five shades of ink may be developed by the art of ink work, but they mean nothing more than variations in the shades of the ink. These variations in the true and exalted sense of the term are to be found where the artist has simplified and symbolized all forms and colours of nature in one colour of ink. Only when this spiritual process has been mirrored and reproduced in the mind of the observer who is capable of "reading" the picture with his mind and only when the mind of the artist finds a true echo in the mind of the observer, will the five shades of ink rise to vision in all their distinctness. An appreciation of Japanese painting truly calls for culture, and this is especially true in the case of ink paintings. Observers lacking proper cultural attainments would find in them little more than blotches of black ink, and even if they did discern the five different shades they would still be far from "reading" the picture unless they could comprehend something spiritual beyond its ink and paper. All this is attained, even as wisdom is attained, in the Zen philosophy of contemplation.

Since olden times the Japanese have had puppet theatres. The puppets used are only figures after a fashion ; but when they are manipulated by masters these figures will at once be transformed into vital beings with all the life and animation of a real actor or actress. The spectators are so captivated by their performance that they no longer feel the presence of men standing behind the puppets and pulling the strings. This effect is achieved when the puppet masters put their minds and souls into the puppets in their hands ; and these lifeless figures at once are so inspired with life and spirit that they become vitalized and their performance strikes the audience as if they were truly alive. Their performance is so impressive not because it is an art presented through form, but because it is an art of mind and soul.

As a symbolic art based on the scenario of *yoruri*, it cannot be fully understood unless one is also familiar with the scenario. For this reason, one who is thoroughly familiar with the scenario may be able to visualize in full the puppet stage even if he only hears the scenario recited. This will also be a case of "reading" paintings. When the artist has put all his mind and soul, all his life-force in vitalizing what he depicts, be it only a blade of grass or a small tree, then what he produces will be full of his own spiritual life which must strike the heart of the spectator with its inexorable force.

The spirit of patriotism and loyalty now so fully displayed in this period of emergency is typical of the racial mind of Japan. It is the true spirit that has pervaded and vibrated through the fabric of our national life since its earliest days. And in the domain of art, too, only works alive with this spirit are valued. All the masterpieces that have been handed down through the centuries are those which were inspired by this everlasting spirit. It is for this reason that such works are so unchanging in their value and are today as potent an influence on the spiritual culture of the Japanese people as when they were first conceived. It is the art of the soul, this art of the true national spirit that distinctly reflects the Japanese character.

For the past three-quarters of a century Japan wore the garment of European civilization. We were only too happy to do it and we got so accustomed to it that we failed to be critical of it. But when the country faced the crisis, we became more conscious of our own selves in the field of spiritual culture, and the time came when we should gradually shed the garment that had never really fitted us and return to our own costume, the form that is as old as the history of our country. In the realm of art as well, the stage is almost set for that great change by which our artists will return to the art of the soul, the art of the national spirit, for the advancement of their true mission.

The works of Japanese masters of all ages may be extolled for many reasons. When they portray ancient savants they emphasize their virtue to promote the ways of faith and loyalty; when they depict landscapes they deepen the love of all that nature bestows. The aim and message of pictorial art is that force which enables the spectator to be transported mentally to that realm of enchantment which lies deeper than what is before his eyes, and to that power by which one is able to discern the truth of morality for the consummate fulfilment

of the spiritual life. This can never be achieved save by lofty minds. The true art of painting is not the skill of wielding the brush ; it must come from the sentiment of one who is well familiar with the tradition of the country and faithful to the intrinsic character of the race. Our master of succeeding ages took over the legacy of the past and in all faithfulness to its traditions produced their original works. Those who regard painting in the light of what may serve pleasure or what may be used only on panels or walls do not understand its true object. An ancient sage said that each country has its own learning and ideals ; painting is culture influence which promotes morality, explores the depths of heaven and perceives through to the end of the earth, thus equalling the widest erudition in bookish knowledge. It indeed behooves us who follow this profession that we should, through our achievements in our own field, prove worthy of the peerless nationality that is ours.

A painting is valued as much as its artist is worthy. The high standard of painting has been maintained in Japan because its masters have through all ages kept their minds high and their thought aloft. Men in all walks of life, not barring emperors and princes, have often attained the height of culture only after they had applied themselves to the art of painting. If personality is high, the tone of painting must be high ; a painting is excellent only when its expression is exalted and full. Otherwise, whatever skill and thought may be used, the work will be no better than what a common artisan-artist produces.

Art and racial traits are as closely related as perfume and flowers, and personality and art are one and the same. It takes a true genius to paint the dragon and the tiger, the one symbolic of the Imperial throne and the other of the highest order of valour. Without the virtue of a savant, one cannot portray the ancient sages. Without a sense of elegance, one cannot depict floral beauty. One who has never known the joy of friendship is unable to paint happy birds at play. The artist who is ignorant of history or tradition can hardly hope to bring forth the essence of ancient life with his brush. The weakhearted can never conceive the majesty of nature any more than the unclean can picture a noble heart. The great way to the spirit of Japanese art may be opened only by some personality who can rise as high as the heritage of the country.

WORLD OF BOOKS

The Mahabharata : *Udyogaparvan* I, Edited by Prof. Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Litt. (London), University of Dacca and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, under the general editorship of Dr. Vishnu S. Sukthankar.

This is the fascicule No. 9 of the Mahabharata consisting of 100 out of a total of 197 *adhyayas* of the Udyogaparvan. Like Prof. Edgerton of the Yale University, Dr. S. K. De of Dacca was invited by the general editor to co-operate with him in collecting some portions of this Great Epic. Dr. De observes in his editorial note : "The textual problems, as well as the scope and method of the present critical reconstruction, are generally of the same character as those of the already published Adiparvan ; and the general principles laid down in the Prolegomena of that volume have, *mutatis mutandis*, been observed in the making of this volume also." Thus Dr. De having full scope of testing the critical method of Dr. Sukthankar, pays him a great compliment while he affirms that to be the only method applicable in the reconstruction of the Mahabharata text.

The most significant item in the textual criticism of this Parvan under review is the analysis of the Sanatsujata sub-parvan (Adhy. 42—45) which was commented upon by Sāṅkaracharya. He may or may not be the great commentator on Brahma Sutra for while the author of the Sāriraka Bhāṣya is reputed to be a son of Kerala, the commentator of the Sanatsujāta, strangely enough, overlooked the more reliable Malayalam version of the text and accepted the somewhat chaotic Telugu-Grantha version. A sound basis for critical reconstruction was discovered by the learned editor through the happy agreement of Malayalam version with those of the Bengali and Sarada-Kashmiri Mss. We congratulate the editors on their signal success in the difficult task and look forward to the publication of the 10th fascicule which will complete the Udyogaparvan with a special appendix on the Sanskrit excerpts found in the Javanese adaptation of 11th century A. D. It is a relief to learn from the editors that the Udyoga which is fairly bulky, is nevertheless comparatively free from lengthy insertions of later periods.

Angkor-Park by Swami Sadanandada Giri. Published by the author from 15, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta.

This interesting little book gives us a brief but excellent survey of the superb monuments of Angkor that lie scattered all over Cambodia in French Indo-China. The author is an erudite Sannyasin who personally visited those monuments and studied them with the help of some of the most eminent local *savants*. He begins with an ethnographic sketch of the Khmer and proceeds to deal with the monuments. He describes the wonderful temple of Angkor Thom with its numerous sculptured walls and railings at first, and then explains the details of Khmer architecture clearly. After a brief account of the temples of Pre-Rup, Pre-Khan, Bantu Srey and the Bayon—a great Mahayanist monument—he passes on to the main Vishnu temple of Angkor Vat and describes the artistic details of the bas-reliefs sculptured on the galleries of the temple at some length.

The style of the author is lucid, clear and simple and imparts a freshness and liveliness to the subject he deals with. He has earned the gratitude of the rising generation of India by furnishing them with popular hand books on Greater Indian Culture and we hope that these books would have a wide circulation among the schools and colleges of India.

Review of World Trade 1938. 1 Price 2/6 ; \$ 0.60.

The contraction of world trade in 1938, following upon an expansion in 1936 and 1937, is analysed in the *Review of World Trade 1938* just published by the League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service. Of the decline in value 13% in gold or 12% in sterling 8% is due to a fall in quantum and the remainder to lower prices. Signs of an improvement in trade came in the middle of 1938. The fall in prices of goods entering into trade was virtually arrested in the second half of the year and there was a normal seasonal expansion in quantum in the last quarter. A further decline in trade prices occurred however in the first quarter of 1939.

The changes in trading conditions appear to have been determined chiefly by the variations in the United States demand for goods, in particular raw materials, that resulted from the decline in her industrial activity in the latter half of 1937 and the new expansion in that activity in the latter half of 1938. The United States imports in 1938 were 35% lower in value than in 1937 a fall exceeding that recorded by any other country except Mexico. The United States

exports, on the other hand, declined at a lower rate than those of the chief manufacturing countries of Europe, whose competitive power was adversely affected by domestic armaments. In particular, this is true of Germany, who nevertheless alone among the highly industrialised countries increased the quantum and value of her imports and whose trade balance became passive. Japan increased her trade with the countries of the yen bloc, but her trade with other countries fell in value by over one-third a collapse due to the scarcity of raw materials for the export industry, aggravated by exchange control, increased manufacturing costs in Japan and consequent inability to pursue the policy of selling at low prices which had previously been Japan's strongest weapon in her competition in foreign markets.

There was a considerable influence of war apprehensions upon trade in 1938. Trade in arms and ammunition, though increasing, remained, however, a factor of minor importance in comparison with the trade in raw materials for the armament industry and in commodities of which emergency stocks were built up in European countries. The demand for such goods is evident in the spread of prices, though generally prices were lower than in 1937, the prices of such goods as iron and steel, cement and animal foodstuffs rose. Armanent policies undoubtedly contributed to sustain business activities and thus stimulate international trade at a time when the decline in the United States demand for goods threatened to initiate a world-wide depression similar to that which began in 1929. On the other hand, there were in 1938 also signs of restricting influences of armament and storage policies upon trade. Thus, in many cases the increased demand was for domestic goods which might normally have been sold abroad, and thus encroached upon exports (the heavy reduction in the German exports of coal, coke, iron and coarse iron products is a case in point), or the increased purchases of certain goods could only take place through a reduction in the purchase of others. The restrictive influences, it is pointed out, are likely to gain pace the more completely national productive resources are employed.

A question dealt with at some length in this volume is the tendency towards disintegration of world economy through the formation of economic groups of countries which in their trade tend to detach themselves from each other. The chief groups of this sort are the big "empires", but similarity in monetary policy also

determines the reorientation of trade : thus, the United Kingdom has recently increased not only her trade with countries of the British Commonwealth and Colonial Empire but also with other countries of the sterling bloc ; Japan has increased her trade with countries of the yen bloc and Germany hers with the exchange control countries of South-Eastern Europe and Latin-America.

The volume contains many other point of interest to the student of trading conditions. Of a very particular value are the reference tables—recast and extended in the present edition—giving indices of the prices and quantum of world trade (by categories of goods and by geographical groups) as well as of the imports and exports of particular countries.

Statistical year-book of the League of Nations, 1938-39. Price : in wrappers 10/- \$2. 50, bound in cloth 12/6 \$3. 50.

In the Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations—which has appeared regularly since 1927, and of which the 1938/39 edition has just been issued—the Economic Intelligence Service provides a large and very varied amount of statistical information of interest both to specialists and to the general public. The Year-Book as a whole is a very useful work of reference for anyone wishing to study many of the serious problems which are at present disturbing the world.

The 1938/39 edition just published is in several respects an improvement on previous editions. It contains new tables relating to the number of survivors as shown by life tables, and to the changes which have occurred in the structure of the population according to the main age-groups, i.e., of four main categories of the population, namely, the young (under 15), persons of productive age (15-64), old people (65 and over), and women of child-bearing age (15-49). A large amount of information, part of it hitherto unpublished, is provided concerning morality rates according to age, the fertility of women, and gross and net rates of production. This information throws light on the probable future trend of the population of each country.

The chapter on production and consumption covers a vast field, extending from agricultural production in each country to a synthesis of industrial production throughout the world. It contains several new tables of great interest, such as those relating to the production of meat, benzol, petroleum products, etc. It also gives useful

information about the increasing use of substitutes and by-products, by means of which an attempt is being made in certain countries to become independent of imports from abroad. Careful study of these production and consumption tables will enable the reader to discover a large number of interesting facts.

He will see, for instance, that while in certain countries, such as the United States, production in 1938 was in the main definitely below the 1937 figures, there was a remarkable recovery during the second half of the year. In several countries production increased considerably, although in a very uneven manner. It is clear that in certain cases this increase reflects intensified armament and the pursuit of a policy of autarky.

It will also be seen that Government expenditure continued to increase, reaching record figures. In many cases expenditure on armaments appears in special accounts not included in the general budget. It may be noted that in the United Kingdom expenditure on armaments at present amounts to roughly 44% of the total expenditure. In some cases, such accounts are not completely divulged. That is so, for instance, in the case of Germany, and also of Italy so far as the budget estimates are concerned. In view of the above facts it is not astonishing to find that the national debt of many countries is steadily increasing. This heavy national expenditure is also reflected in the money market, where there is a marked decrease in private investment.

In the demographic sphere, it will be noted with interest that the population of the U. S. S. R. amounts, according to the census of January 1939, to 170.5 millions, and that the German Reich (including Austria, the Sudeten territories, and Memel) had a population of 79.8 millions in May 1939. In Germany the birth-rate continued to recover, and in 1938 reached 19.7 per thousand (as compared with 14.7 in 1933). Austria is coming into line, and its marriage-rate, which nearly doubled in 1938, and with 12.7 per thousand may have set up a world record, points to a new rise in the birth-rate. At the same time, another interesting fact will be noted that in several other countries where the birth-rate had dropped the decline was checked in 1938, and in certain cases it actually started to rise again for the first time for a number of years. That was so, for instance, in the Baltic States, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, the United States, New Zealand, etc. It will be most interesting to follow this trend.

Japanese Wood-Block Printing by Hiroshi Yoshida. Published by the Sanseido Company Ltd., Tokyo and Osaka. Price 15 yen.

This is undoubtedly a rare book for it combines the *mind* of the artist and the *hand* of the technician Hiroshi Yoshida. What he expressed in his mother tongue Japanese was made available to foreign admirers of Japanese art, thanks to his collaboration with Dr. Jiro Harada of the Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo. "True art is cosmopolitan and the result, therefore, of external influences as well as of the inherent vitality and life of the different nations." Such a statement goes to show that a great artist is speaking to us. But he is not concerned with theory alone for he gives practical hints of rare significance as we find in the following passage: "The entire course of the development of the print must be charted by him so that his creative genius may be seen not only in the foundation sketch but in the cutting and printing as well."

After an introductory note on the subject followed by general information with regard to the original sketch, cutting, colour distribution etc., the author devotes chapters on Tools and Materials (Chap. III); Analysis and Printing (Chap. IV); Failures and Suggestions (Chap. V). At the end of the book he observes that while the art of colour-printing is a peculiarly Japanese art, "there is no reason why artists of other country should not try our method of wood-block printing." We are glad to announce in this connection that a student of Tagore's Santiniketan School, Mr. Biswarup Bose, son of the great Bengali artist Nandalal Bose has returned to India after a successful course of practice under Japanese masters of wood-block printing. We congratulate the author on his superb production hoping that India and Japan will be brought closer together through collaboration in arts and crafts. We also record our thanks to the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai of Tokyo for kindly presenting us with a copy of this rare volume autographed by the artist-author.

Canadian Institute of International Affairs: Bulletins. 86. Queens park, Toronto, Canada.

The Canadian Institute held several conferences first at Montreal (1934) second at Kingston (1935) third at Ottawa (1936) fourth at Hamilton (1937). Prof. G. F. Curtis of the Dalhousie University contributed a valuable paper on "Peaceful adjustment of disputes in the Pacific". He gave an able survey of Japanese expansion, of China's

economic and social reconstruction, of the Soviet Far East as an industrialised area and of the American recovery programme. His concluding notes are pessimistic specially with a view to the operation of international machinery in the Pacific.

In the conference at Hamilton a paper on Canada's defence policy was jointly submitted by Mr. G. Glazebrook and Mr. W. Benson. So Prof. F. H. Soward communicated a paper on "Canada and the Americas" giving a general outline of the evolution from Monroe doctrine to good neighbour policy. Incidentally he discusses neutrality legislation and also the question whether Canada should join Pan-American Union.

At the conference of Ottawa (1938) three interesting papers were communicated : (1) United States and the Commonwealth by George Luxton (2) Canada, Far East and Europe by R. G. Riddell (3) Problems of Canadian Unity by C. L. Monteath Douglas. We are thankful to the Canadian Institute for these interesting Bulletin which would help our Indian students of International affairs to appreciate Canadian affairs better.

Bulletins of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.
Published by the University of Toronto Press, Canada.

The Museum, perhaps the most progressive one in Canada, has special sections on Zoology, Geology, Palaeontology and Archaeology. The various departments are under the professors of the University of Toronto and the general management is under Dr. C. T. Currelly who is the Director of Archaeology.

In 1937 the Board of Trustees published beautifully illustrated Bulletin on Chinese Temple Frescos brought from the Buddhist Monastery of Hsung-Hua. In 1939 was published a very useful guide to the East Asiatic collections starting with the Shang Dynasty 1766 B. C. and coming through the Chou, Han and Tang Dynasties right down to the end of the Manchou Dynasty in 1911. The museum is also proud of its rare collection of Chinese books, Chinese Tomb objects as well as miscellaneous collections of Japanese, Cambodian and Persian *art objects*.

Interpretation of the Zarathustra's Gatha and Prayers from the Khordah-Avesta by Lady Dastur. Price Rs. 2 and Rs. 1-8-0 respectively Published by the New Book Company, Bombay.

Avesta is indispensable for the proper understanding of the Vedic Religion yet very few Indians have any clear idea of the great spiritual legacies of Zoroastrianism. Most of the books on the subject are

highly technical and therefore beyond the scope of common readers ; so we are grateful to Lady Dastur for her simple and yet graceful rendering of some of the most important scriptural texts of her ancestral religion. To her it is an act of piety and eminent authorities like Dr. M. N. Dhalla have attested to the fidelity of her renderings. These two books will help immensely the cause of propagating the fundamental truths of Parsi religion.

Archaeology in Gwalior and Bulletins published by the Department of Archaeology Gwallior State.

The State of Gwalior is rich in archaeological treasures and we are thankful to Mr. M.B. Grade the Director of Archæology, for presentation of review copies of some of their bulletins. Guide to the archæological museum was published in 1928 and he amplified it into a general book entitled *Archæology in Gwalior* richly illustrated and accompanied by an excellent map.

In 1936 he published a "*Handbook of Gwalior*" which would be interesting to all these who wish to follow the general progress of the State. The monuments are Buddhistic, Jaina and Brahmanical and one of the rarest collection of ancient Indian paintings is in the famous *Bagh Caves* on which a volume has been published by the India Society, London. We wish all success to the Archæological department and hope that it would soon compile a catalogue of the important manuscripts found in the various temples and collections of Gwalior.

The Mahabharata as History and Drama by Rai Promotha Nath Mullick Bahadur. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. (Ltd). Calcutta.

The author has devoted several years of his life to the intensive study of the Great Epic specially with a view to solving some of the complicated problems of the Hindu Social History. He has already written on the Origin of castes, the History of the Vaisyas of Bengal, and on the Mahabharata as it was, is and shall be.

Now in the volume under review, forewarded by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the author gives a very able summary of the historical and dramatic episodes of the Mahabharata. Those who cannot read the original Sanskrit text will be benefitted by the lucid English commentary which the author has prepared and we recommend the book to all those who want to form an idea of the life and culture of India in the Heroic age.

Publication of the Department of Antiquities : Government of Iraq, Baghdad.

We are thankful to the Department for sending us their valuable publications which demonstrated how deeply interested our friends of Iraq are in art and archæology. Ten years ago in 1928-29 eight expeditions were working in the rich field of Mesopotamia. Between 1929-32 archæological explorations spread over 11 historical sites and led to epoch making discoveries at Ur, at Kish, at Tel Asmar and other places. In 1935 three illustrated guides were published on the remains of the Abbasid Place in Baghdad and on Harba Bridge with its famous inscriptions. In 1937 two highly interesting guides were published on the ruins of Babylon and Borsippa and on the collections in the famous Iraq Museum. Mesopotamia has come so close to our Indus Valley Civilization that we hope our Indian universities will begin to send research scholars every year to Iraq inviting at the same time archæologists from that country to co-operate with us in Indian field-work. An excellent archæological map of Iraq has also been prepared by the Government of Iraq and similar maps should be prepared for the Indus Valley and other archæological sites of India.

The source of Modern International Law by George A. Finch., Assistant Director of the Division of International Law, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 700 Jackson Place, Washington, 1937.

In this valuable monograph the author has attempted to give the points of view of the writers of different nationalities on the subject. We naturally agree with him when he says : "A science affecting the destiny of the whole human race cannot be properly developed from particularistic or nationalistic embryos. It needs to be studied as a biological science in the laboratory of the world's experience." In the book the author has analysed various factors which have contributed to the growth of International Law. Special chapters have been devoted to the International Law, to Custom and Treaties as a source of International Law. A highly interesting chapter is on the modern text writers and the last chapter is on the International Law in the Courts. There is an admirable bibliography at the end and in every sense we consider the book to be the best introduction to the subject for beginners.

Industrial Labour in Japan : International Labour office, Geneva ; Pages 413 ; Price Sh. 10/-

This is a very important publication of the International Labour Organisation, coming as it does, from the most authoritative source of our information about Japan and at a time when that country is engrossing the attention of almost the entire world. Japan through the unfortunate Sino-Japanese tangle is out of the League of Nations but not out, then, of the International Labour Organisation. It redounds great credit, as much to the officers of the I. L. O. as to their Japanese collaborators that in these days of utmost psychological tension they could bring out, in a spirit of exemplary scientific detachment, such a first class economic study that would continue to be an indispensable hand-book to all students of Asiatic labour and industry.

The book is divided into six parts ; part I serves as an introduction and the others deal respectively with industrial relations, labour legislation and administration, conditions of work, unemployment and migration, workers' welfare, education and co-operation. The introductory chapter is particularly interesting, giving as it does in brief compass a short historical account of the decline of the feudal system and the growth of modern industry, as also much valuable information about geographical conditions, climate, the size and relative density of the population and the rate of its increase or decrease, the extent of arable land area, the abundance or scarcity of resources in minerals, raw materials, food and other factors which have a direct and vital bearing on the industrial situation. The chapter thus furnishes the necessary background for comprehending the various factors, material and moral that have contributed to the industrial eminence of Japan. The next chapter, that on industrial relations, takes the subject a stage further and gives a sequential account of the growth of employers' organisations and trade unions in Japan. The story unfolded here of how, despite inevitable antagonism between capital and labour, class interests have been consciously subordinated by both parties to the industrial advancement of the country as a whole, furnishes a marked contrast to the progressive embitterment of employer relationships in this country and should furnish a wholesome object-lesson to those responsible for the recent plethora of strikes and lock-outs, particularly in the textile industry. The publication serves a valuable purpose in showing that the present industrial ascendancy of Japan is not an accident ; at the back of it, selective processes have been at work

whereby the country assimilated the good and eschewed the bad features of the Western industrial system and at the same time carefully conserved, such of these country's old institutions as would contribute to industrial efficiency and concord. Perhaps, the best example of this process is furnished by the retention, within the framework of the modernised industrial system, of the traditional 'family system,' which it is admitted on all hands, has exercised a uniformly steady influence on industrial relations in Japan.

The most important chapter in the book is however, the one dealing with conditions of work. The main headings dealt with here are recruitment, employment and discharge of workers, hours of work, night work and rest periods, wages and cost of living, industrial accidents and compensation, health and safety of workers and social insurance. If the chapter is read along with analogous sections of the Whitley Report, the reader would be able to make instructive comparisons between industrial conditions in Japan and India and understand how certain features peculiar to Japan, like the preponderance of women workers in the textile industry and the dormitory system in conjunction with the cardinal factor of the higher industrial efficiency of the Japanese worker, have enabled Japanese manufacturers to raid the Indian markets so successful. The usefulness of this chapter in furnishing valuable suggestions for rationalising the Indian industrial system cannot be underestimated. The chapter on worker's welfare, education and co-operation and unemployment and migration also cannot fail to furnish valuable hints and suggestions to our worker's welfare organisations. The usefulness of the publications is enhanced by the detailed table of contents, list of statistical tables (there are more than hundred statistical tables in the book), exhaustive bibliography and conspectus of Japanese labour legislation, included in the book.

It has become recently fashionable to condemn Japan on all counts ; but our present prejudices should not blind us to the permanent character of some of the achievements of this Asiatic power which started its career with all the handicaps of mediaevalism in politics and economics common to all other Asiatic nations and yet, within half a century, came to be one of the great powers of the world, breaking the back of Tsarist imperialism. In 1879, the population of Japan was a little over 35 millions and in 1938 it was over 65 millions. thus almost doubling her man-power within that momentous half a century. But

the numerical growth is a small matter compared with the economic, social and political development of the nation which is phenomenal. We recommend the book to all and especially to Indian industrialists so that they might raise themselves above mere passive grumbling against Japanese "dumping" and try to improve the conditions of Indian capital and labour as well as the techniques of production and distribution so as to demonstrate the capacity of India to face Japan as an equal.

Prevention of International Double Taxation and Fiscal Evasion. Two Decades of Progress under the League of Nations, by Mitchell B. Carroll. Price : 1/6/- \$0. 40.

Under the title "Prevention of International Double Taxation and Fiscal Evasion", a booklet by Mr. Mitchell B. Carroll American Member of the Fiscal Committee of the League of Nations, has just been issued.

In this book the author shows how the fiscal experts who have been working under the auspices of the League for nearly twenty years have, by their collective efforts, helped to reduce the serious hindrances to international economic and financial relations which are presented by fiscal barriers.

The model conventions prepared by these experts have formed the basis of nearly sixty general agreements between Governments for the prevention of double taxation in regard to direct taxes, and a still greater number of special agreements relating, in particular, to succession duties, the taxation of maritime navigation concerns, and the taxation of agencies of industrial and commercial undertakings.

The author also indicates the direction which will be taken in the future work of the Fiscal Committee. This Committee has seen its field of activities extended by the submission to it of certain general problems, for example, the question of the technical principles applicable to various categories of taxes.

This example will demonstrate to readers of the book the fruitful and essentially practical nature of the technical work performed by the Fiscal Committee, whose members include specialists from countries which are not Members of the League as well as from Members States.

Japanese Coiffure by Dr. R. Saito, **Japanese Game of "Go"** by F. Mihori, **Japanese Folk-Toys** by T. Nisizawa. Published by the Board of Tourist Industry Japanese Government Railways, Tokyo.

Each volume in the series is a gem of popular production containing exquisite illustrations on the themes accompanied by commentaries from the pen of authorities on the subject. Dr. Saito has traced the aesthetic motives behind Japanese styles of hair-dressing from the early periods, through the Edo epochs down to the present day styles of coiffure where pure Japanese modes are being mixed with foreign styles.

Mr. Mihori's survey of the *Game of "Go"* is as lucid as it is scientific in its diagrammatic presentation. The game is democratic in principle and conducive to cultural development.

Mr. Nisizawa's booklet on "Folk-Toys" is admirable. In the first few pages he gives a condensed historical sketch of the Toy-Craft of Japan. Then he classifies his materials into four main sections: (1) Engi toys, (2) Historical and Legendary, (3) Children's playthings, (4) Miscellaneous. The whole book is illustrated with coloured blocks which would serve as examples to all publishers of Children literature. We thank the Board of Tourists Industry, Tokyo, for these beautiful presentation books.

Whispers and Heart-Beats by Pandit Srischandra Vedantabhusan, Bhagavatratin, B. A. Published by B. Sen Gupta, M. A., Managing Editor, the United Press of India, 8, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.

The author is a distinguished educationist and a leader of the Brahmo Samaj. As Professor and Officiating Principal of the Murari Chand College, Sylhet and as headmaster of many schools, he served for years the cause of higher and secondary education in Bengal and Assam. A profound student that he is of the scriptures of the West he has devoted many years of his life to the study of the devotional literature of India. Consequently, in his writings we find a rich combination of the culture and mysticism of the East and the West. His *Dhyana-Yoga* (in Bengali) is a profound interpretation on the mystic communion of the individual with the Oversoul.

His "Whispers and Heart-Beats" will awaken responsive chords in many kindred souls cheering them along the path of Eternity. In such writings we find a rare synthesis of philosophy and devotion and so we recommend them to all earnest seekers of Truth and Harmony.

Problem of the Suez Canal

By A. K. Mukerji

Editor, "Eastern Economist", Calcutta

In dealing with the question of the Suez Canal, it might be opportune to refer to its importance vis-a-vis the problem of communications between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Oriental countries.

A waterway communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, already existed in geological ages along the longitudinal depression of the 77-mile stretch of the Suez Isthmus. In the period of Pharaohs, the Egyptians built an artificial canal connecting the Nile near Cairo with the said depression of the Isthmus, thus opening a new communication. The Romans used this route for the regular trade-relations they had with India, and the artificial Egyptian canal was called "Amnis Traianus" after the name of the Emperor Trajan who provided for its improvement. The same waterway was used up to the early period of Arab domination when it became obstructed through neglect. Since then the communications between India and Europe followed the overland route through Asia Minor; but, when the Portuguese discovered a cheaper connection with India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetian Republic felt the necessity of cutting a canal along the Suez Isthmus in order to maintain their hegemony in commercial relation with the Orient intact. However, conflicts with the Turks in the Near East, the aversion of the Muslims to grant any concession to foreigners, the apprehension of a rapid silting-up of the canal-bed with sand, and the erroneous conception of the existence of a difference ~~in~~ the sea-level of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, all these stood in the way of Venice to have her project being realised.

During the second half of the 16th century the Italian Lucciali (called 'Ulug' Ali)—who had become the 'Bey of the Beys' of Africa and the admiral of the Turkish fleet—convinced the Sultan of the

utility of constructing the canal ; but the enterprise was deferred as Turkey was fighting against Persia and was short of resources as well. The French representative in Turkey, Savary, informed his King, Henry III (letters of 25th, July, 6th and 20th August 1586) of 'Ulug' Ali's project which was then carefully considered by the succeeding French monarchs (Henry IV, Louis XIII, and especially, Louis XIV "le Roi Soleil"). Napoleon I inherited the idea and during his Egyptian expedition, took many technicians with him to study the question, and a concrete scheme was formulated.

While France, for uniting the communications with the Far East, was favouring the idea of the Suez Canal, Great Britain cherished the idea of the "overland route" through the Euphrates Valley and the Persian Gulf, and, perhaps even of railway crossing the Suez Isthmus. The French view was shared by the Italian diplomat De Rossetti, a representative of the Venetian Republic, of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and of the Austrian Empire in Egypt, who aimed thereby at improving the trade of Venice and Trieste. He brought it to the notice of the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Metternich, who asked for the permission of Mohamed Ali through diplomatic channel ; also the Italian States, especially Sardinia, Naples and the Pope, took great interest in the project.

On January 30th, 1845, Mohamed Ali declared to the agent of a Leipzig Association for Suez Canal Propaganda that he approved of the scheme of the Canal, but that he would not have it built until he could do it with his own money taking at his own service European engineers and labourers. And it is for this reason that M. Enfantin, head of the well-known socio-economic school of Saint Simon, was not allowed by Mohamed Ali to start building the canal. But he was not discouraged in his venture ; and with the support of the principal Chambers of Commerce of Italy, Austria, France and England, a "Societe d'Etudes du Canal de Suez" was founded by him in November 1846. Three groups of engineers were formed for studying the possibilities *in loco* : the groups of the Italian De Negrelli and the French Talabot made their survey of the zone, but the third group of the English Stephenson did nothing of the kind. And eventually called by Abbas, the pro-British Viceroy of Egypt, Stephenson himself built, later on, the Alexandria-Cairo-Suez railway which was meant to hinder the realisation of the Canal project. But Sa' Id succeeded Abbas in

1854, and the French De Lesseps (1) who was a good friend of the new Khedive succeeded in obtaining from M. Enfantin permission to be sent to Egypt with all documents and information of the Société d'Etudes in order to secure from the Viceroy the concession in favour of the Société. After one month of negotiations, he obtained the concession in November 1854 and asked the Société d'Etudes to carry on any useful propaganda in Europe. In course of time, howsver, De Lesseps stopped writing and replying to the Société d'Etudes, and though in his book "Percement de l'Isthme de Suez", he said that he went to Egypt in October 1854 "sans avoir reçu de qui que ce soit aucune espèce de mission" (a), he was writing in January 1855 to Madame Delamalle: "mon ambition, je l'avoue, est d'être seul à conduire tous les fils de cette immense affaireEn un mot, je desire n'accepter de conditions de personne, mon but est de les imposer toutes." (b)

The main terms of this first concession that De Lesseps secured from the Khedive were as follows :

A "Universal Company for the Suez Maritime Canal" will be formed with the object of cutting through the Isthmus a canal good for major navigation. Ninety-nine years after its inauguration, the Egyptian Government will enter in full possession of the Canal and subordinate establishments. But a friendly agreement will fix the indemnity for the Company in exchange of materials and movables. Works will be executed at the Company's expenses. Lands belonging to the Government along the canal-zone will be granted free of charge to the Company. Of the Society's net profits, 15% will be assigned to the Egyptian Government, 75% to the Company and 10% to the foundation members. It will be always forbidden to grant any special advantage or rebate in Canal taxes to the ships of any particular country. The Company shall have the free use of materials necessary for the Canal to be extracted from mines and stone

(1) De Lesseps was born in 1805 and had been a French Consul in Lisbon, Tunis, Alexandria, Cairo and Barcelona ; sent to Rome on a special mission in 1849 ; was thrown out of service having tried to obtain recognition of the Roman Republic. He was never an engineer and never had any technical knowledge of engineering.

(a) without having received from any one any kind of mission.

(b) my ambition, I must confess, is to be alone to conduct this immense affair. ...In one word, I desire not to accept conditions from any body, my aim is to impose all mine own.

quarries of the public property as well as custom exemption for import of requisite machineries and materials from abroad. The Company's statutes as well as the names of foundation-members must be approved by the Viceroy ; the foundation-members will be only those people whose studies, works, cares, capitals have previously contributed to the accomplishment of the great enterprise of the Suez Canal.

The concession act was granted with a letter of the Viceroy stating that works could not start before its ratification by the Sultan.

It will be interesting to note that there were many a difference between the text in the Egyptian official language Turkish and the French text of the Concession. For instance, where the Turkish text says : "We hereby give a special authorisation", the French one states ; "Nous avons donné, par ces presents, pouvoir exclusif" (we hereby give an exclusive power...)—an exclusive power which De Lesseps interpreted later on as a "Mandate", although the firm intention of the Viceroy was to authorise a limited society with a universal character to carry on an enterprise of general utility.

After a short stay in Paris, De Lesseps went to London where he published articles, wrote letters to M. P.'s, to the Mayor of London, to the East India Co., to Banks etc., in order to overcome the resistance of Palmerston's Cabinet which was advising the Sultan not to ratify Sa' Id's concession. But he did not succeed ; Palmerston who had been a War Minister in Napoleon's time was still suspicious of France ; and the relationship between De Lesseps and the Impératrice Eugénie made him afraid that the Canal might fall under the French grasp.

In the meantime De Lesseps fulfilled his promise to the Viceroy by convening an International Committee of well-known technicians who should give a definite opinion on the project. The committee was formed by Renaud, "Inspecteur Général des Ponts et Chaussées" and Lieussou (for France) ; Rendel MacClean and Charles Mambly (for England) ; the Italian De Negrelli, Inspector General for Railways (for Austria) ; Montesino, Director General for Public Works (for Spain) ; Paleocapa, Minister for Public Works (for Piedmont) ; Conrad, Inspector of Waterstaat (for the Netherlands), and Lentze, Chief Engineer of Vistula Works (for Prussia). De Negrelli was the only one among them to have been a member of

the Société d'Études. Paleocapa was appointed Chairman but he could not accept for the poor conditions of his health and Conrad succeeded him.

The Committee met first in Paris on October 30, 1855 and sent a sub-committee to study on the spot the main difficulties to be overcome. Two precious statements about the members of the subcommittee are available from M. Linant and the Viceroy himself. The former wrote : "The member who appeared to me as the most distinguished one was De Negrelli who saw things broadly as a real genius, while Conrad was a positive, practical man always sticking to the question ; Renaud always worried about minor details and MacClean a conscientious man, wanted to know every thing before forming an idea or opinion. The others, being specialists, remained attached to their own ideas and were not men for creation".

The Viceroy wrote to Archduke Maximilian of Hapsburg, the brother of the Austrian Emperor and the future most unfortunate Emperor of Mexico, who was very much interested in the canal enterprise "Among the members of the International Committee of Engineers who have been delegated by their respective Governments to study on the spot the great question of opening the Suez Isthmus, I have particularly noticed and appreciated Signor De Negrelli, whose honourableness and high capacity justify under all aspects the choice of his Government and whose enlightened co-operation in the Committee's works is, according to my opinion, a guarantee of the good result of the enterprise in which Your Imperial Highness is graciously pleased to take interest and that I myself have so much desire to see it carried on."

One of the main objections to the construction of the canal was the difficulty, impossible to be overcome according to the opposers to the project, of opening and keeping open a good harbour at the canal *debouche* in the Mediterranean. Signor Paleocapa who had done the jetty of Malamocco (Venice) wrote a treatise (*Considerazioni sul protendimento delle spiaggee sull'insabbiamento dei Porti dell' Adriatico, applicate allo stabilimento di un porto nella rada di Pelusio Milan, May 1856, then translated into French*) in which he definitely solved the problem, demonstrating the possibility of building a safe harbour in Pelusium with a western jetty and a shorter eastern one on the model of the Malamocco jetty. And it is only then that the competent authorities after an inspection

of the Malamocco jetty by the sub-committee, fully acknowledged the perfect safety of the free entrance of the Canal in the Pelusium road.

On January, 2nd, 1856, the sub-committee presented Sa'Id with a short report in which they declared unanimously that construction of the Canal was an easy task ; so the Viceroy issued the second *firman* (5th January 1856) and approved of the statutes.

The second *firman* contained 23 articles and was practically the repetition of the first concession. There were, however, some differences as to the principle of neutrality of the Canal, which was more solemnly and exactly affirmed in the second *firman* (art. 14 & 15) and as to the foundation-members about which the article says : "La liste des membres fondateurs qui ont concouru par leurs travaux, leurs études et leurs capitaux à la réalisation de l'entreprise avant la fondation de la Société, sera arrêtée par nous. Après le prélèvement stipulé au profit du Gouvernement Egyptian par l'article dix-huit ci-dessus, il sera attribué dans les produits nets annuels de l'entreprise, une part de dix pour cent aux membres fondateurs ou à leurs héritiers ou ayant cause." (The list of foundation members who have contributed with their works, their studies and their capital, to the realisation of the enterprise before the foundation of the Society, will be formed by us. After the deduction stipulated by article eighteen here under in favour of the Egyptian Government, a quota of ten per cent of the annual net profits of the enterprise will be assigned to the foundation members or their heirs or any one having right.)

It is rather curious that De Lesseps who published so many documents about the Canal has never published the list of foundation members. Among the official documents of the Archives of the Royal Palace of Abdin in Cairo, there is not to be found any such list which ought to remain there. There is only a copy of it deposited with the notary of the Company in Paris. It is well-known that many heirs or *ayant cause* of foundation members, not included in such list, disclaimed the validity of the same, but their claims were always rejected by Tribunals for reasons of limitation prescription. But no suit against the Company was ever tried by public bodies, such as the Venice Chamber of Commerce, the Lloyd Triestino, the Municipality of Trieste and the Chamber of Commerce of Trieste which certainly ought to be included in the foundation members' list and against which limitation prescription could not be applied as they are public and

semi-government bodies. The differences between the French and the Turkish texts are not limited to the *firman* only but some of them are also noticeable in the statutes of the Suez Canal Co. For while the French text says (art. 77) : "Le Conseil d'administration est constitué comme suit, pour toute la durée des travaux et pendant les cinq premières années qui suivront l'ouverture du canal maritime à la grande navigation" (The Board of Directors is constituted as follows, during the whole period of works and for a period of five years after the opening of the canal for major navigation), the Turkish text adds : "They are : De Lesseps, President ; Resner, Conrad, Mac Clean, De Negrelli, Renier, Liessou, Revoltella, Paleocapa, Randel, Lentze, Harris, administrators". Three of these administrators hailed from Italy.

Apropos the large concessions granted by the Viceroy to the Company, we can quote the view of the Tuscan Consul, Signor De Rossetti,—a view shared by the Members of the Société d'Etudes. Signor De Rossetti was writing to the Minister for Foreign affairs in Florence : "It is not necessary for me to point out to Your Excellency how greatly favourable to M. De Lesseps and his projected Company are the concessions granted by His Highness, as no such power was ever given to any body by any other Government." And we understand why Egyptian historians cast so severe criticism against Sa' Id who not only granted to the Company such large concessions, but even allowed the Company to be limited and omitted to require authorisation of Turkey and the guarantees that his predecessor Mohamed Ali would have required.

The International Committee held a full session in Paris on June, 23rd, 1856. There were four projects to be examined ; two of them were of indirect draft (Talabot) and the other two of direct draft (De Negrelli, Linant-Mangel). Signor Paleocapa demonstrated the great advantages of direct draft M. Linant-Mangel's project required weirs at both ends which De Negrelli's did not want, as he considered it dangerous to have the water of the canal raised artificially ; he proposed therefore a communication at the natural level, always free and open between the two seas ; i.e. a real Bosphorous between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

After a deep discussion, the Committee fully approved of De Negrelli's projects which had been prepared since 1847 as the Committee's report and minutes acknowledge.

For convincing also the public De Negrelli defended his project

a remarkable study published in German in an Austrian magazine, and then translated into Italian and French in the Italian and French Suez Isthmus Bulletins which were being published from Turin and Paris.

In the beginning of 1857, the British Government occupied the Perim Island with their troops, controlling the maritime movement of the Red Sea. On July 7th, Palmerston attacked in full Parliament the project from the technical, economic and political points of view. On the 17th of July, he insisted on his ideas and obtained the support of Stephenson who tried to demonstrate that the execution of the problem was unlikely and not convenient. Paleocapa and De Negrelli answered with two articles in which they demonstrated Stephensons's objections to be inconsistent. Other committee members replied too with summary observations in which it is said : "One of these engineers, Signor De Negrelli, our colleague and collaborator in Egypt, has never abandoned the project of the Bosphorus through the Isthmus, and rightly saw in the practically equal level of both the seas only a greater facility for the enterprise"; and the President says in a personal report : "Talabot prepared an indirect draft project not accepted for good reasons by the International Committee. De Negrelli already in 1847 had conceived the direct draft project, as it was proved during the Committee's journey in 1855. Therefore it is not true that the engineers with whom Stephenson was working, have all abandoned the project, as one (Talabot) has prepared a learned, remarkable and bold indirect draft project and the other (De Negrelli) did a direct draft project which he has been happy to see adopted in its principles by the International Committee".

Negrelli was to have directed the construction of the canal but death overtook him in October 1858. The next month De Lesseps opened subscriptions to raise money for the enterprise and in December of the same year the Suez Canal Co. was founded. Faced by such energetic action, strongly backed by Napoleon III, England relaxed her opposition although she by no means failed to continue her acts of obstruction towards the enterprise in which she yet had no financial interest. Turkey accepted all that had been accomplished, although, it was not until 1866, when the canal was more than half completed, that she gave her complete approval to the enterprise. It was Ismailia Pasha, successor of Sa'Id Pasha who managed to win the approval of the Ottoman Empire. Sa'Id, it seems,

was over generous with De Lesseps in granting land. Working conditions were almost suicidal (for the natives especially) and other matters were not particularly favorable to the interests of Egypt. Ismailia Pasha, however, overcame all these, including the abolition of the "corvée" or forced labor system to which the Sultan objected most vigorously.

Sometime after Negrelli's death, Paleocapa was offered the directorship of the construction works, but ill health prevented him from accepting the offer and the Englishman Conrad was chosen in his place. In 1858 when Lord Palmerston was doing all in his power to prevent the construction of the canal, Robert Stephenson declared before the British House of Commons that due to the great level distance between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, the cutting of a canal through the Isthmus of Suez would cause a large stagnant lake to be formed bringing grave damage to the surrounding country and rendering the whole region malarious. Since Stephenson was regarded as England's leading authority in these matters, the declaration produced a profound impression on all interested circles throughout Europe. The shares of the Canal company took a sharp turn downwards and for a while De Lessep's whole enterprise faced possible bankruptcy. In despair he turned to Paleocapa for help. Replying to Stephenson's assertions in the "Journal de l'Isthmus" Paleocapa wrote a famous paper pointing out all the absurdities of Stephenson's theories. As a result of Paleocapa's reply, Gladstone took it upon himself to denounce his country's opposition to the construction of the Suez Canal, characterizing his government's actions as "scandalous, illicit, illegitimate and upheld by illegitimate means."

Much correspondence which followed between De Lesseps, Paleocapa, Voisin, Conrad, Torrelli and others intimately connected with the Canal enterprise established the importance of Paleocapa's reply to Stephenson at a time when the whole venture was threatened with ruin.

The construction of the Canal began in April of 1859 and after ten troublesome and eventful years, marked with financial difficulties and opposition from abroad, it was brought to completion in November, 1869.

Constitutional Experiments in China

By Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M. A., B. L.

China, the land of the dragon throne, eternal mystery and somniferous opium, extending over twenty two big provinces, each of which is equal in area to that of Great Britain, having a population over 450,000,000 souls—passed, within a brief period of 25 years, through a series of revolutions : first, the overthrow of the Manchus, next of the ambitious Yuan Shi-Kai ; and finally of the various War-lords. But peace she has not yet in store, for the Manchuria incident of 1931, and the Lukowchiao incident of July, 1937, again brought her in the fields against Japan, while the numerous humiliating and unequal treaties that bind her to self-degrading conditions have constantly evoked her violent protest against the greedy foreigners. In this article I propose to deal with some aspects of constitutional development in China in four different stages, viz., (1) The Manchu period, (2) After 1911, (3) The Organic Law of October, 1928 and (4) The Permanent Draft Constitution of May, 1936.

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA BEFORE 1911.

An understanding of present Chinese Constitution is well nigh impossible without some acquaintance with the administrative system that prevailed before 1911. This study is necessary, as Willoughby points out, “for the double reason that not only are old political ideas and practices necessarily carried over in considerable measure into a new regime, but old administrative methods are retained” (*Constitutional Government in China* p. 5). At the head of the Chinese State was the Emperor governing his people under a mandate from Heaven and responsible for his actions to no earthly agent. He combined in himself all the executive, legislative and judicial powers, appointing and dismissing chief or court officials, and issuing decrees on important matters of the state. In practice, however, “he seldom attempted to issue general rules in the nature of private laws—civil or criminal—his orders almost always being either administrative directions to officials or decrees in determination of specific matters.” The Empire was divided into twenty two provinces, including three in Manchuria

and one in Turkestan, over each of which there was a provincial governor. Sometimes, there were Viceroys, governing two or more provinces, and occupying the highest rank of the civilian officials, and next to the Tartar General in command of the Manchu garrison. The Provincial Governors were appointed by the Emperor and governed the provinces with the assistance of a few officials such as a judge, salt comptrollers, grain intendants, etc.

The Government of China was not of a federal type, and there was no division of functions between the Centre and the Provinces. The Central Government had concurrent and overriding jurisdiction in every sphere, but it seldom exercised those rights. It confined its functions to criticising and checking the actions of the Provinces, accorded them highest freedom in regulating and determining their internal problems, but reserved to itself foreign relations and the right of appointing and removing the highest provincial, prefectural and district officials, of collecting certain general taxes ; or receiving definite contributions of money or grain or other produces from the provinces ; of maintaining armies ; of conducting state examinations for appointment to Civil Service ; and of conferring superior literary degrees and honours as rewards for proficiency in higher studies. Later on, the Central Government was establishing high schools and colleges and undertaking construction and operation of railways and mines. The vastness of the country rendered centralised control of all provincial details of administration an impossibility, especially in the light of the backward state of means of communication and transport.

As regards local government, it should be noted that each province of China was subdivided into several prefectures (Fu) which again was divided into numerous districts (Hsien), each in charge of a district Magistrate. The Hsien is the political, civic, judicial and fiscal unit of the Empire. It extended over a walled town with its immediate suburbs, and was equipped with Treasurers, Collectors, Secretaries, Clerks, Jailors, Runners, Constables, etc., "many of whom", as Morse says in his *Trade and Administration of China*, p. 57, "hold their position by hereditary right or custom." The District Magistrate is the most powerful authority directly appointed by the Emperor, and exercises political, judicial, financial and all sorts of executive functions. He was also the agent of the Central and Provincial Governments for the collection of the land tax and grain tribute ; but

he had no concern with salt gabelle or *likin*, excepting the task of protecting their collectors.

The village people were self-governing communities, just as in ancient India, under the guidance of the Village Elders. This shows that the Chinese people whether in the Centre or in the Provinces, had very little connection with the Government. They enjoyed the greatest amount of local autonomy, and their government had never been called upon to supply them, as Willoughby says, "with elementary schools, to construct bridges, and roads, to establish hospitals or libraries, to supply water or light or fire protection, or to promulgate and enforce regulations in the interest of the public health." Willoughby adds : "Thus, in the sense, that they are not, in their every day affairs, subject to regulations created and enforced by law, the Chinese are one of the freest peoples on earth" (*Ibid* p. 10). Professor Giles also described China as "a great democracy, living in the greatest Republic the world has ever seen." But it is to be noted that the strength of this local autonomy proved, in the long run, the curse of China. This autonomy originated as a result of the physical inability of the central Government to control the social and political life of the people from a great distance ; but it produced a sense of narrow patriotism, a local aloofness, a type of village and clan allegiance, and a sort of regional militarism which proved quite inimical to the growth of a sound, wider nationalism and the establishment of a national representative form of government for the whole country. This has also resulted in local antagonism to such unitary projects as all-China railway construction, or the opening of mines, or the appointment of central officers to supervise the working of self-government regulations etc.

This raises a very interesting question as to how the vast Chinese Empire did preserve its unity and integrity in the face of such internal looseness ? The answer is this : first, the doctrines of Confucius who preached and justified monarchy on a moral and patriarchal basis, drew reverential allegiance of the people to the throne. Secondly, the institution of State Examinations, based on the substance and literary standards of classical writings, preserved the Empire, as T. T. Meadows points out, in his famous book *The Chinese and their Rebellions*—p. 403,—by instilling into the minds of the public servants the lessons that (1) the nation must be governed by a moral agency in preference to physical force ; (2) the services of the wisest and ablest men in the nation are indispensable to its good government,

and (3) the people should have the right to depose a sovereign who either from active wickedness or vicious indolence, gives cause to oppressive and tyrannical rule. The Chinese Empire, before 1911, was thus based on moral foundation. It was no less a state than either Great Britain or France, but laws in China were something quite different from the commandments of Austin's Sovereign.

2. THE REVOLUTION OF 1911.

The Revolution broke out at Wuchang in October, 1911, as a consequence of the inability of the Emperor to preserve the integrity and honour of the country against the encroachments by foreigners upon China's sovereign rights through unequal treaties, concessions, settlements, etc. The corruption of the Court, the poverty of the people, the demand for responsible government, raised by Dr. Sun Yat Sen's organisations, all brought about the conflagration not too soon. The Emperor Hsuan Tung, tried to placate the rebels by promising constitutional monarchy, and appointed Yuan Shi Kai, a great military general as his Imperial Plenipotentiary to arrange terms of peace with the revolutionaries. But, ultimately the monarchy was abolished, and Dr. Sun, the leader of the Southern Revolutionary Party, vacated his Presidential post to make room for Yuan Shi Kai, who was declared the elected Provisional President of all China. President Yuan swore obedience to the Provisional Constitution on March 10, 1912. The Republican Constitution made provisions for a Provisional President, a Vice-President, and a single chambered Council whose main function, was declared to be to frame laws in accordance to which a regular Parliament might be convened, whereupon the Council will cease to exist. The Council passed the necessary laws and a bicameral Parliament was elected and convened at Peking in 1913. The Upper House was constituted on the American model, one third of its members retiring every two years. The Parliament was empowered to elect the President and the Vice-President of the Republic, and to draft and promulgate a Permanent Constitution. In 1913, Yuan Shi Kai discarded the title of "Provisional President," and became the first elected President, while Li Yuan-hung was elected Vice-President, both for five years. But within a few months, Yuan dissolved the Parliament before the Permanent Constitution could come into being ; tried to suspend the Provisional Constitution ; strengthened his executive position, and attempted to mount the

throne. The trouble was cut short by his death in June 1916, when the old Parliament was again convened and the Provisional Constitution again recognised as the fundamental law of the Republic. But before attempts could be made for drafting a Permanent Constitution, the hands of the new President, Li Yuan-hung were tied by the military leaders of the North, who coerced him to resign. As a result of this resignation two different governments were formed in China, one in the North, at Peking, under the Presidentship of Hsu Shih-chang, in October 10, 1918 ; the other in the South, at Canton, under Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in May, 1921. On May 5, 1921, Dr. Sun issued a "Manifesto to Foreign Powers" requesting them to recognise the Government at Canton as the Constitutional Government for all China, both *de jure* and *de facto*, but the Foreign Powers thought it prudent to "wait and see."

Some people think that China is too big to have one single nationality and that parts of China are not integral to the whole. But, as Willoughby says : "It is indeed a very significant fact that during those years of Civil War, the proposition that China should be divided between the two contending governments should not have been seriously agitated. This is a very significant fact, for it gives the strongest testimony to the essential cultural unity of the Chinese people, to the existence of those psychological factors upon which the nationalism is based" (*Ibid* p. p. 27—58). Professor Stanley K. Hornbeck rightly says : "Differences in blood, in physique and in temperament ; differences of religion of language and of customs ; sectionalism and provincialism notwithstanding, the people of China constitute an essentially homogeneous nation. There is in China no such problem as there has been, for example, in Turkey, of "nationalities" (*China To-Day : Political ; World Peace Foundation—1927* p. 418).

From 1922 to 1928 a fierce Civil War filled the country with horror, insecurity, bloodshed and economic distress, almost unparalleled in the history of the 20th century. The warlords (tuchuns)—Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria ; Wu Pei-fu of Central China ; Feng Yu-hsiang—the Christian General and communist leader ; Sun Chuan-fang of Eastern Yangtse, tried to dominate the Peking Parliament ; while in the south Dr. Sun went on peacefully strengthening the Kuomintang Party, and called the "First Conference of the National Representatives" in January, 1924, at Canton. The declared purpose of this Congress of

1924 was "to hasten the realisation of the Three Principles of the People, (Sam Min Chu I) and to lay the foundation of the Five Branches of the Constitutional Powers (executive, legislative, judicial, examination and control)". The principle of party organisation was also enunciated in this Congress, and it was decided that the President should be the Chairman of the National Representatives Conference and should have full veto power.

Dr. Sun was invited by the Northern war lord Chang Tso lin to Peking, but there Sun was taken ill and died in Peking, March 12, 1925. In accordance with his principles of revolution, there were three periods: (1) The period of military operations (2) the period of Political Tutelage, and (3) the period of Constitutionalism. After his death, the young general Chiang Kai Shek led out a punitive expedition in the North, for driving out the War Lords and unifying the country under the banner of the Kuomintang, and inspite of great difficulties the great end was realised by the end of 1928, when Nationalist rule was extended to North China. The period of political tutelage may be said to have begun on July, 1925, when the Nationalist Government was established at Canton. The Government was moved to Hankow on January 1, 1927, and was again transferred to Nanking on April 18, 1927.

On October 4, 1928, the Kuomintang of China, in order to establish the Republic of China on the basis of the Three Principles of the People (Nationalism, Democracy, and People's Livelihood), and the constitution of Five Powers, thought it necessary to promulgate an Organic Law, to develop the ability of the people to exercise political power, with a view to ultimate inauguration of constitutional Govt. (see *China Year Book*, 1928). This Organic Law was revised on Nov. 17, 1930, on December 26, 1931, and again on December 27, 1932. This Law, with some modifications, is still in force, during the period of the political tutelage of the people. In the First Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee, it was decided that a draft of the Permanent Constitution was to be published on May 5, 1936, while a National People's Congress would be convened on November 12, 1936, for the adoption of the draft. This National People's Congress would then make way for the formal Parliament or National Peoples' Assembly and that the Provisional Constitution under the Organic Law would then cease to have any effect. But though the Permanent Constitution was published on May 5, 1936, yet, due to Sino-Japanese tension and

hostilities, the National Congress has not yet been convened, and so, the Organic Law of 1928 is still in operation.

3. THE ORGANIC LAW OF 1928

Before we study this Organic Law, it is indispensably necessary that we should know something of the Kuomintang Party which produced this Law and which is still the supreme political organisation in the country. This Kuomintang acts as the trustee of the political powers of the people, and is the supreme repository of all power, until such time as the people are capable of exercising it themselves. The Party is "the direct descendant of the revolutionary secret societies, notably the Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Regeneration of China) and the Tung Meng Hui (United League), formed with the object of overthrowing the Manchu dynasty and elevating the international status of the country" (*Reconstruction in China*, by Tang Leang-Li, 1935 p. 9). The Party has a constitution which was first adopted at the First National Congress in 1924 and subsequently amended at the second and third National Congress of 1926 and 1929. The highest organ is the National Congress which elects the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee to conduct the business of the Party when not in session. The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang is the representative of the people of China and "exercises on their behalf the four political rights of suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum. This Committee has a Council and this Central Political Council is composed of twenty four members and eight more reserve members of the C. E. C. and C. S. C. This Council, is both in theory and practice supreme over the National Government. Articles 5 and 6 of "The Principles Underlying the Period of Political Tutelage", adopted by the Standing Committee of the C. E. C., and confirmed by the Third National Congress of the Kuomintang on March 19, 1929, read as follows: "The direction and control of the National Government in the administration of important State Affairs, shall be entrusted to the Central Political Council of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang. The Law governing the organisation of the National Government of the Republic of China may be amended and elucidated by resolution of the Central Political Council of the C. E. C." All legislative enactments must receive the previous sanction of this Political Council, while all major political officials, such as Ministers and others of Teh-jen (first rank) are

appointed or dismissed by it. The Chairman of the National Govt., the President of the various Yuans, the Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission are of Hsuan-jen (elected rank) and are appointed directly by the C. E. C. either in Plenary Session or in its behalf, by the Standing Committee of the C. E. C. Thus, it appears, that such a powerful organ as the Executive Yuan, is merely a "quasi-cabinet headed by a quasi-premier, and constitutionally unpossessed of supreme political authority", for whatever the Executive Yuan does must have the concurrence of the Presidium of the Political Council. But it is to be noted that the Kuomintang, the C. E. C., its standing Committee or the Political Council—neither of these bodies are rigorously constitutional, as they do not occur in the Organic Law—but exert their supreme political influence from behind the screen.

Formally, at the head of the Republic of China is the President—almost a titular head, who like the French President rules but does not govern. He holds office for two years and may be re-appointed, but he cannot hold any concurrent government post. He presides over a State Council or National Government Council, composed of "twenty four to thirty six" State Councillors, who are no longer eligible to hold concurrent posts. According to the Organic Law, all laws promulgated are required to be signed by the President of the Republic and counter-signed by the President of the Legislative Yuan, while all mandates and orders issued shall be signed by the President of the Republic and counter-signed by the President of the competent Yuan and the Head of the Ministry concerned. There are altogether five *Yuans*—the Executive, the Legislative, the Judicial, the Examination and the Control—each having a President and a Vice-President with right to "issue orders" according to law. For the transaction of the duties of the State Council, there are established within the National Govt. Headquarters, the following Departments, Organs and Commissions: (1) Department of Civil Affairs (2) Dept. of Military Affairs, (3) the Comptroller General's Office; (4) the Academia Sinica (highest National Institution of Scientific Research): (5) National Reconstruction Commission, (having charge over all governmental activities relating to reconstruction) and (6) National Economic Council with a standing committee.

The National State Council decides all issues that are common to two or more Yuans. The National Government of China, is thus, constituted of the President and the State Council, together with the

five Yuans. Barring the exceptional provisions required by the Sino-Japanese war of 1937, which have concentrated enormous powers in the hands of the President of the Executive Yuan, who is also at present the Generalissimo, the Organic Law empowered the President of the Republic to be the Commander-in-chief of the land, naval and air-forces of the Republic and to represent her to the Foreign Powers, though in reality, the President of the Executive Yuan is the Prime Minister of the Republic.

The Executive Yuan is the Cabinet of China. It is the highest executive body including the following Ministries and Commissions : (1) Ministry of Interior (2) M. of Foreign Affairs, (3) M. of Military Affairs, (4) M. of Navy, (5) M. of Finance, (6) M. of Industry, (7) M. of Education, (8) M. of Communications, (9) M. of Railways, (10) Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, (11) Commission on Overseas Chinese Affairs and (12) National Health Administration [and also (13) Famine Relief and National Re-construction and Anti-Opium Commissions—see *Political Hand-Book of the World—1939—*p. 34]. The Executive Yuan lays down general principles and policies, and is empowered to decide the following matters : Bills on legislative matters, Budgets, Amnesties, Declarations of War and Negotiation for Peace—all these to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan. It has also the power to appoint or dismiss administrative and judicial officials of or above the rank of Chien-jen (Third Class). The principles of joint and several responsibility have been embodied in the Organic Law in these words : “All orders and acts of disposition of the Executive Yuan in order to be effective, shall be countersigned in respect of those affecting general administrative affairs, by the entire body of Ministries, and in respect of those affecting only one Ministry, by the Minister concerned.” At the head of the Executive Yuan is the President of the Yuan, and below him the Vice-President, assisted by the Secretary General and the Director of the Department of Political Affairs. Each Ministry is headed by a Minister, one Political Vice-Minister and an Administrative Vice-Minister.

The Legislative Yuan is the highest law-making organ of the Republic, and finally decides upon the following matters (1) Legislation (2) Budgets, (3) Amnesties, (4) Declaration of War, (5) Negotiation for Peace, (6) and other important International affairs. It is composed of 49 to 99 members, who are appointed by the President of the National Government on the recommendation of the President of this

Yuan. The House has a term of two years. It has got a President, and a Vice-President, who are assisted by a Secretary-General, a Director of Legislative Research, a Director of Statistical Bureau, four to six Compilers, ten Secretaries and five Chiefs of Sections.

The Judicial Yuan is composed of a President, a Vice-President, who are assisted by four Counsellors and a Secretary-General; the Ministry of Justice; the Supreme Court; the Administrative Court and the Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries. The Ministry of Justice has a Minister, a Vice-Minister, four Counsellors and the following Directors, viz., of (1) General Affairs, (2) Civil Litigations, (3) Criminal Suits and (4) Prison Administration. The Supreme Court has a President, 12 Directors of Divisions, 8 Judges of the Second or selected grade, 20 Judges of the third or recommended grade and a chief clerk.

The Judicial Yuan takes charge of judicial trials, judicial administration, disciplinary punishment of officials and trials of administrative cases as well as the power to interpret the constitution. According to the new law of procedure, action for damages and administrative actions can be brought against officials, but only when the matters in question have undergone the process of second appeal or when no decision has been given after the lapse of thirty days since the lodging of the second appeal.

The main purpose of the Examination Yuan is to hold civil service examinations, attend to the selection of candidates in accordance with their merit, and registration of persons qualified for public service. The Yuan comprises (1) Examination Commission and (2) the Ministry of personnel, the former consisting of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and 5 to 7 Commissioners, the latter a Minister, two Vice-Ministers, and a secretariat. The President and Vice-President of this Yuan are appointed by the President of the Republic, but responsible to the Central Political Council.

The Control Yuan is the highest censorial organ of the Republic. Dr. Sun thought that retention of this censorial power in the hands of the Legislature has not functioned well in preventing corruption. So he separated this Yuan and made it an independent organ. It is invested with powers of impeachment and auditing. It comprises of (1) 29 to 49 Supervisory members who conduct the impeachment of officials, and (2) the Ministry of Audit. Both these bodies are assisted by a Secretariat and a Counsellor's Office. The Ministry of

Audit consists of one Minister, and two Vice-Ministers. The Supervisory members are appointed by the President of the National Government at the instance of the President of the said Yuan. The members of the Yuan are prohibited to hold concurrently any other public office or engage in business. But the impeachment of such high officials like the President of the Republic or of the several Yuans, must be brought before the Central Executive Committee. According to the Law, Government impeachment charge against officials for malfeasance or negligence of duty may be brought up either by the people or by one of the Supervisory Members or Supervisory Commissioners. His Excellency Yu Yu-jen says: "During the five years of its existence (up to 1936) the Control Yuan has received 13,471 complaints, directly from the people" [*The Silver Jubilee of the Republic of China*, 1936, p. 31].

Independent of these Five Yuans, but directly subordinate to the National Government Headquarters are (1) The National Military Council which is the Supreme Military Council of China, (2) Board of General Staff, (3) Director General of the Military Training and (4) Military Advisory Council—which constitute the highest military organs of the Republic.

The Provincial Government in Revolutionary China is very simple. There are 28 instead of 22 provinces at present—each province having an Administrative Council of 7 to 9 members, appointed by the National Government, with a Chairman and a Secretary. The most important provincial departments are (1) Civil Affairs, (2) Finance, (3) Education and (4) Reconstruction. The whole system of provincial administration is then subservient to the policy of the Centre. The Draft of the Permanent Constitution (1936) is essentially based upon the Three People's Principles (San Min Chu I) of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen; but its provisions do not materially differ from those of the Organic Law of 1928. The first Draft was prepared by Dr. Wu—on June 8, 1933, but it underwent modifications seven times, and the final Draft in its present form was passed by the Legislative Yuan in May 1, 1936, and was adopted by the National Government and proclaimed on May 5. This Draft was to be submitted to the People's Congress in November, 1936 for enactment and final adoption—but the Sino-Japanese hostilities have, up till now, prevented the Congress to be called.*

* The Permanent Constitution of 1936, which has not yet come into force will be treated in the next issue.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Istanbul Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology.

This important Congress organised by the International Institute of Anthropology, Paris, held its last session at Bucarest, Rumania and when the question arose of inviting the Congress to another country Kemal Ataturk, the maker of modern Turkey generously offered the hospitality of the Turkish Republic ; but when he was cruelly snatched away in 1938 many people doubted about the Turkish session. Thanks, however, to the liberal outlook of the new President Ismet Inonu, faithful comrade of Kemal for the last twenty years, the offer of hospitality was renewed and thus Turkey will be the meeting ground of many distinguished scholars from the East and the West. Dr. B. S. Guha of the Indian Museum and Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University and Chairman, Calcutta Branch of the Institute of International Affairs were invited to participate in the Congress and we hope to publish fuller reports in our next issue.

It is interesting to notice in this connection the great encouragement given by Kemal Ataturk to the Sciences of Anthropology and Archaeology. The contributions of Kemal have been brilliantly summarised by Prof. Eugene Pittard of the University of Geneva, who as the President of the International Institute of Anthropology has contributed a valuable paper in the *Revue anthropologique* (January-March, 1939). As early as 1908 Dr. Hugo Winckler discovered the now famous BoghazKoy inscription of *circa* 14th century B. C. mentioning the Vedic gods, Indra, Varuna, Mitra and Nasatya invoked in connection with a treaty concluded between the Hittites and the Aryan Mitannis. Since then many important discoveries have been made showing clearly that the important history of the Hittite empire reaching as early as third millennium B. C. could only be studied satisfactorily in Turkey. Nay more, Prof. Pittard who has been working in the Turkish field for over 10 years discovered palaeolithic culture in the heart of Anatolia which served as the high way for the migration of the art of agriculture from Asia to Europe. In all these archaeological and historical problems connected with prehistoric studies, Hittite archaeology as well as the expansion of the Seljuk and

Ottoman empires, Kemal Ataturk was profoundly interested. To trace, if possible, the continuity of the successive cultures Kemal ordered an anthropological survey on a colossal scale : more than 62000 men and women were measured and photographed and these huge bundle of calculations were ordered to be checked by the official Bureau of Statistics, Ankara. The work of interpretation has been entrusted to the learned Turkish lady Bayan Afet, the adopted daughter of Kemal and Vice-President of the Turkish Historical Society. These facts should be remembered along with the phenomenal achievement of Kemal in the liquidation of Turkish illiteracy. This was achieved no less through his dynamic personality than through his progressive and scientific outlook which drove him to abolish the crude Arabic script, introduce Romanization and other radical linguistic reforms. Let us hope that the example of this great maker of New Asia will continue to inspire generations of workers in India and other countries of the Orient.

The New Zealand Centenary

We offer our hearty congratulations to our friends of New Zealand on the forthcoming Centenary and publish below its preliminary programme. The British colonies of this twin-island with the important cities like Auckland and Wellington of the North Island and Christchurch and Dunedin of the South Island will combine to make the celebrations a grand success. We may be permitted to draw the attention of the celebrations committee to the thoughtful suggestions offered by Dr. Kalidas Nag at his reception meeting organized by the New Zealand P. E. N., Wellington. He pointed out that the first centenary of the British occupation almost synchronised with the sixth centenary of the occupation of the islands by the great Maori race. Hence it will be very appropriate if some thing permanent could be achieved by way of the systematic study of Maori art and compilation and translation of Maori songs, ballads and unwritten literature. The Maoris belong to the great Polynesian race who were veritable pioneers in the exploration of the Pacific. So we hope that the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Pan-Pacific Union would co-operate with New Zealand authorities in such a cultural survey.

The period of celebrations for the centennial of New Zealand as a British colony-Dominion, will begin on January 1, 1940, and close on November 16 of the same year. This is apart from the Centennial

Exhibition, which is to be opened in Wellington the Capital, in November, 1939. Preparations for this exhibition are well forward.

The allocation of dates for events in the centennial period is complicated for various parts of the Dominion are concerned. Wellington, for example, was founded before sovereignty was proclaimed by the first Governor, Capt. William Hobson. The following dates are recommended by the National Centennial Council :

January 7, 1940 : National Thanksgiving Day, in which it is proposed that all churches shall take part.

January 22 : Landing of first party of settlers of the New Zealand Company at Wellington.

January 29 and 30 : Arrival in New Zealand of Governor Hobson.

February 6 : Treaty of Waitangi with the Maoris.

May 21 : Proclamation of sovereignty over South Island at Cloudy Bay.

June 5 : Proclamation of sovereignty over Stewart Island.

August 11 : First exercise of sovereignty over South Island at Akaroa.

October 9 : Cook's first landing in New Zealand, at Gisborne, 1769.

November 16 : One hundredth anniversary of separation of New Zealand from New South Wales. A national holiday to conclude centennial celebrations.

Consideration is to be given later to a date celebrating Tasman's discovery of New Zealand in 1642.

Art and Archaeology in the Netherlands Indies.

Even a brief visit to the important museums and monuments of the Dutch East Indies will convince us that India and the Netherlands Indies are connected through centuries, by thousand cultural ties. We are thankful to the Consul-General of the Netherlands in Calcutta for a set of most useful booklets on the monuments and museums of Sumatra and Java. We notice first the Batak Museum at Raja on the east coast of Sumatra. The Bataks belong to the proto-Malay race who came from the mainland of India or Cambodia and subjugated and partly exterminated the Negroid races who occupied Indonesia before them. The Bataks worshipped gods living on or under the earth and in the skies and they have a collective name for their gods *Debata-Deibata*.

The pre-historic Stone Age culture and its concrete remains like tools and implements were catalogued with a learned introduction by the late lamented Dr. Callenfels.

The most important museum is that of the *Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, founded towards the end of the 18th century). Whatever really important objects have been discovered in the various islands of the Dutch Indies could be seen in this wonderful museum which was described by Mr. F. T. Markham in the *Museum Journal* (March, 1937). The variety of ethnic types with their special dress and ornaments are represented in several sections forming the ethnographic divisions of this splendid museum. A special pre-historic gallery has recently been opened drawing the attention of all students of anthropology to the culture of the Java Man. The ceramic collection of the museum is no less remarkable and a huge hall is full of bronze objects and images. The furniture room, musical instruments, the masks and costumes together with the ornaments go to make the museum an object of international renown. The sculpture and iconography, both Brahmanical and Buddhistic should also attract Indian scholars to study those wonderful relics of Indo-Javanese relations extending over more than a thousand years.

The Java Institute has also started a nice museum at Jogjakarta while we find many valuable art objects in the private collection of the Sultan of Solo Mankoe Nagoro VII whom we recently felicitated on his Silver Jubilee.

The Mankoe Nagoro Jubilee Volume

In honour of the 24th Jubilee of the reign of His Highness Pangeran Adipati Ario Mangkoe Nagoro VII, ruler over Solo, Java, a valuable Souvenir Album has been prepared by a special Celebration Committee to be presented to the ruler on the day of his Jubilee. Twenty four years have gone since His Highness Mangkoe Nagoro VII was installed as ruler in Surakarta. Three *windus*, eight year periods marked by Javanese tradition as definite cycles, were completed on June 16th, 1939. No doubt a worthy occasion and it must be said that the committee with R. M. Noto Soeroto as Secretary has carried out its self-chosen task to render homage and felicitations to the noble ruler in a most praiseworthy manner.

This beautiful and impressive Jubilee-book gives a lively exhibition of the many and varied activities of Mankoe Nagora VII during this 24 years of his reign. Among the congratulations and messages which the many friends and admirers of the ruler have gladly contributed are to be found all important personalities of Java and the Dutch Colonial Service, as well as many foreign representatives and numerous distinguished personalities from the different spheres of international society. Among the greetings from India included in the book one will find Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, Dr. James Cousins of the University of Travancore, Dr. B. K. Chatterjee and Dr. A. K. Mitra of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the editors of "New Asia" and others. Whereas the Poet and Dr. Nag are calling back their delightful remembrances of a visit to the domain of Mangkoe Nagoro, Dr. Chatterjee and Dr. Mitra are looking forward to conducting to the country an anthropological expedition for enquiring into the cultural affinities of Java and India.

Going through the many happy souvenirs contributed by so many excellent men the reader gets aware not only of the interesting personality of a ruler who in his admirable versatility has been the patron of numerous intellectual movements, cultural and scientific endeavours, but also of the various activities in this happy country which is flourishing and developing under the wise rule of this noble prince. The reader will get a vivid picture of the many branches of Javanese life, of the philosophical, linguistic and archaeological work, of garden-culture and breeding of horses and all this protected and sponsored by the man to whom this Jubilee-book *Het Triwintloe Gadenback Mangkoe Nagoro VII* is dedicated, thanks to the expert attention of the famous Javanese author Noto Soeroto, Secretary.

Among the scientific contributions a work on the art of dance, *Beveging en Ruimte* by Rn Aj. Jodjana, from France, is of special interest and importance. It contains a subtle analysis of this precious branch of the fine arts, so strange and unfamiliar to European nations. Full of valuable informations is also a work on the Javanese script and the problems of transcription. (*Over de lettersschriften en de spelling van het Javans*, by Dr. Th. Pigeaud) In these as in many other works we find a development of specific Javanese cultural elements on a basis common to them and to India. A great psychic affinity between the two cultures expresses itself in nearly every article.

We hear much about the Dance-school of Djokjakarta and we

come to know the Javanese dance as the culminating point of Javanese culture. The Javanese people have overcome the "word" as the sole medium of cultural expression and have put at its place the most expressive of all instruments : the human body. During his visit to Solo Tagore has said : "We have written the Mahabharata, but the Javanese dance it."

Nobody will close this wonderful Jubilee-book without feeling in his heart the ardent desire to know more about the isle of Java and the domain of Mangkoe Nagoro and if possible to pay a visit to it himself.

French Delay on Freedom Stirs Syrian Dissension

The trouble in Syria and Lebanon has arisen over the recent sudden change in French policy in regard to freeing those states from mandate rule. France in 1936 made treaties with them promising both Syria and Lebanon independence in 1939, but it has not yet ratified these pacts, and because of disturbed conditions in the Mediterranean the Government has now let it be known that it intends to revise them and keep a military and naval foothold in Syria.

The Syrian Nationalists replied with agitation for immediate separation from French rule, a campaign which led to a series of clashes in Damascus and other towns. Students organized parades demanding immediate independence and all schools were closed. One of the students' meetings ended in shooting.

A French Government spokesman said that France could not risk launching an independent Syria at the very moment that it needed a firm grip on all Mediterranean military and naval bases. It was further said in the Chamber of Deputies that Premier Daladier had decided to send a Senatorial committee to propose to the Syrians a new agreement under which the Syrians would have a large measure of independence but with French control of police and military functions.

The effect of this information was to produce a resolution in the Syrian Parliament urging the Syrian Government of Premier Djemil Mardam to revolt from French rule and declaring that the Parliament would refuse to negotiate with any French committee coming with proposals for changing the treaty.

Finance Minister Loutfi Haffar resigned in protest to the French action, but later reconsidered his action and remained in the Cabinet.

Syria now enjoys a larger measure of freedom and self-government than it has ever done before and it had confidently expected to be

admitted to the League of Nations as a sovereign, independent nation in 1940, when the present period of transition and supervision by the French High Commissioner was to expire.

After years of struggle and revolution, Syria today has its own elected parliament and government, imposes taxes, controls the making of the budget, public education, justice, public security and peace. It intended soon to send its own ministers and consular officials abroad.

The Syrians complain that France still controls the Syrian customs revenues, which they declare are used largely to support the French Army of Occupation, which consists of 16,000 French and Colonial troops. France also looks after the national defense of Syria, dominates Syrian foreign policy and finances, and has French officials in most of the key positions in the country, including the police, army and customs. Syria demands that these rights shall be transferred to Syria, reports the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Syria bitterly complains of French delay in ratifying the treaty, which the Syrian Parliament ratified a year ago. Other causes of complaint are that France, at the behest of England virtually gave away the rich area of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, totalling about 1,500 square miles and containing a predominantly large Syrian population, to Turkey, in order, so the Syrians say, that France and England might win from Turkey the right of entry to the Dardanelles in the event of another World War.

France, moreover, it is complained, withdrew virtually all of Syria's gold to France and devalued the French franc to such an extent that it caused Syria a loss of about thirty billion francs, and seriously damaged Syrian trade and commerce.

France, it is said, continues to favour the French-created Lebanese Republic which was formerly a part of Syria proper, at the expense of the Syrian republic.

Italy, the Syrians believe, will now find it impossible to invade Asia Minor from Rhodes and the Dodacanese Islands by way of Alexandretta, which the Syrians say, Turkey intends to fortify eventually, after the Alexandretta district has been absorbed into the Turkish Republic.

"Syria will never recognize the cession of the Alexandretta Sanjak to Turkey," declared Faris Beyel Khoury, American-educated President of the Syrian Parliament.

"Alexandretta has always been considered an integral part of Syria, Turkey itself, by the Treaty of Lausanne, formally recognized Alexandretta as a part of Syria."

Faris Beyel Khoury declared that Turkey wishes to cut Syria in two in order to weaken the country and to prevent the Syrian Government from ruling the Turkish minorities in the Alexandretta reign. "We are now faced," he continued, "with a serious Jewish problem to the south, (in Palestine) and with an equally critical Turkish question on our north. Economically the Alexandretta district is indispensable for the big Aleppo commercial centre."

The President, who is a graduate of the American University at Beirut, blamed the United States for some of Syria's misfortunes. President Woodrow Wilson, the Syrian statesman declare, originated the principle of self-determination for minor nationalities and also sponsored the system of mandates.

"After encouraging the formation of the League of Nations," said the President of Parliament, "the United States abandoned it and now allows the European powers and the colonizing nations to do as they please.

"It is a misfortune for us that the United States did not assume a mandate over Syria. Syria would be much better off. The Syrian nation, however, will be ever grateful to America for its sympathetic interest in our fate and for its moral support of our struggle for independence."

Syrian Constitution Suspended by the French

Gabriel Puaux, French High Commissioner for Syria, has suspended the Constitution of the Republic of Syria and appointed a Council of Directors to rule the mandated state under his direction.

M. Puaux's action followed the resignation (July 7) of President Hashim el Atassi, which left Syria without any native central government, since the Cabinet had resigned several days earlier. The President and Cabinet quit in protest against France's failure to grant Syria independence.

Local political circles expressed belief that the French move would prove a preliminary to changing the Republic into a Kingdom with a puppet ruler similar to those of French protectorates in Africa and Asia.

The quarrel between successive nationalist governments, demanding that France ratify an independence treaty, and French administrative

officials came to a head (July 9) when the High Commissioner published a new decentralization programme.

That programme provided administrators for three important Syrian districts to be responsible immediately to the French High Commissioner rather than to the Syrian Government.

Stalin Fosters Rise of Soviet Intelligentsia

Moscow Correspondent of Christian Science Monitor writes :—
A new privileged class is rising in the Soviet Union, with the powerful backing of Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the Communist Party and undisputed leader of the Soviet regime.

It is the new Soviet Intelligentsia, members of which draw better pay, wear better clothes, look more prosperous and in general lead more comfortable lives than the mass of Soviet citizens.

The term Intelligentsia, as used in the Soviet Union, is not limited to those who in other countries are called "the intellectuals."

The Soviet Intelligentsia include all who have received training in the country's institutions of higher education : Engineers, architects, physicians and surgeons, pharmacists, veterinarians, economists, lawyers, teachers, transport and communications specialists, scientific workers, trained agriculturists and so on.

More than 100,000 of such trained workers were graduated from Soviet institutions during 1938. Other hundreds of thousands already are holding key positions in industry, agriculture, and such professions as medicine, education and public administration.

Their enthusiastic co-operation is an important factor in the successful carrying out of Government projects—in other words, all projects which mean anything in a country where the Government plans and administers everything.

So the Government's policy in recent years has been to give them the better salaries, the better living quarters and a larger share of the privileges which cannot be extended to everyone.

This, naturally has roused some discontent among workers with a natural antipathy toward people who have no callouses on their hands.

Some of the older workers remember how the old intelligentsia during the revolution regretted the overthrow of the Kerensky regime and tried to sabotage the Bolshevik regime. They are inclined to remain suspicious and hostile toward mental workers, especially those who wear better clothes and ride around in Government cars.

This attitude has been so wide-spread and persistent that Stalin took occasion to attack it in his recent speech before the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party.

He rejected emphatically the idea that education in itself is something to be distrusted by the honest worker, and ridiculed those who "practise a disdainful and contemptuous attitude toward the Soviet Intelligentsia and regard it as an alien force, even as a force hostile to the working class and the peasantry."

What these "queer comrades" appear to believe, added Stalin, is that a person who does his work well in factory or collective farm and then goes to a University in search of education thereby becomes "second-rate" and not entitled to as much respect.

Such vigorous support from Stalin himself is the best kind of security for the new Intelligentsia. It has been followed up, too, by a newspaper campaign reminding all workers that the new Intelligentsia is not to be confused in any way with the old "sabotaging" Intelligentsia of Revolutionary days; that it is here to stay is a vital element of Soviet life; it enjoys the confidence of the Government and Comrade Stalin and must be looked up to and respected.

Typical is an article in the Railway Workers' newspaper, *Gulok*, which recalls that the "Railway Intelligentsia" of Czarist days was naturally hostile to a Workers' and Peasants' Government because railway executive were recruited from the "exploiters' class."

The Institute of Transport in those days was training for railway careers a student-body consisting of "70 sons of aristocrats, 118 sons of big officials, 30 sons of priests, 69 sons of big merchants, 175 sons of shopkeepers and 167 sons of kulaks (well-to-do peasants)."

"This Intelligentsia was, of course, closely bound to the ruling capitalist and landowning classes," continues *Gulok*, and its members, therefore, were faithful servants of their masters in the exploitation of the working people." There were also a few who came from workers' families, but these "inasmuch as they got their bread and butter from the exploiting classes" also served the interests of the exploiters. Now, however, young people picked for training as railway executives and transport engineers are drawn from workers' families and therefore, it is stressed, can be relied upon to think and act as members of the working class no matter how important their jobs or how great their authority.

Transjordan and Problems of Self-Government.

Transjordan, the semi-desert country through which—6,000 years ago—the Children of Israel, after escaping from servitude in Egypt, entered the Promised Land of Palestine, is taking a big step toward national freedom.

The British Government in an official Colonial Office statement, says it has agreed to arrangements intended to “contribute effectively to the further progress of Transjordan toward the goal of full independence.”

At present Transjordan stands halfway between tutelage and liberty. Part of the Turkish Empire before the World War, it and its 300,000 Arab inhabitants passed under British administration as a mandated territory after peace had been restored.

Since then it has been gradually learning how to govern itself. In 1921 it was constituted into a separate Emirate under Abdullah Ibn Hussein, second son of the then King Hussein of Hejaz. This ruler has since acted under the guidance of the British High Commission of Palestine as represented by an officer stationed at Ammon, a city of 12,000 inhabitants among whom the Emir ordinarily resides. In 1929 a legislative council of six officials and 15 elected members was set up by the British authorities to advise the Emir.

The step now decided upon in Whitehall is to supplant this council by a Cabinet directly responsible to the Emir who is also to be allowed for the first time to raise a military force of his own and to send consular representatives to neighbouring Arab countries. This means that he is to become a potentate with responsibilities extending beyond the borders of his own State.

Negotiations for these changes were conducted during recent conferences held in London on Palestine, the Emir being represented by his chief Minister, Taufiq Pasha Abul-Huda, who co-operated helpfully with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, British Colonial Minister, in endeavouring to effect a compromise between conflicting Arab-Jewish interests in Palestine.

Ammon, Capital of Transjordan, is some 70 miles from Jerusalem. It can be reached in a few hours by automobile from that city over a mountain road with many hairpin bends. This road plunges into the deep valley of the Jordan, 800 feet below sea level, thereafter traversing a bridge over this small but historic river and climbing on the other side into open rolling country 3,000 feet in elevation.

Here there is a large area of cultivation, wide stretches of fertile wheat and barley fields and pasture sloping gradually eastward into the barren deserts of Syria and Iraq. Sheep, goats, camels, and donkeys are plentiful. Black goat's-hair tents of nomad Bedouin shepherds dot the landscape. From among groves of pink-flowering oleanders on the way, one may look back over wonderful scenery with the Dead Sea shining, a blue mirror in a dark frame of rocks, nearly 4,000 feet beneath one, the hills of Judea forming a picturesque back-ground further to the west.

Ammon itself is a typical Oriental city with busy bazars and considerable Arab trade. Automobiles and camels jostle one another beneath green poplar trees shading some of the still well-preserved ruins which tell of a stately past in which Ammon was an important fortress of the ancient Roman Empire.

Southward, Transjordan marches with Saudi Arabia. It has an outlet to the Red Sea at Akaba, but elsewhere it is completely land-locked. The River Jordan separates it from Palestine on the west. French Syria and Iraq hem it in respectively to the north and east. Its chief amenity is the Damascus-Medina railway which traverses the greater part of its length.

Transjordan, as Palestine's closest neighbour and hinterland, is an important factor in the future of the Jewish expansion.

The War : For Europe or for the World ?

Quarter of a century ago, in the month of August, 1914, Germany emerged as the principal actor in that awful tragedy of carnage in which so many nations of the world were involved. In August, 1939, again Germany opened another fateful tragedy which may bring incalculable loss and suffering to peoples all the world over. Not satisfied with killing enemies and combatants, Nazi Germany has started slaughtering innocent civilians, even women and children, to achieve their ends. Making large allowances for war-propaganda one cannot ignore, nevertheless, the fact that individual as well as social life has again been hopelessly insecure. The political annihilation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, years of unspeakable atrocities committed against the unfortunate Jewish communities and now the ruthless massacre of the Polish people, combine to make every reasonable man ask the fundamental question : Whether life is worth living in such an age of re-barbarization ? Vandalism and destruction are aimed

not merely against material treasures but against moral ideals as well. Freedom of the individual and of the nation, liberty of speech, democracy, toleration and such other basic factors of civilized existence, now seem to face extinction if Totalitarianism of the Nazi brand could prevail at the end of this war. Very naturally, therefore, Mahatma Gandhi as the supreme spokesman of India wrote as early as 23rd July to Hitler: "It is quite clear that you are to-day the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the savage state. Must you pay that price for an object however worthy it may appear to you to be?" This striking question of Gandhi "for the sake of humanity" was never answered by Hitler. He believes in violence and startled the world by winning over to his side Josef Stalin, hitherto his sworn enemy but now a colleague of Hitler in the cult of violence. Between these two steam-rollers, the Polish nation would possibly be pulverised. But out of their ashes would rise again and again the spirit of human Freedom, as we have witnessed repeatedly through history. If Russia effectively joins hand with Germany then the pestilence of war would surely spread over Asia and Japan cannot afford to stand aside. The subversive doctrines and methods of Soviet Russia backed by the naked brutality of Nazism, would bring such a confusion and horror to modern man that he must think of a fight to the finis in order to save, if possible, all that is signified by Life and Liberty. These thoughts have been effectively expressed through the speeches of Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Chamberlain. The sincerity of these utterances would be tested naturally by the Indian people through their accredited leaders, as we feel reading the recent statement of the Congress Working Committee. But we are sure that if at this crisis of civilization, England and France could shake off the subterfuges of Imperialism and come forward as sincere champions of Liberty and Democracy then surely India with her inexhaustible resources, material and human, will stand firmly by the side of the allies and help them to uproot terrorism and violence in international relations. With the help of India, participating in the righteous war with conviction, England can yet make a new record in history. The League of Nations may have died a natural death but a new World Order may be worked out and stabilized for the benefit of all peoples and for the final safeguarding of human civilization.

NEW ASIA

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EDITORIAL

Wishing our friends and colleagues a Happy New Year, we realize nevertheless painfully the fact that the year may be new but it does not necessarily bring happiness. A major war surprising Europe within 25 years of the termination of the last World War does not leave much scope for hopeful thoughts. Several nations of Central Europe have already lost their independence owing to the German offensive and now Soviet Russia which has already dominated over the minor Baltic States, is threatening Norway and Sweden by its ruthless attack on Finland. These are ominous indications specially in view of the fact that the Russo-German steam-roller may be directed towards pulverizing the Balkan states in order to prepare a smooth road to the Orient.

Is there any chance of the extension of the conflagration from Europe to Asia? We hope that it would not extend; but it is not permissible or advisable either to build our future on mere hopes. Let us recall to our mind the Berlin-Baghdad dream of Germany. Let us remember also that the Soviet Union extends over the two continents of Europe and Asia and therefore the Soviet may find it convenient to divide her diplomacy between the East and the West, dealing strongly with the one and gently with the other, according to her sweet will and shrewd policy based naturally on pure opportunism which seems to be the key-note of Stalin's diplomacy. Whatever idealism was attributed by enthusiasts to the Stalin regime has been falsified by facts; for we cannot doubt that Russia has divided Poland with Germany bringing at the same time the whole Baltic region under her domination. The

Russian move in the Far East is no less ominous : in order to cripple Japan, her only rival there, the Soviet has taken from China the virtual control of Outer Mongolia with an area of 1,422, 625 sq. kilometers and also the vast Chinese province of Sinkiang of over 1,870,000 sq. kilometers to form a second Outer Mongolia. With that enormous base the Soviet may play a dangerous role in the Far East, although she is keeping a fairly non-committal attitude toward Japan for the present.

But is the Middle East safe from Soviet machinations ? We do not think so ; for we find vague but none-the-less significant speculations regarding the possibility of Soviet penetration of Iran and Afghanistan, the only two independent states intervening between India and Russia. India is the biggest stake in the game and in this strategic issue the British and the Indian leaders may very profitably collaborate and the sooner they do so is the better for both parties. After a deadlock of several months the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi are again exploring the possibility of organised co-operation. The British Government should not miss this capital opportunity and should guarantee the good-will of India by granting Dominion Status within the minimum time limit. That would engender confidence and enthusiasm without which no constitution, however perfect, would work. With the substance of self-government coming to them the Indians may open a new chapter in the history of the British Commonwealth of Nations. A contented and self-governing India, inspite of communal and other incidental problems, will be the greatest asset to the cause of Democracy and World Order for which the Allies are fighting.

Britain and France, offering to justify Democracy in India and Indo-China, would naturally draw the sympathetic co-operation of the U. S. A., the biggest democracy in the New World. With American support the British and the French may again build up the ruined fabrics of civilisation and India, with more than 350 million souls, would be solidly behind that noble enterprise in this crisis of human history.

The American University of Beirut

By President Bayard Dodge.

In 1860 some serious massacres took place in the southern part of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the political reorganization which followed, Lebanon was turned into an autonomous province. By "Lebanon" is meant a range of mountains, which follow the old Phoenician seacoast for over a hundred miles, from the Palestine frontier to the north of Tripoli.

In order to educate men who could take part in the public and commercial life of this new Arab state, a small college was started at Beirut, which is the seacoast of the Lebanon. The institution was opened in 1866 with only sixteen students in a rented house. The next year a small medical school was also started.

About this same time Egypt began a new chapter in her history. The building of the Suez Canal and the administration of Lord Cromer made the land wealthy and progressive.

There was such a demand for the graduates of the new college and medical school to serve in both Lebanon and Egypt, that the institution grew rapidly. A beautiful piece of property was purchased on the point to the west of Beirut and one after the other large buildings were erected.

Before long the new colony of the Sudan, as well as Anatolia, Cilicia, Syria and Palestine demanded university-trained men. There was a special need for doctors and pharmacists. Many of the Beirut graduates rendered distinguished service and became leaders of their communities.

During the World War, the institution remained open, in spite of the fact that over three hundred thousand people died of starvation in the Lebanon and Beirut was cut off from the outside world by blockade.

After the Armistice a number of new states were established in the sections of the Ottoman Empire which were separated from Turkey. There was a tremendous demand for young men and women who knew Arabic and were able to fill posts of responsibility. The most urgent demand was for teachers, doctors, dispensers, nurses, office

workers and engineers to work in Palestine, Iraq, Trans-Jordan and the Sudan.

In order to meet this situation, the old College was reorganized as the American University of Beirut. Girls were admitted to the higher classes and with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, the academic work was greatly strengthened.

The Near East Foundation started the Institute of Rural Life, which carries on extension work in rural districts and has helped the authorities of the University to establish a course to teach the sons of landowners how to manage their family estates.

With the help of the *École Normale de Musique de Paris*, an Institute of Music was started, which is attempting to train music teachers to interest people of the country in classic music.

In 1936 International College moved from Izmir to Beirut and became merged into the University, assuming responsibility for elementary and secondary school work.

The Elementary School provides primary education in Arabic and serves as a laboratory for training teachers. The secondary school is in two sections. A student from the territories under French Mandate may follow a *lycée* course, which uses French as the principal language, but also gives instruction in Oriental languages. It prepares a student for either the French or Lebanese *baccalauréat* examinations.

Side by side with this *lycée* programme is a course which prepares for the Oxford-Cambridge School Certificate, or its equivalent. Although English is naturally the principal language, Arabic, Iranian and French are also taught and there are special classes in Hebrew and Armenian.

In the University proper there is a three-year course in Arts and Sciences, a four-year course in Pharmacy, a six-year course in Medicine, and a three-year course in Nursing. The School of Arts and Sciences includes work in pedagogy, engineering, finance, and industrial chemistry, in addition to the standard courses, which such a school should naturally offer.

The University is conducted by a Board of twelve trustees, who are prominent citizens in New York City. The diplomas are sanctioned by the University of the State of New York, so that they have international recognition. On the other hand, the University has no connection with any government and has never received subsidies from either Washington or New York State.

During the past seventy years, the trustees have collected an endowment fund of about a million and a quarter pounds sterling. The University is supported by the income from this fund and the fees which are paid at Beirut. Gifts for special purposes are often made by graduates in the Near East, and friends in America.

The School of Medicine conducts a 182-bed hospital, which is private and used for teaching purposes. There is also a large polyclinic and there are urban and rural health centres to train the young doctors and nurses how to carry on preventive work. During the academic year 1938-1939, there were 3593 patients in the Hospital and 36,289 calls were made at the Clinics.

The University occupies 80 acres, bordering on the Mediterranean for three quarters of a mile. There are over forty buildings, many of which are large. As the grounds irrigated, there are trees and gardens everywhere. There are three sports fields and many tennis courts. Swimming in the Mediterranean and skiing on the Lebanon Mountains provide especially attractive opportunities for out-of-door exercise.

During the academic year 1938-1939, the distribution of students was as follow:—

<i>University proper</i>			
Arts and Sciences	267		
Pharmacy and Dentistry	76		
Medicine	117		
Nursing	68		
Music	83		
			611
<i>International College</i>			
Lycée course	400		
Matriculation and			
International Courses	692		
Elementary School	235		
			1327
			1938

The students come from over forty countries, most of which are states of the Near East. On the other hand, a few students find their way to Beirut from India, the Federated Malay States, Europe and the American Republics.

As Beirut is a healthy and inexpensive place, it is especially profitable for an oriental student to spend a few years there, before going on to more expensive graduate-study in a European university.

During the academic year, the tuition, board and lodging fees cost about £65. Books, laundry and pocket money need not

exceed more than £16 extra. In the schools of Medicine and Pharmacy, there are supplementary charges for laboratory material, which average about £ 15 a year extra.

Although the members of the faculty are anxious that the students should have a thoughtful and reverent attitude about spiritual things, there is no attempt to proselytize or to force religion upon the undergraduates. There are very informal chapel services, but the students are free to attend alternative exercises, which are entirely non-religious, if they do not wish to go to chapel.

During the year 1938-1939 there were 82 members of the staff of professorial standing, 121 teachers and supervisors on temporary appointments, and 79 assistants, secretaries and technicians. They represented 14 nationalities and 11 major religious sects. Only 55 of them came from Canada and the United States.

Many of the teachers are Muslim, Druze, Baha'i, Jewish, as well as Christian. The Christians are Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant. Teachers of the same rank receive similar salaries, regardless of nationality or creed. Occidental and Oriental teachers serve together on committees. Even the small University Council, which handles the confidential business of the institution, is sure to have professors of a number of different sects and nationalities as regular voting members. A delightfully free social life is also enjoyed by the families of the teachers.

During this war period, when people are pessimistic about the possibility of having a democratic organization among the different races and sects of the world, it is encouraging to witness the way in which racial and sectarian differences have been overcome at Beirut.

An increasingly large amount of research is being carried on by the institution. The young teachers and students help their professors to conduct original studies in the natural and medical sciences, rural improvement and the social sciences, Oriental language studies, the historical records of the Near East, and educational problems of the day.

The purpose of the University is to end the bigotry which has kept the Near East in a state of unrest for centuries, to train men and women for honest citizenship in their own countries, to teach them how to solve their problems by scientific methods rather than by emotionalism, and to fill them with a vital consciousness of things spiritual during this period of adjustment and renaissance.

“Made in Japan”

By Ramendu Dutta,

Author and Publicity Consultant.

I have chosen as my caption, a phrase which is rather too familiar in India. It stands for all that is cheap, and consequently economical and within the easy reach of all classes of a people none-too-solvent as a mass.

Shiny and neat, a little flimsy but unbelievably cheap, of variety infinite, from a trinket to an automobile.....that is what is labelled “Made in Japan.”

The small clerk with a large family carries home, under covering when it is a question of boycott, and in a flamboyant spirit when conditions are more favourable, lots of linen, toys and trinkets, things of daily need,..... carries them days in and days out, into the little circle of his large family!

The aspirations of the fashionable young man, with a limited purse or a calculative brain, very often boils down to a silken linen, kerchief or socks “Made in Japan.”

To the average poor-middle-class Indian, it sounds like a boon when he hears a “Yes” to his suppressed query : “...got one made in Japan... ?

To even many a rich father, when shopping for his “kids” means in terms of tens or twenties, -the nodding deer, the moving aeroplane, the tumbling clown, the firing tank, the celluloid beauty in Hawaiian costume..... are all chosen and brought without a quiver, and they are invariably all “Made in Japan.”

Then came this War. Reasons purely economical will compel us Indians now to patronise a trade which in times of peace was a national necessity, and now will be moreover a mutual advantage. When I say this I remember our Indian cotton. The foreign market to our West is gone, so long as the war lasts, leave alone the questions of risk and enhanced freights. Our neighbour in the near East, in this hour of need may prove to be a friend in-deed !

Made in England or Made in U. S. A. and Made in France are terms no doubt to the discriminate buyer and the fashionable few who

affords, but to the mass of our countrymen those are like the glares of "Metro," the dazzling neon signs over The Firpo's or the "Grand," the the hall mark of "Hall & Anderson".....monopolies of the "Burra-sahibs" or the Aristocracy.

The more the friendly relations increased between India and Japan, the greater will the benefit be to our motherland. Trade relations will bring along economic changes at this critical hour when the Western gates are shut, and India need a helper in her political and material aspirations. Japan can play this role of a friend in need with her industrialist populace, with her better equipped scientific resources, with her more improved technical knowledge, and her business magnets who ply a world-wide trade.

As Burma may find it easy on the face of the fact that the one-million *koku* of Burmese rice which cannot be sent to Germany today, may be sent to Japan instead, if the Burma-Nippon pact is renewed at the beginning of April of this year, - so can the future of India's raw cotton be also assured if something good sifts out of the Delhi Trade Talks.

There can be no doubt that we have much to learn from our neighbour of the Far East, the independent Japan, who has within a very short span worked wonders in the realm of Industry, Politics, Science, Economics, material prosperity and advanced civilization.

There is no doubt that our country is rich in raw materials, plentiful in resources for industry and manufacture, wealthy in minerals yet unextracted and cheap of labour. The lack of discipline, unity, wakefulness, energy and initiative are only a few of the deterrent factors to our country's progress.

India is, therefore, exploited to the entire benefit of outsiders today, and to save her from this, the sons of the soil will have to exert. Only the strong can exert themselves and win. We have to be strong therefore, strong economically, industrially, politically—and let us study how *this* was "Made in Japan." Our life and existence today have become symbolised with the popular meaning of the expression I have used as the heading of my article, and we can safely be said to be leading a "made in Japan"—lifebut we have yet to strive to attain the *success of Japan* as it has been "*made in Japan*."

Prehistoric Studies in India

New Discoveries and Need of Explorations

By Dharanidhar Sen M.A.

Extensive field-studies, opened by the Yale-Cambridge India Expedition, have led to new discoveries and have laid a scientific foundation envisaging great possibilities for further researches in prehistoric *lithic* cultures, particularly of Stone Age of northern India, and of India as a whole, of which yet so little is known. The ancient valleys of the Sind, the Punjab, those of the Kashmir and Poonch states reveal evidences of Stone Age cultures. The north-west Punjab has been particularly fruitful in the search for the trail of Early Man in north India. A series of *lithic* industries, from the earliest stone age to the close of the upper palaeolithic, datable with the pleistocene *glacial cycle* in the Himalayas, illustrates how the ancient valleys of the north-west Punjab were occupied by stone-age folks for a considerable time. Thus the old conception that the history of the southern India alone goes back to the earliest stone age is now gone and we see the stone age in its beginning flourishing as far north as the Himalayan foothills. We do not yet know whether or not it is the work of the same race or races, until the more convincing proof of the fossil man is obtained. For this reason, if not for any other, a more sweeping spade-work should have to be attempted to trace the race or races who presumably occupied the prehistoric settlements in ancient valleys and to reopen, in a new light, the remote past of unchronicled ages.

The writer, in a recent excursion to the Punjab for collecting palaeolithic materials, revisited the "Soan culture" sites on the valley of the Soan river which was a mightier river in early prehistoric times. He was able to collect from different sites more than a couple of hundred stone implements including some new types that were made by the "Soan palaeolithic" people. So far, in the most unfortunate absence of human fossils, the discovery of their cultures go a good deal to the reconstruction of the history of human kind of the unchronicled past of India. A glimpse of mammal life (other than of primates) to some extent contemporaneous of Early Man, however, may be

obtained from the fossil mammals that have been found in the late cainozoic beds in the north-west Punjab as well as in the middle pleistocene beds in Central India. The early stone-age folks in the Punjab certainly preferred open *terraces* to any other habitations since their artefacts mostly come from sites which are so situated. These terraces have been of great help in geological correlations to their proper dating specially with respect to the *glacial* and *interglacial* phases of the Ice Age in the Himalayas. The lithic culture series in the *Soan* comprises several industries starting with pebble-tools, and handaxes, cleavers etc., then flake tools and a few cores that recall the *elucton* and *levallois*¹ of Europe and then the *late Soan* tools that are reminiscent of the Upper palaeolithic types. The typology of the Soan culture is, however, very tentative since explorations are not yet complete and the typology not fully studied.² It seems, however, that the makers of these tools were bound to the valleys for a long time and introduced characteristic tool-techniques in course of their development.

If the Punjab has been fruitful in her rich yield of lithic cultures and of fossils, the adjacent states of Jammu and Poonch reveal no less possibilities. Backed by higher mountains lie habitable valleys where early types of tools have been recovered. It seems that some of the tools bear a family relationship with those found in the Punjab. It is significant that both the Jammu and the Punjab Siwalik hills as is well-known have yielded, among others, the *Dryopithecus* and the *Sivapithecus*—the higher anthropoids that approach the side of man in some of their dental characters. The proto-human form in course of evolution may have lived "somewhere" in these countries.³ The three adjacent countries suffered the same fate of physical and climatic catastrophies producing factors which might have hastened the pulsations of evolution.

The next land under review in the light of recent discoveries is the beautiful vale of Srinagar with its roundabouts in Kashmir which has also entombed rich prehistoric treasures. The *Karewas*⁴ in the Jhelum

1. By these terms we understand particular tool-techniques.

2. The final volume of the publication of the Yale-Expedition has not yet reached India.

3. According to De Terra and Teilhard, ultimate emergence of protohuman types may be expected in tropical southern Asia.

4. A *Kashmiri* term which means mound or platform composed of fine silty and gravelly clay.

valley, the valleys of the Sind and the Liddar have revealed cultures of prehistoric dates. The Sind valley in Kashmir, for example, thanks to the researches of Mr. T. Paterson of Cambridge, with whom I examined some of the sites, has yielded, among others, interesting *midden*¹ industries represented by a very primitive type of hand-made pottery and artefacts. A *megalithic* site at Burzahum near Srinagar has revealed, in a trial trench, under the *megalithic* monuments², a similar culture. Besides, hand-made pottery with grass-mat designs, a number of polished celts, stone-knives and a few roughly made bonetools have been discovered. Should the Kashmir Government undertake a complete excavation of the site, it is sure to yield results of far-reaching importance. From the types of pottery, it is thought that the Burzahum culture may have some connections with the earliest culture strata of Mohen-jo-daro in Sind. Though one need to be very cautious in correlating such distant cultures, it would not be surprising, should further excavation be undertaken, to trace and reopen, a *continuity* if any, of cultures in space.

That northern India has a culture antiquity dating from a Stone Age is now beyond doubt as is evident from the rich corpus of *lithic* industries found in the Punjab, Poonch, Kashmir, Jammu and elsewhere. But it must, however, be admitted that in the north, as in the south, there are hiatus in culture continuity which should have yet to be bridged. Further researches along this line envisage far-reaching results. Pre-chalcolithic cultures in Sind and in Kashmir are now anticipated. Recent scraping in Rorhi and Sukkur near Mohen-jo-daro have revealed new materials which are supposed to be earlier (*proto-neolithic*) than the so-called Mohen-jo-daro civilisation. No correlation has yet been attempted between the prehistoric and the historic, anywhere in India.

For a more vivid picture of the Stone Age in India, the south east-coast of India comes to the foreground. But unfortunately except Mr. Bruce Foote and Dr. King (whose researches are now antiquated in the light of recent discoveries and their interpretations) and a few other workers,³ specially Dr. H. de Terra and Mr. T. Paterson, nothing

1. Prehistoric dust-bins or kitchen refuse.

2. Usually burial monuments of stone.

3. Mr. Burkit of the Cambridge University has interpreted a portion of the palaeolithic implements in the south Indian collections. Dr. H. de Terra and Mr. T. T. Paterson have also jointly studied the stratigraphy and typology of Madras tools.

in the nature of a systematic and scientific archaeological survey has been attempted. The low-level detrital *laterites* particularly in the east-coast of south India specially in the presidency of Madras are practically studded with artefacts and hold the key for the dating of the latter. Since 1936, some useful work has been done near Attirampakham in Madras, which shows *in situ* and in datable geological deposits, a rich series of palæolithic cultures, broadly characterised, by core, handaxe and cleaver industries, and flake and blade industries. South India is held by prehistorians of international reputations to be a likely source of the hand-axe culture of the world. It is also thought, though not yet conclusively proved, that stone age cultures of the south spread to the north as far as the Himalayan foot-hills. A need for a comprehensive and systematic survey of this region which is a classic ground for the study of Stone Age cultures in India can not be over emphasised. The need of reexamining the vast collections heaped in the Indian Museum is also utterly felt.¹

In Bombay, Mr. Todd, of the Royal Indian Marine, has found, it seems, a series of *flake* industries, which recall the *elacton* and which pass into a blade and burin industry. The microlithic industries in Bombay according to him is B. C. in date (elsewhere they are supposed to be mesolithic) or most surprisingly as in some cases historically recent (lumped in an A. D. *milieu*). Researches on the microliths in India may throw light on the culture continuity *complex* in prehistoric times. The coastal sites in Bombay which may range from middle palæolithic to a full microlithic offer in this respect a most tempting field.²

The upper Gangetic valleys, parts of Behar and Orissa and the Narbada valley have now and then yielded evidences of Stone Age cultures. Mr. Anderson obtained a series of *neolithic* artefacts in the Singbhum district in Behar. Recently Prof. Fearnside of Sheffield, who came to India in connection with a session of the Indian Science Congress, found a beautiful implement (a handaxe somewhat of *acheulian* design) near Chaibasa in Singbhum. A fine specimen of a handaxe of quartzite rock has been found in Monghyr by Mr. S. Tagore

1. The University of Calcutta has, in co-operation with the Archaeology Department, just attempted to classify, catalogue and prepare a handy guide-book for the prehistoric collections in the Indian Museum.

2. The information not yet published is kindly given to me by Mr. T. Todd in a letter.

of Santiniketan. Very recently Mr. N. K. Bose of the Calcutta University and myself have found, at Chakradharpore, what seems to us typologically, a *neolithic* site, from where we collected more than two hundred celts and a few chisels. These finds, though as such isolated, give however a clue that, should they be further explored, they may lead to the discovery of their sources. Recently a rich series of palaeolithic artefacts have come to light in Mavurbhanj, not far from Singbhum, from the *lateritic* deposits at Kuliana near Baripada. Geological dating of the laterites and typological studies are now being taken up by the Calcutta University.

In the Narbada valley, implementiferous beds have been found in association with rich mammal fossils which are now entirely extinct. The Narbada valley sites have been palaeontologically dated and have also been culturally correlated with those of the Soan valley. The Narbada valley has been also generally correlated with the south as with the north. Further, the great prehistoric mammal—the *Elephas Namadicus*¹, first found in the Narbada, has also been found near Srinagar on the Jhelum. This may also open up palaeontological, if not cultural, connections between such long distant sites as the Narbada in central India and the Jhelum in northern India. These important finds may indeed be helpful, specially in the absence of contemporary human fossils, to establish useful correlation studies with far-off countries.²

We have seen the results of preliminary survey works by foreign expeditions to India, results of individual investigations by foreign as well as Indian scholars, enterprises of private individuals, results of chance discoveries and so on, and, in every case, we have always found some new material. But except in the first two cases, though we may have excellent materials, the work has not been, unfortunately, scientific, which resulted to many misleading data. What is lacking at this stage is a co-ordination of research activities.³ The

1. A species of ancient elephant now extinct.

2. This have been recently attempted on a wider scale. Java, China and India have been roughly correlated both culturally and palaeontologically.

3. A copy of *Nature* (Vol. 144, No. 3652, Oct. 28, 1939), in the editorial, discussing the Anthropological Studies in India, says that neither the Government nor the educational authorities have given any encouragement to the Anthropological Studies in India. It emphasises on the need of more complete co-operation between Universities and the Archaeological Department of India. In another article, the paper calls for the urgency of a sound foundation of an Indian School of Archaeology.

present need, however, would be to sponsor Indian expeditions, to stimulate prehistoric research by calling and mobilising trained Indian workers, by raising necessary funds and to start work and establish co-ordinations. Prehistoric research in Europe has made great strides. As a result, prehistoric studies have assumed a completely new *orientation*. "Archaeological Exploration is not very expensive work," says an eminent archaeologist. "It is a sound investment for a great nation." The need of research in human prehistory in India cannot indeed be over emphasised. Should such explorations in prehistory be undertaken, this would not only rejuvenate prehistoric studies in India and work out great problems, but also, indeed, would lead to the solution of many world problems in prehistory. Like all sciences, researches in this subject have assumed international significance.

Calcutta,
November 1939.

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Nemesis.

By Sita Devi B. A.

The scene opens in a small townlet, very near to Calcutta. You can call it a large village and get away with it. There were wide fields, bamboo groves and tanks full of green slimy water. But there were good roads, electric lights and large chimneys as well.

There were some old brick-built buildings, some houses roofed with corrugated iron and a large number of mud hovels. The older generation were orthodox, but the younger one hankered after modernism in everything. But there was no open revolt against orthodoxy as most of the young people still depended on the old fogies for their daily bread.

The Mukherjees were celebrating the home-coming of the bride of their eldest son. It was the evening of a rainy July, and the house had no electric lights. Only two or three rich people could afford electricity in their house, and the Mookherjees did not belong to this class. They had only one brick-built room in the house, so how was the use of electric lights possible ?

Some bright acetylene lamps were burning in front of the house. Within, half a dozen hurricane-lamps coped with the fast increasing darkness as best as they could. The bride was sitting in the best room, and the female guests surrounded her. For the accommodation of the gentlemen, a large pandal had been erected in front of the house, chairs and tables had been requisitioned from Calcutta, as people could not be asked to sit on mats spread on the ground in this terribly damp weather. Besides, the bride's relatives were coming. They were all Calcutta people, and the Mookherjees had to keep up appearances before them, as they had paid a large dowry with their girl.

The new bride sat on a small carpet, in the centre of the room, leaning against a big bolster. Some girls sat round her. One was fanning her, another talked to her. The second was the bride's cousin and had come here on invitation.

The house was decorated with flowers, leaves and festoons of coloured paper. The air was heavy with fragrance. On the walls,

four lamps were suspended and from the roof above hung a heavy chandelier, relic of a bygone age.

The guests were slowly arriving, some came walking, and some came in hackney carriages. On the road two private cars and a couple of taxis could be seen waiting.

A hackney carriage approached the house, rumbling and spattering mud. The door was opened and a fat old gentleman got down ponderously followed by a lady of like dimensions and one young lady and half a dozen children. "Be careful", admonished the gentleman and advanced. Some children ran out of the house and escorted the guests inside.

The new guests were welcomed with a great show of cordiality by the lady of the house. The corpulent lady, went up to the new bride and took a good look at her face. She put four rupees in the bride's hand as a gift and said "I heard that the bride was of a great beauty, but is n't she very thin my dear sister ? We are old fashioned creatures my dear, and like plump figures."

The young girl who had come in with this plain spoken guest, smiled and turned away her face. "My mother-in-law thinks herself the greatest beauty in the land. See how plump she is !", she whispered to a girl of her own age.

"Oh lord ! You must never make fun of your own mother-in-law", the other replied.

The new bride was really good looking. She was very fair and had a slender willowy figure. Her nose was not very aquiline, but her large dark eyes made up for this shortcoming. She was dressed in a blue silk Sari, and was not overloaded with jewellery. The room was getting over-crowded. The younger ladies stuck to their seats by the side of the bride, and the new arrivals could not reach the spot. "Let the seats be arranged for the dinner," cried the lady of the house. "It is getting late."

"You must remove your guests from the room first, else how can we arrange the seats ?" replied one of her nephews. There was only this room large enough to be used as a dining room for so many guests. So the mistress took her new daughter-in-law by the hand and pulled her up. The guests also got up after her and the carpets were rolled up at once. Small pieces of mat were arranged on the floor and plantain leaves placed in front of the seats, to serve as plates for the

ladies. Some strong lights were brought in and a number of young men appeared to serve the dinner.

There was a good deal of noise and bustle. The ladies sat down in rows and the dinner began. The young men ran in and out of the room, elderly ladies supervised their work and praised and rebuked them alternately. The guests talked and ate, children cried and laughed, it was a merry scene all told.

One batch got up. The place was cleaned up hurriedly and another batch was invited to sit down to the dinner. Those who had finished, either left for their homes or stood talking and laughing in small groups.

In the pandal outside, the gentlemen too had sat down to enjoy the feast. They sat on chairs and ate from plantain leaves spread on the narrow tables in front. Here the tumult was far greater as the guests ate, talked and shouted at the same time. They ate much more heartily than the ladies of course.

There were two boys in this family Nabin and Suren. It was Nabin who had got married, but he could scarcely be recognised as the newly married groom, so bespattered with mud he had become. He had to work as hard as the rest of the family. The shy smile on his lips, escaped the notice of most of the guests. His younger brother Suren had touched up his dress, and was shouting lustily. He was very hard on one of his cousins, named Patal.

One batch got up. The tables had to be cleared, wiped clean with holy Ganges water, before another batch could sit down to dinner. The Mookherjees prided themselves greatly on their orthodoxy. They were descended from a long time of scholars. Only Nabin was rather modern in his outlook, the rest were extremely conservative. Suren was orthodox to the marrow of his bones, he was ready to die for his faith.

Some of the younger boys were busy cleaning up. Suren stood in a corner and fanned himself vigorously with a palmleaf fan. Suddenly someone cried from behind, "How now ? Where is the bride ? Are not we going to have a glimpse of her ?"

Suren turned round and found Gouripati, one of his old classmates standing behind him. He was chewing two or three betel leaves together, so his articulation was rather indistinct.

"Certainly you shall see her," said Suren. "But the crowd surrounding her is rather thick. So it will take some time, before

we could approach near enough to see her. I hope you had a good feed ?”

“Certainly I had,” said Gouripati. “But is n’t it getting rather late ? I have to catch the last tram to Calcutta, so I must be off now. I shall come another day to pay my respects to the bride. How do you like her ? What kind is she ?”

“She is just what my brother wanted.” Said Suren with a grave face.

“Explain please”, said Gouripati, busy chewing his betels.

“She is beautiful and accomplished. She is not a baby and very modern in her dress and ways.”

“But why are you so glum over it ?” asked Gouripati. “The description sounds very attractive to me. What kind of a girl, would you have liked for a bride ?”

“You will know it in about four month’s time,” replied Suren.

Gouripati clapped his hands. “Very good, very good indeed !” he cried, “Then we are going to get another invitation very soon ?”

“I think so,” said Suren.

Another batch of guests sat down to eat and Suren ran off to attend to them. Gouripati departed to catch the tram. It was eleven o’clock nearly when the last batch of guests departed. Then there was another ceremony called *Fulashajya*. The newly wedded pair slept in the same room for the first time. It was a ceremony, in which the menfolk, excepting the bridegroom had no part. Only two or three young boys of the family were allowed inside the room. Suren was invited to enter, but he thought it beneath his dignity to do so. Even the older ladies stayed away. The younger ladies left the room after a while, after much giggling and frank jests. But most of them hid here and there, inside and about the room, in order to listen surreptitiously to the talk of the bridegroom and bride. But the newly wedded pair knew what they were in for, being grown up and intelligent both remained silent for a while, then Nabin took the bride Renu by the hand and asked, “Are you feeling home-sick ?”

“No” replied his wife in a whisper.

“You must not be ashamed to own it”, said Nabin. “You are quite justified in feeling homesick. A stranger cannot become one’s own in a moment. But this feeling will wear off in time and you will feel at home here.”

The bride remained silent. Someone outside the window, giggled loudly.

Nabin took no notice of it. "My family is rather orthodox", he said, "specially my mother and my brother. You may have to listen to unpleasant criticism now and then. Please overlook them for my sake. Try to compromise as much as possible."

The young ladies, in their hidden places were rather disappointed. They had expected ardent lover-like speeches. But finding the bridegroom so matter of fact, they retreated in disorder.

Nabin and his wife too, fell asleep soon after.

Renu had to own within a day or two, to herself, that her husband has done well in warning her in time, she must be very careful in dealing with her husband's relatives. The brother-in-law was a real problem. No smile ever visited his lips. He treated jests and laughter as unseemly levity. His younger sisters and cousins stood in awe of him. The mother-in-law was very grave and very conservative. Still, being a woman, she sometimes descended from her high pedestal and talked like an ordinary human being.

Renu's own family was not objectionably modern, but they were not orthodox at all. The girls were all sent to schools and colleges, they wore shoes, stockings, petticoats and blouses like all modern women and used face powder, cream and scent. They went to cinemas and theatres and sat with their menfolk. They were not rich people, so the girls had not all got as good husbands as they deserved. Renu of course liked her husband very much, but she was rather alarmed when she grew familiar with his relatives.

This time she was to remain here only for a week. Then she would go back to her own people, stay with them for two months and then return here. Of the seven days, three days had already passed and she had already overheard numerous uncharitable remarks about herself.

Her mother-in-law lived in the room, next to hers. These two rooms had cemented floors and roofs of corrugated iron. Suren and Nabin used to live in the same room, before Nabin's marriage; now Suren had taken shelter in the drawing room, where we first met the bride.

Nabin's mother had a rich baritone voice, she could be easily heard from the street if she spoke in her normal way.

It was afternoon, everybody was resting after lunch. Renu was

writing a letter to her mother and Nabin was sleeping in the same room.

Suddenly Renu heard her mother-in-law's voice ; she was criticising the presents Renu had brought with her, to someone.

"It was nothing but empty show," she was saying. "All Calcutta people are like that. Was there anything of solid worth, tell me ? Only flowers, leaves, scent and knick knacks of little value. What am I to do with these ? Look at the metal utensils, they are light and thin. You can take my word for it, that everyone of these will become useless within two months. I told them to give a pair of bedsteads, and look at the clumsy double bed they have sent ! All the furniture are cheap. Who asked them to give a table harmonium, pray ? Is the girl going to organise an opera party ?"

"But why did you shout for more cash all the time ?" Said Beena, Nabin's youngest sister. Renu could recognise her from her voice. "So they were obliged to spend less money on the presents."

Her mother turned fiercely on her, "Hold your tongue", she cried. "Why should not I ask for cash, please ? My son is an M. A. of the University and is earning good money. Such bridegrooms are not cheap. These people have paid only two thousands in cash, but they had given the girl very few ornaments. The presents also are cheap. Because their daughter has got a fair complexion, they think they are entitled to treat us as they like."

But the girl Beena was not to be suppressed so easily, she was a chip of the old block. "You did not send half as many presents with your own daughter", she said, tossing her head.

The mother's fury burst out in a torrent of words. She began comparing her son with her son-in-law, but had to stop as her eldest daughter, the wife of that very son-in-law, entered the room. "This girl is stupid and impertinent", she concluded. "Because Nabin's wife is fair, this chit must take her side against her own mother."

In the next room, Nabin had sat up straight on his bed, wakened by the voice of his mother. He looked at his wife and muttered, "Beena and her brother belong to the same class, I see."

Renu tried to laugh, though her face was pale and her heart was palpitating. She finished her letter and placed it in an envelope.

Her husband got down from the bed and sat down by her. He took her face in his hands and said : "You must not get so depressed at a few words. You must be ready to hear such things now and then.

I have been listening to such things all my life and they make no impression on me now a days."

"How did you become so different from the rest?" asked Renu.

"I don't know", Nabin said. "Give me that letter of yours. I shall post it when I go out for my evening stroll."

"Don't your people like music?" Renu asked.

"Orthodox people do not like girls of good family to play or sing," said Nabin,

"Then I shall take this harmonium to Calcutta with me, and keep it there," said Renu.

"Yes, do" replied her husband. "But mind you do not keep your voice there also."

Someone called him from outside and Nabin left the room. Some young girls rushed in at once. Her two sisters-in-law were amongst them. "Come my dear," said Radha, the elder, "I shall do her hair for you."

Renu did not at all like the way these young ladies did her hair. But she had to submit as she was a new bride. After finishing her hair, the two girls of the family left for their evening dip in the village tank. It was a mercy that Renu was not asked to accompany them. Being a townbred girl, she was totally unaccustomed to bathing in the open. She was allowed to bathe inside the house now, but that small mercy might be taken away from her later on.

The evenings here were very dark, the hurricane-lanterns did very little to dispel that darkness. Renu felt very nervous throughout the evening and night. The daytime was better, although that too had its disadvantages. These two sisters-in-law would never let her alone. They wanted to oil her hair everyday for her. It was a trial for poor Renu as she disliked oil and these relatives insisted on pouring a cupful of oil on her hair as they did not like fluffy silky hair.

Suren did not speak much, but he too could deliver pinpricks. One day he said, "I expected to be served by the new bride once or twice, but I am disappointed. Is she afraid to soil her fair and pretty hands?"

Beena was fond of Renu and she was a stickler for justice. "Of course she is" the girl said, "Fair hands show up dirty stains quite plainly, you know. But your wife won't have this disadvantage. No dirt or soot will show up against her skin."

As the mother was present Suren did not say anything. "Don't be impertinent," was his only retort.

"Does your brother like dark girl?" Renu asked her husband at night.

"Yes," replied her husband. "He likes them much more, after your arrival here."

Renu's eyes grew larger with wonder. "What do you mean?" she asked.

Nabin laughed. "Beautiful wives have a baneful effect on the husband's brain, according to my brother," he said. "So he has decided to marry a girl, whose sight would make people jump with fear."

"What an idiot!" thought Renu.

Next day she left for her father's house and took her harmonium with her. As Nabin worked in Calcutta, she knew she would meet him often.

As soon as she had left, Nabin's mother began preparations for bringing home a bride for Suren. A proposal had come and she began to goad her husband to go and see the bride formally.

"All right, I shall go to-morrow," he said at last. "Ask your son whether he too wants to go."

"He would never want to go," said his wife. "He is fond of doing things in the orthodox way. He would be satisfied with the bride we choose for him. He does not hanker after beauty, like your eldest son."

"Still it is better to make sure," said the stubborn old man. "You never know about these modern young men, especially if they are earning money. Come here Radha. You go and ask Suren whether he wants to see his bride himself. We are going to-morrow." Radha went and Beena ran along with her, though nobody had asked her to go. Suren was reading a religious book then, lying full length on his bed. Before Radha could say anything, Beena shouted, "Brother, do you want to go and see your bride for yourself? Father is going to-morrow, do you understand?"

"No, I don't," said Suren, looking up. "But you know brother," said Radha, the wise, "it is better to see for oneself. It saves much trouble in the future."

"And you must make sure whether she is dark enough for your taste," said Beena, the incorrigible.

Suren glared at her and said curtly, "Since you don't know how

to speak to your elders, please keep your mouth shut." He turned to Radha and said, "Tell father that I don't want to go. But he may take my friend Tinkari with him."

Next day Suren's father had his breakfast early and departed for the prospective bride's house with a cousin of his and Tinkari. His wife felt very pleased with herself and lectured her own daughters on the duty of all young wives.

The old man returned rather late. His wife began to fan him vigorously. "I see you are very tired," she said. "Was the journey very irksome?"

"Nothing much," said her husband. "We went all the way in a carriage. They took good care of us, though they are very poor. But the girl is very ugly. I did not think she would be so ugly."

"What do you mean by very ugly?" cried his wife. "She is dark, that we know already. But my son does not want a fair bride."

"Not only is she very dark, but her features are very bad too", said her husband. She is very thin, and has scarcely any hair. A plain and healthy girl would have done quite well, but I don't think we should bring home such an ugly bride for our son. We must think of the next generation".

"How you talk", said the lady. "Your eyes must have played you tricks in the lamp light. The match maker never said she was so ugly. I shall send for Tinkari and ask him. He has got young eyes".

But Tinkari was not to be found then. Suren had already taken him to a secluded corner, and was asking him". Well, how did you find her?

She is just what you wanted my friend" said Tinkari. "I can assure you, she will never make you forget this world and the next".

Suren appeared a bit crest-fallen.

"How was she dressed? he asked again, "In the modern way?"

"Not at all, said Tinkari. "She was dressed simply in a red bordered sari and a white chemise. She had not even dressed her hair. She wore no ornaments, the family is too poor. She has lost her father and lives with her uncle and grandfather. Her maternal grandfather lives in Calcutta and is a rich man. He has promised to pay for the wedding".

"I have heard of the paternal grandfather, he is deeply religious man. This made me agreeable to the match. But I hear that the

girl lives mostly in Calcutta. I wonder what sort of an education, she has received."

"I heard that she has never gone to school", said Tinkari.

"How old do you think she is?" asked Suren.

"Please do not ask me that", said Tinkari.

"I never could guess a woman's age".

Suren went home and informed his parents that he was ready to marry the girl.

Then began the usual haggling over the dowry. Suren's mother wanted fifteen hundred rupees in cash, but the girl's guardians refused to spend more than twentyfive hundred over the marriage all told. After much breath and words had been wasted, it was decided to give the bridegroom's party, fifteen hundred in cash, but they were told to expect nothing more. The wedding would take place in Calcutta, and would be a very simple affair. The said sum of money was demanded in advance, and paid down at once.

Suren's mother was very much disappointed. This bride seemed to be inferior to Renu in everything. But what cannot be cured must be endured. She made haste to get a room prepared for Suren and his wife, with a part of the money received. Renu was brought over from her father's house for the wedding. She looked prettier than ever.

The day fixed for the wedding arrived very soon. The bride would be brought to this house on the very next day and the reception held then and there. So preparations began in the Mookherjee family also.

The bridegroom's parents had been asked not to bring a big party. Still a party of thirty accompanied them and they arrived in Calcutta in the evening.

They made their way to the bride's house. The house was decorated but there was no music. There was a fairly big gathering. The bridegroom's party was received with much show of cordiality but the wedding turned out to be a simple affair indeed.

At the time of the "auspicious look", Suren gave a start of dismay. Tinkari had been right. She could have been a bit less ugly. And why was she so thin? She looked like a skeleton. How was such an unhealthy girl going to do her duty to her husband and family? His father should have considered these things, Suren had left everything to him.

However there was no help for it now. The marriage ceremony was performed and Suren returned home with the bride. The girl got fever the same day.

"Even dark girls could be unhealthy, it seems", said the impudent Beena. Her mother had been very much taken aback at the sight of the new bride, so she said nothing.

The bride's name was Malabika, too new-fangled to suit Suren. He told every one to call her by the time-honoured name Savitri.

The bridal reception was hurriedly passed over and the bride was sent back to her own family, with an injunction to get well before returning. Suren had no opportunity to talk to her, even once.

Next week an invitation arrived for the whole family from the new bride's house. One of her 'cousins was getting married. Suren was asked to go for a couple of days. That did not suit Suren, he said he would go in the evening of the wedding day.

Nabin and Suren started for Calcutta on the appointed day. The ladies of the family preferred to stay at home.

They took a taxi from the station, as it would not look well if they went by tram on their first visit.

They reached the house in good time. This was a gala wedding. There was music, flowers and festoons of coloured paper everywhere. The crowd was quite large and a big reception party stood at the gate to welcome the guests. There were men, women, girls and boys, all in a group.

One youngman advanced to receive them with appropriate words. Nabin smiled in return. But Suren seemed to have become petrified. About only a yard in front of him, stood his newly wedded wife Malabika, receiving the lady guests. She had no veil over her head and her hair was bobbed. Her eyebrows had been shaved off and painted and rouge had been applied plentifully to her hollow cheeks. Her lips were bright red with lipstick. She was dressed in flimsy georgette, which clung like a second skin to her thin body and through which her ribs could be counted. Her shoes had very high heels and pointed toes. Her laughter was loud and brassy.

Alas for this Modern age !

WORLD OF BOOKS

Finland : Published by Finland News Service, Helsinki 1939.

It is with melancholy pleasure that we review the excellent illustrated booklet which reached us just when the little but heroic Republic of Finland is engaged in a life and death struggle. Finland may go down in this unequal fight but she will ever live in our memory as the buffer between the ominous march of communist Russia and the democracies of western Europe. The Finns belonging to the linguistic family speaking the Fino-Ugrian speech are considered to be related to many Oriental races. They migrated to their present native land about 2000 years ago when they have already developed their own culture attested by their famous national epic Kalevala translated into many languages. During the 12th and 13th centuries the Finns entered into union with Sweden although it enjoyed a large measure of autonomy and by the middle of the 16th century Finland became a separate Duchy. She developed into a self-governing state, the ruler of which was the Czar of Russia in his capacity of the Grand Duke of Finland. Thus the tussle between Sweden and Russia is again going to victimize this heroic race who declared their independence in 1917 and joined the comity of sovereign States. As such Finland extended her cordial invitation to all the nations to participate in the Olympic Games of 1940. A grand stadium was built in Helsinki under the direction of Paavo Nurmi, the world famous runner who is the greatest personality of Finnish athletics. Jussi Mäntynen won international recognition as a sculptor of animals in which he shows the strength and realism of Chinese masters. Another great sculptor is Vaino Altonen who made the magnificent statue of Finland's most famous writer, Aleksis Kivi. So in the department of music Finland claims the world famous composer Jean Sibelius. Finland's first university was founded in the harbour town of Turku, one of the cradles of Finnish culture. Turku also boasts of an ancient academy and of the famous cathedral of 13th century. After the declaration of independence the University of Helsinki was opened with a big library and a splendid Department of Forestry which is the special subject there, for Finland is the biggest wood-exporter in Europe. The sea is for Finland no less

than it was for her redoubtable neighbour Russia, the "window to Europe." Although Finland possesses more than 3000 kilometres of land frontiers, the sea plays a great part in her relations with the outside world and she has more than 70,000 lakes exceeding 200 metres in length. Finland is a beautiful country with noble traditions and in the midst of her tragic trials we Indians, together with all lovers of freedom, convey to her brave sons and daughters our deepest sympathies and best wishes.

Genava : Bulletin of the Museum of History and Art ; Ariana Museum, Geneva, 1938.

The current number of the excellent Bulletin is edited by Prof. W. Deonna of the University of Geneva. He is also the Director of the Museum of Art and History with special collections on archaeology, numismatics and fine arts. Among the recent acquisitions we note the miniature portrait of Empress Maria Theresa by the celebrated Swiss painter J. E. Liotard (1702-1789) who spent several years in Constantinople. There he procured some gorgeous oriental robes which he used to lend to his models and that is how we get this rare portrait of Maria Theresa in oriental costumes. Among the memoirs published we mention the highly interesting study of Prof. Deonna with regard to the various types of supports and feet-designs in ancient and modern furniture, Egyptian, Ægian, Etruscan, Graeco-Roman etc. Several scholars collaborated in publishing a systematic excavation report of the pre-historic site of Praille near Geneva. The illustrations are excellent.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms : Translated by Dr. V. Raghavan. Published by G. Natesan & Co., Madras. PP. 512. Price Rs. 1/4.

We recommend this excellent book to the students of the devotional literature of India which they will find in clear Nagri character on one side and a simple English translation on the other. Starting with the Vedic and post-Vedic literature Dr. Raghavan takes us through the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Puranas, the Agamas and the Tantras together with samples from classical poetry as well as the hymns and psalms composed by the various mediaeval Acharyas. A very useful index to authors and their works together with brief notes go to enhance the reference value of the book.

The Bhagavad-Gita or The Lord's Song : By Dr. Annie Besant. Eleventh edition. Price As. 4 only. Published by G. Natesan & Co., Madras.

The booklet happens to be the cheapest and the best pocket-edition of the Bible of Hindu India. The publisher deserves congratulations for having distributed thousands of copies of this memorable book.

Buddha : By Devamitta Dharmapala. Published by Natesan & Co., Madras. Price As. 12 only.

The great Sinhalese Buddhist scholar Dharmapala passed away at Sārnāth in 1933. He has earned immortality by dedicating his life to the revival of Buddhism and we are glad to read in this handy volume Dharmapala's lucid exposition on the life and teachings of the Buddha and on the philosophy and ethics of Buddhism. The book deserves wide circulation.

Zoroaster by Prof. A. R. Wadia. Published by Natesan & Co., Madras. Price As 12 only.

A few centuries before the foundation of Buddhism and Jainism we witness the somewhat indistinct yet inspiring career of Zarathustra, the prophet of Iran. Prof. Wadia has rendered a great service to the cause of the study of Asiatic religions by preparing this brief yet illuminating survey of the career of Zoroaster, of his ethical teaching and his philosophy. One of the leading thinkers among the Parsees that he is, Prof. Wadia has given also in his concluding remarks and in his chapter on Later Zoroastrianism, the permanent elements in Zoroastrian faith and strengthened his thesis by extracts from Zoroastrian books made by the late Sir J. J. Modi. We recommend this excellent book to all students of comparative religion.

Yogic Asanas for Health and Vigour : A physiological Exposition by V. G. Rele. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. PP. 104. Price Rs. 3/12/- only.

The yogic discipline of ancient India presents a metaphysical as well as physiological problems and the author has boldly tried to explain the therapeutical value of yogic exercises illustrating them by 44 poses. These, along with the description of the technique of various

exercises, should prove valuable guides to those who desire to learn and practise them. The primary object of this book is to impress on the reader how the vicissitudes of middle life react unfavourably on health and how the practice of *asanas* mentioned in the yogic literature of India counteracts this tendency towards ill health.

Manasollasa of king Somesvara edited with an introduction by G. K. Shrigondekar. Published by Baroda Oriental Institute, 1939. Price Rs. 5/- only.

We are thankful to Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, Director of the Baroda Oriental Institute, for publishing the second volume of the encyclopaedic work *Manasollasa* composed by the western Chalukya king Somesvara. The king describes himself as the master of drawing and painting and he was no less an authority on Hindu music ; for, as announced by the editor, one of the longest chapters has been devoted to music, in the 4th Vimsati of the work which is yet to appear. In the present volume we find elaborate description of the twenty kinds of enjoyments (*upabhogas*) and also twenty kinds of royal sports (*vinodas*). The previous sections of the book already published gave us valuable data with regard to ancient Indian architecture and town-planning. In the present volume we get equally valuable and highly interesting details with regard to iconometry, painting, education of the prince, martial sports, hunting, games and amusements, such as rarely to be found in any other Sanskrit work. We congratulate Mr. Shringondekar for his careful editing of the Sanskrit text and we recommend the book to all students of Indian culture. The Gaekwad's Oriental Series proudly enshrine the name of the most enlightened ruler of Hindu India, Maharaja Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad and we hope that his enlightened policy will be continued by his successor, enriching the literature of ancient Indian culture and religion.

Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Government of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1939.

The Department under its able and enthusiastic Director Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval attended to the excavation work in Padmanabhapuram and Vilinjam and we are glad to note that the government have accepted the recommendation of the Director in organizing an Archaeological Museum at the ancient palace of Padmanabhapuram with a hall of sculpture and a gallery of inscriptions. A rock-cut relievo at Vilinjam

bears close resemblance to later Pallava art (8th century A.D.). Four mural paintings of the early 18th century have been discovered in the Vishnu temple at Aranmula and the paintings in the Padmanabapuram palace are being copied under the personal supervision of the Director who gives a detailed description of the murals. He continues to supervise over the State Museum and Sri Chitralayam of Trivandrum which were keenly admired by the galaxy of scholars assembled in the city during the 9th session of the All India Oriental Conference. We wish the department all success and hope that the government under its enlightened Maharaja and progressive Dewan Sir. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar would soon co-ordinate the activities of the newly founded University with those of the Archaeological Department and of the scholars engaged in the famous Trivandrum Sanskrit Series which have saved from oblivion so many precious documents of ancient Indian history and culture.

Shelley's Epipsychidion by Dr. P. N. Roy M.A., D.Litt. (Rome). Published by the Modern Publishing Syndicate, 119, Dharmatolla Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2/- or Sh. 3/-

The author has already made his mark in the field of modern Indian literature by his incisive and original criticisms and he contributed substantially to the study of Tennyson against the background of continental literature, specially Italian. Now we find him engaged in throwing a new light on Shelley's masterpiece Epipsychidion. There he demonstrates what vast field of research is lying ahead of us if we follow the method of Prof. Roy in studying English writers in connection with their cultural and emotional affiliation with other European countries. During his studies at the University of Rome, Dr. Roy collected heaps of new materials which, we hope, he would be encouraged to publish, throwing new light on old masters. This new commentary of Prof. Roy on Shelley should be read by all lovers of the great English poet.

The Great Unity by Margaret Barr, M. A. Published by the Lindsey Press, 5, Essex Street, London. Price : Sh 1/6.

The learned author is a member of the British Unitarian Society. She worked for several years at the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School in Calcutta and is at present engaged in developing on admirable lines a Basic school for Khasia children in Shillong. In her works as well as

in her writings we feel the spirit of the Great Unity. Rarely do we find a book which inculcates true universality of outlook in such a brief survey of the religions of the world. We congratulate the author and recommend the book to all those who aspire to teach the elements of comparative religion to our boys and girls.

Potua Sangit by Guru Saday Dutt, I. C. S. Published by the University of Calcutta.

That we are conscious to-day of the existence of diverse traditions of folk art in Bengal, is due to the indefatigable research of Mr. G. S. Dutt who is a veritable pioneer in the field. Between 1930-33 as Collector of the Birbhum District he recovered several songs or narrative poems of the Potuas or rural painters of that district. Krishna and Rama, Siva and his consort formed the centre of the song cycles, recited or chanted with the accompaniment of picture scrolls. These pictures were usually "written" on cloth gradually replaced by paper. The Potuas were a special caste of painters but it is significant, as pointed out by the learned author, that the potters and the Brahmans of the Acharya class were also reputed to be professional painters in Bengal. In his valuable Introduction the author has given an explanation and classification of the songs along with a brief statement of his activities during the last ten years, in connection with the exploration and conservation of the folk arts of Bengal. He is much more than an art-critic or a collector; he plunged into the aesthetic life of rural Bengal, rediscovered its dances and songs, its wood-carvings and paintings reconstructing thereby the entire art life of rural Bengal. He himself thus came to be a living museum of those arts and crafts and succeeded in rousing the attention of the leaders of other provinces where we are receiving sympathetic responses. We have no doubt today that the popular arts of India, thanks to the ardent championship of Mr. Dutt, have a glorious future. We are grateful to him for having saved from oblivion these valuable poetic and pictorial fragments of our rural life. The illustrations accompanying the text are sure to convince all serious students of Indian art that Mr. Dutt has unearthed a veritable treasurehouse of Indian art. We look forward to reading more and more of his valuable communications on the subject and we congratulate the University of Calcutta on its sponsoring the publication of this precious volume.

Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam, Bulletins No. 2, 3 and the **Tripura Buranji** edited by Prof. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan.

Students of Indology in general and of Assamese culture in particular will feel grateful to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan and his colleagues for the valuable work they are doing through their Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies. Its aims and objects were formulated as early as 1932 in Bulletin no 1, introduced by his Excellency Sir E. Laurie Hammond. The second Bulletin, published in 1934 was introduced by his Excellency Sir Michael Keane and we read therein that as early as 1832 Lord Wiliam Bentinck deputed Captain Jenkins to report on the resources and products of Assam. The Dept. of Ethnography was established in 1894 at the instance of Sir Edward Gait who rendered valuable services to the cause of historical research in Assam. After his departure from Assam in 1897 the ethnographic survey was continued by Col. Gurdon and Dr. J. H. Hutton. Simultaneously we find the systematic collection of manuscripts and the publication of Buranji or chronicles.

When the third Bulletin was published in 1936 we were glad to note a significant step forward with the establishment of the permanent home of the Department in Gauhati, the Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute. We expect great things out of this Department and wish the organizers all success.

Dr. Bhuyan, the very soul of this organization has continued to enrich our knowledge of Assam from year to year. With his encyclopaedic knowledge of Assamese history and culture, he has published rare historical documents in Assamese and in English, the latest being the *Tripura Buranji*. It is a chronicle of Tipperah, written in 1724 A.D. by Ratna Kandali Sarma and Arjun Das Bairagi, who were Swargadeo Rudra Singha's envoys to Raja Ratna Manikya of Tipperah. This chronicle is bound to impress upon the mind of all students of history by virtue of its simplicity of style, dignity of narration and accuracy of observation on the resources, customs, topography and history of Tripura. Hindu chroniclers of Assam, therefore, deserve at last the same attention and eulogy as are due to the Muslim chroniclers of medieval India. Tripura is one of the most progressive states of Bengal and the new light thrown on its past by the Assamese Chroniclers was most welcome. We recommend this book as well as other publications of the Department to the libraries and learned societies of India.

Japan to-day and to-morrow (1939) Published by the Osaka Mainichi, Tokyo. Price 2 yen.

This annual of one of the leading papers of Japan gives a highly interesting survey of the domestic as well as the international relations of Japan. Japanese finance and industry, social life and sports, cultural trends and artistic activities are ably summarised. The volumes are richly illustrated and some of the coloured plates are real things of beauty, specially "Fujin" from the Kyoto Temple, a national treasure.

Present-day Nippon (1939). Published by the Asahi Sinbun Ltd., Osaka and Tokyo.

This excellent annual gives topical articles on Japan's historical position in the Far East, on the dawn of New China and on Manchukuo. Among the rare objects of oriental art, we find the splendid reproduction of a 3000 years' old Chinese bronze vessel discovered in Honan province in 1937 and we find also "the sun and eagle" painted by Insyo Domoto on the occasion of the 60th anniversary (25th Jan, 1939) of the Osaka Asahi.

Japan : Her cultural Development by Ryuichi Kaji. Published by the Kokushai Bukka Shinkokai, Tokyo, 1939.

The author visited several parts of Asia, specially Far Eastern Russia. As a layman he surveys in this handy volume the problems of the clash of the old and the new, of the East and the West in Eastern Asia. The book is excellently illustrated.

Academic and Cultural Organizations in Japan (1939) Published by Kokushai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo, Japan.

This valuable handbook is compiled by the National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Co-operation. On Japan's retirement from the League of Nations, the publication of the book was taken over by the Society for International Cultural Relations, famous for its systematic activities in fostering intellectual co operation of Japan with other nations. The handbook describes over 600 organizations of scientific and cultural importance noting the date of foundation, the aims and activities, the publications, the office bearers etc. An index of the organizations, classified according to subjects, adds to the reference value of the volume.

The Psychological attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy and its Systematic Representation According to Abhidhamma Tradition by Anagarika B. Govinda. Readership Lectures, Patna University, 1936-37. Published 1939 and available through the International Buddhist University Association 4-A, College Square, Calcutta. 271 pages, 21 tables and 80 diagrams, price Rs. 5/- (full cloth)

This book, in a concise form and in a readable style, contains the framework of Buddhist psychology and its philosophical foundations.

The author has tried to build up the fundamental thoughts of Buddhism from their very beginnings and in both their logical structure and their psychological necessity. Thus every thinking man can approach the book without any previous knowledge of the subject. It leads from the general background of religious experience, from the Age of Magic through the Age of Gods to the Age of Man, and here it shows how the problem of the human mind opened a vast field of exploration which up to the present time have not yet been exhausted. The book, thus, does not only deal with the thoughts of the past but with the problems of the present.

Those who are interested in the systematic representation of traditional Buddhist psychology and its terminology will find valuable contributions in the Appendix with numerous tables. Besides these many diagrams will help the reader in summarizing and visualizing the simultaneous relations of leading ideas and psychological concepts. An elaborate Index of technical terms, Pali words, and general references will enable the reader to make the best use of the vast material offered in this work.

World Economic Survey, 1938/39. League of Nations, Geneva (I) Ser L. O. N. P, 1939. 11. A. 18. 247 pages in wrappers 6/—or 7. 50 bound in cloth 7/6 or \$2.00

The League of Nations' World Economic Survey 1938/39 was completed on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. It covers up to the beginning of August 1939, and thus presents a picture of the world economic situation up to date of the beginning of hostilities. During the first month of 1939 the world was making a rapid recovery from the major depression with which it had been threatened in the first half of 1938. This rapid reversal of economic conditions may be ascribed in part to financial measures taken

in the United States of America and in other countries in order to stimulate the lagging demand for goods and services. But in the main it was due to increased expenditure on armaments and war preparations.

This issue—the eighth in the series—includes a number of special studies. One chapter, for example, is devoted to a study of the economic effects of recent changes in the trend of population.

A second chapter studies the problems of public finance, and examines the extent to which the costs of rearmament have eaten into the national incomes of various countries.

The concluding chapter, entitled “The Economic Effects of War, Rearmament and Territorial Changes” summarises the main theme of the volume. Economic destruction in Spain and China and the reduction in the standard of living in Japan as a result of war; the economic effects of the territorial expansion of Germany; and the greatly increased intervention of the state in economic affairs for the purposes of national defence; these are the main subjects of the chapter. In various other chapters the growing importance of political tension and of rearmament is emphasised in their effects on economic activity, on world trade, on hours of work and the demand for labour, on budgetary and monetary policies, and on commercial relations between the nations.

Business Cycles in the United States of America 1939-1932 by J. Tinbergen. **League of Nations, Geneva.** (1) Ser. L. O. N. P. 1939. II. A. 16. 244 pages. Price : 5/- \$1. 25.

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations has just published the second volume of the series “Statistical Testing of Business-cycle Theories” dealing with the business cycle in the United States of America from 1919 to 1932.

This volume applies the system of mathematical analysis described in the first volume to the post-war trade data of the United States. It aims at determining, on the basis of existing statistics and with the help of the “multiple correlation method,” the more important quantitative relationships which have governed the economic system of the United States of America during the period under review. In this way, some forty equations are found, which are thought to represent the main characteristics of the mechanism of the United States business cycles in that period. The combination of these equations by mathematical treatment (“elimination process”) yields one “final” equation, from which emerges the general nature of the United States cycle.

Currents of Thought in The European Literature, P.P. 164.
Price Rs. 1/12/-

Aims and Ideals of Ancient Indian Culture by Prof. Brojasundar Ray, M. A., B. L. Principal, Lady Keane Girls' College, Shillong. P.P. 178. Price Rs. 2/-

The author is a veteran educationist helping generation of students in understanding European history and literature. Naturally we find his "Currents of Thought" a thought-provoking book on the European literature. But the literature of Europe cannot be fully appreciated without reference to the life and civilization of Europe and we agree with the author that such a study must necessarily be on a comparative basis. In his searching examination of the European concepts of chivalry and chastity of man and nature, of the human and the divine, Prof. Ray has tried to help his readers by supplying apposite Indian analogies and parallelisms. We believe that such a valuable study in comparative literature would be of great help to our graduate and post-graduate students for whom they are mainly intended. In his notes on the Supernatural as well as in his analysis of the feeling of Revenge in European literature, he is at his best combining a rare critical acumen with a keen sense of literature. We endorse the opinion of Principal Rabindra Narayan Ghosh that the "most valuable feature", of the book, "is the stimulus it gives to freedom of thought and outlook."

In his "Aims and Ideals of Ancient Indian Culture", Prof. Ray appears as a profound student of philosophy and history. Philosophical thought in ancient India was enriched as much by the orthodox as by the heterodox systems. Therefore, the legacies of the Vedas and the Upanishads, of Jainism and Buddhism have been systematically assessed and the learned author finally takes us to the appreciation of the Three-fold ideals of Hindu culture, Jnana (knowledge), Bhakti (devotion) and Karma (work). While discussing these ideals he could not help, as a historian to point out to us the aberrations and defects that have crept into Hindu ideals. But his criticism is inspired by genuine sympathy and we are sure that his book will illumine the mind and inspire the heart of many of his readers. We draw the attention of the readers specially to the sections on the method of education and on the Hindu universalism proving beyond doubt that he is a firm believer on the revival of Hindu society and idealism. We recommend the books of Principal Ray to all lovers of Indian culture. He has earned our gratitude by his illuminating presentation of the objective of the life of our ancestors and the method they followed in attaining that object.

Constitution of Iran

By Prof. Ramesh Ch. Ghosh, M.A., B.L.

The Persian Constitution is one of the most wonderful political documents in the world. Constitutional writers of the West might have had reasons in the past to ignore the history of its development. But how the people of the East could have left such an important factor in the growth of democracy in the Asiatic continent unnoticed, uncared for, is really a mystery inexplicable. But things have changed too fast and as M. Nakhai writes : "L'apreté de la lutte a montre à suffisance l'importance que l'Europe attachait a la Perse comme facteur economique de la vie internationale. Aujourd'hui les peuples de l'Occident recherchent l'Iran comme une alliée precieuse dans leurs combinaisons politiques" (*L'Evolution Politique de l'Iran* - p. 115). Before Reza Sha Pahlevi, Europe had a Persian politics ; to-day, Iran has an European politics. The East has, however, a greater interest in Persian politics than the West, for not only the Persian Constitution of 1906-7 is the first democratic Constitution of the East, but also, Iran, by her special position in the map of Asia is the real centre of the Old World, maintaining a necessary equilibrium between European imperialism and Russian communism. Further, as Mohammad Essad-Bey points out ; "Reza Shah's gigantic plan transcends the narrow circle of Persian domestic politics and bids fair to develop into a deciding factor in pan-Asiatic foreign relations" (*Reza-Shah* (1938), p. 209). Therefore, Persian politics deserve more careful attention than it has hitherto received in the East.

This beautiful pleateau of 628,000 Sq. miles, on the north bordered by the crooked paw of the Russian bear and the blue waters of the Caspian Sea, in the West by Turkey and Iraq, in the South by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman ; and in the East by Afghanistan and British Baluchistan, is inhabited by a most ancient race of predominantly Aryan strain—15,000,000 souls, more than 90 percent of whom belong to the Shia sect of Islam. But there are at present 850,003 Sunnis ; 10,000 Parsis ; 40,000 Jews ; 50,000 Armenions and 30,000 Nestorians (*Statesman Year Book*—1939—p. 1042), besides some Christians belonging to the foreign legations

and missionary societies. In studying the political history of the Persians, it is very necessary to remember the famous saying of Gobineau that "L'Iran est un de ces gros blocs chus des montagnes au milieu d'un torrent qui peut l'user sur ses bords et le soulever un moment, mais le bloc retombe aussitôt immobile sur sa masse." Indeed, the Arab conquest failed to stamp out the ancient Iranian culture, and, even as late as 1920, both the British and the Russian diplomacy had to acknowledge defeat before the unbending will of Iran to preserve her national independence, ancient culture and passionate individualism. Not much concerned with her cultural development, I propose to give her a brief outline of the political factors that brought about the great Constitution of 1906.

By the year 1881 Russia had annexed a number of frontier regions of Persia, while in the East the creation of British Baluchistan in the hitherto "no man's land," completed the encirclement of Persia. The opening of the telegraph lines by foreign Companies on Iranian soil and the import of the western political ideas created an agitation in Iran, but the failure of Constitutional Government in Turkey in 1876 made the Shah, Nasir-Ud-Din more and more unyielding to popular demands. After his assassination in 1896, Muzaffar-Ud-Din ascended the throne ; but as he was quite an incapable and reckless ruler, violence and anarchy broke out in many parts of his empire. The Persian monarchs had almost failed to weld the diverse tribal chiefs and members into one homogeneous nation under a powerful Central Government. As Muhammad Essad-Bey writes : "Until the Phalavi Cap was decreed (1927), there really were no Persians ; there were Bakhtiariis, Ghashghais, Lurs, Turkomans, lowly peasants, proud feudals—an utterly bewildering conglomeration of castes and cultures, but Persia as a nation existed on paper only (Ibid-p. 191). Farther, the economic misery of the people accelerated the pace of political disintegration. Even the great pan-Islamist Jamal-Ud-Din vehemently criticised the Corrupt Vizier, while Prince Malkolm, the Persian Minister in London, strongly advocated for a Parliament for Persia. The appointment of the arrogant and ignorant Abdul Hamid as Aynu'd-Dawla (Minister of the Interior) in 1903, and as Sadr-i-Azam (Prime Minister) on January, 24, 1904, was greatly resented by the people. The appointment of M. Heynssen, and then of M. Naus—another Belgian—as Director-General of Customs, and subsequently also as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, High

Treasurer, and a Member of the Supreme Council of State, brought about a condemnation from the people, especially when M. Naus began to impose and realise quite arbitrarily the customs dues. At this period, the Shah was also contemplating to take huge loans from Russia and England in exchange of valuable national concessions. The abortive Russian Revolution of 1905 also aroused the political consciousness of the educated section of the people. In the early months of 1906, Persia suffered a severe financial dislocation. Due to a high price of silver, the silver coins of Persia were exported out of the country which was flooded in turn, by the paper notes issued by the Imperial Bank of Persia an English concern, having the monopoly of note issue. Lastly, bread-riots broke out all over the country.

Up till now, the people had demanded simply the removal of the Aynu'd—Dawla and the Belgian customs officials. In December 1905, the Shah had issued a *dast-khatt* or autograph letter to the *bastis* (or seceders from the capital) requesting them to come back to the town and “promising to dismiss *Aynu'd-Dawla* ; to convene the ‘*Adalat-Khaneh*’ or “House of Justice”, which they now demanded and which was to consist of representatives elected by the clergy, merchants and landed proprietors, and presided over by the Shah himself ; to abolish favouritism, and to make all Persian subjects equal in the eye of the Law” [*The Persian Revolution, 1905-1909* - p. 144—by E. G. Browne, (1910)]. But in reply to a report published from St. Petersburg, expressing fearful consequences of this reform, the Persian Legation in London published on Feb. 2, 1906, a *dementi* “declaring that the nature of the proposed “House of Justice” had been entirely misunderstood, and that it was intended to be a purely Judicial Court, not a Legislative Assembly”. For several months, the Shah went on heedless of the popular demands and suppressing all constitutional agitations. Great leaders like Sayyid Abdullah, Sayyid Muhammad, Aqa Sayyid Jamal, Sheik Muhammad, etc., began to denounce autocracy, while various secret societies, notably the Anjuman-i-Makhfi, and national libraries, especially the Kitab-khana-i-Milli began to preach sedition. The number of refugees (*bastis*) gradually increased from 800 in July to 14,000 in August, 1906, in the British Legation.

At last, on August 5, 1906, the Shah Muzaffarud-Din issued the Firman or Royal Proclamation, authorising the establishment of a

National Assembly. The Firman said : "We do enact that an Assembly of delegates elected by the Princes, the Doctors of Divinity (ulama) the Qajar family (the Royal family), the nobles and notables, the land-owners, the merchants and the guilds shall be formed and constituted by election of the classes above mentioned, in the capital Teheran ; which Assembly shall carry out the requisite deliberations and investigations on all necessary subjects connected with important affairs of the State and Empire and the public interests ; and shall render the necessary help and assistance to our Cabinet of Ministers in such reforms as are designed to promote the happiness and well-being of Persia ; and shall with complete confidence and security, through the instrumentality of the first Lord of the State, submit their proposals to us, so that these, having been duly ratified by us, may be carried into effect". The Firman also gave order to the Prime Minister to "arrange and prepare a code of regulations and provisions governing this Assembly and likewise the ways and means necessary to its formation, so that by the help of God Most High this Assembly may be inaugurated and may take in hand the necessary reforms" The text of this Firman was published and proclaimed.

On August 19, 1906, the House of Parliament was officially opened in all solemnity, in the presence of the high ecclesiastical authorities who were entertained as Shah's guests for three days. But on September 8, the Mullahs refused to accept the ordinances drafted by the Prime Minister for the constitution of the Majlis (Assembly), and demanded that : (1) Persia should be divided into eleven (or 13) areas ; (2) that the Majlis should consist of 200 members and (3) that any male person between the ages of 30 and 70, being neither a Government servant, nor a convict, but able to read and write, should be eligible for membership. The Committee appointed for drafting the Electoral Law (Nizam-nama-i-Intikhavat) had completed its labours, and the great Electoral Law was passed on September 9, 1906. Its most important provisions are summarised below : The electors of the realm were divided into six classes : (i) Princes and the Qazar tribe, (ii) Doctors of Divinity and students ; (iii) Nobles and Notables ; (iv) Merchants ; (v) Landed proprietors and peasants ; (vi) Trade guilds (Art. I). The electors were to be at least of 25 years of age, Persian subjects and known in the locality. Women, minors foreigners, bankrupts, convicted persons and those who were serving actually in the land or sea forces, were deprived of the right to vote

(Arts. 2 & 3). The number of deputies should not exceed 200 (Art. 8). The deputies must be males, speak Persian language, be able to read and write, be Persian subjects of Persian extraction, must not be in government employment, or less than 30 or more than 70 years of age. Of the 60 seats allotted to Teheran, Princes and members of the Qajar family had 4 ; doctors of divinity and students, 4 ; merchants 10 ; landowners and peasants, 10 ; trade guilds, 32 in all, one from each guild. (Art. 6). In the provinces, there were to be twelve electoral areas, some of them sending 6, others 12 members, each. But elections in the provinces were indirect. Each elector had one vote and could vote only in one class. By Article 19, the deputies of Teheran, when elected, could proceed to discharge the functions of the Assembly immediately without waiting for the arrival of the provincial deputies. This provision was included in the electoral law because, as Browne points out, the people thought it to be waste of time to wait until the return of the provincial deputies, while in the meantime the Shah might change his mind and revoke the Rescript (Ibid-p. 129). The living expenses and annual allowances of the deputies were to be determined by the Assembly (Art. 20). The tenure of the Assembly was fixed at two years, after which "fresh elections shall take place throughout the whole of Persia" (Art. 21). Article 23 guaranteed the personal freedom of the deputies from detention or arrest for their speeches or writings excepting those which are contrary to "public good" and "against Islamic law". Art. 24 laid down that government officials or employees could not be members of the Assembly unless they quitted their service.

The Assembly actually met in the building named 'Imarat-i-Khurshed' but, after three weeks, moved to Bahrستان and began its deliberation on October 7, 1906. The Shah's speech from the throne was read out by the Nizam-ul-Mulk. On November 23, this new Assembly showed its independence by refusing to sanction a loan of £ 400,000 which the Shah was going to take from England and Russia, on the ground that it would endanger Persia's independence. The deputies from the provinces came in slowly. But it would be a very wrong idea to think that this National Assembly was a homogeneous body either in political aims or economic or social objectives. Victor Berard critically describes the composition of the first Assembly in these words : "L' Assembly elle-meme etait un champ de bataille

entre les castes qui n'avaient fait alliance que pour défendre leurs privilèges respectifs contre le Roi.

Du droit de leur science, de leur vertu et de leur dignité sacrée, le *mouchteheds* reclamaient le contrôle de toute discussion et même de toute proposition législative.

Le bourgeois et le aristocrates ne voulaient que restaurer leur ancienne association avec le Roi, mais en entre le gerants et administrateurs-délegues.

Seuls, quelques *mirzas* politiques et quelques jeunes réformistes entendaient gouverner sur le modèle de l'Europe occidentale et non sur les traditions iraniennes ou musulmanes. Aucun de parties n'avait une conception très nette de son idéal de gouvernement" (*Revolution de la Perse* (Paris, 1910), pp. 353-54). It resembled the States-General of France more than a real popular assembly. But there was one common agreement amongst all these diverse groups and interests and that is—they were all constitutionalists. They all wanted to be governed in accordance with known principles of Law.

The Assembly began to determine the Fundamental Law of the Constitution (Qanun-i-Asasi), whose draft was published by the end of October, and which was finally ratified on December 30, 1906, by the Shah—just five days before his death. It was also signed by the Crown Prince, Muhammad Ali Mirza, who promised not to dissolve the existing Majlis for at least two years.

After the death of his father, the new Shah was crowned on January 19, 1907. But he disliked the constitution granted by his father, suspected the Majlis, did not invite the deputies to be present at his coronation, and under his instructions the responsible minister refused to appear in the Assembly and answer questions. But on October 7, 1907, he was compelled to ratify the Supplementary Constitutional Law. He secretly tried to obtain loan from the English and the Russians, incited some chiefs (e.g. Rahim Khan) to remove by violence all prominent members of the National Party in Ajerbaidjan, and bribed some reactionary *mujtahids* (e. g. Sheik Fazlu'llah-i-Nuri) to carry on propaganda against the National Assembly. For several months there were considerable ministerial changes and political persecutions and the Shah preferred to be "the King of a nation in foreign bondage rather than the constitutional monarch of a free people." On December 14, 1907, the Cabinet resigned, but on the 15th, the Shah imprisoned the Premier, and by a *coup d'état* tried to dissolve the Majlis.

The people rose in revolt. The Shah became nervous. He tried to intimidate the Persian people by securing diplomatic intervention of Russia and Great Britain in his favour. After having fled from the city to the Bagh-i-Shah, he issued ordinances, declared martial law, arrested the national leaders, filled the streets with Cossack patrols and put Colonel Liakhoff, a Russian officer, in charge of his army. Bahrstan was bombarded, scores of people killed, leaders imprisoned, press gagged, constitution suspended. Russia tried to fish in troubled waters; but England, realising the danger of Russian extension on the north and the genuine desire of the Persian people for constitutional government, insisted upon the Shah to grant them some constitution, when the Shah approached Great Britain for a loan. The revolt of the people in various centres was taking ominous shapes, and at the end of September, 1908, the Shah issued a rescript for the restoration of the Majlis with reduced powers. But on November, 22, by another rescript he cancelled the first one and declared flatly that he had "quite abandoned any idea of convoking a Parliament as the ulemas had declared that such an institution is contrary to Islam" (*Blue Book* [cmd. 4581], pp 208-9). But the most notable *mujtahids* of Karbala and Naajaf at once repudiated this false statement of the Shah and demanded an immediate restoration of the Majlis.

In January, 1909, violent agitations broke out at Rasht, Astrabad, Mashhad, Lur, Ispahan. The Shah's governments were overthrown in these places, and at last the victorious forces of liberation began to march upon the capital. The Shah in response to good counsels from Russia and Britain, agreed on May 10, 1909 to restore the old constitution without any alteration and to hold elections as soon as the New Electoral Law had been promulgated. On June, 1909, the New Electoral Law was signed by the Shah; but it was promulgated on July 1, 1909. The number of deputies was fixed at 120, while election by two degrees was prescribed for the whole of Persia (Art. 15), while by Art. 4 the age for franchise was lowered to 20 years. The people again began to disbelieve the king. Nationalist armies under Haji Aliquli Khan, the Sardar-i-Asad, and Mohammad Wali Khan, the Siphadar-i-Azam, entered the capital on July 13, amidst cries of "Long live the Constitution", and for three days there were severe fighting with the Royalist troops and the Cossack Brigade. But, on Friday morning, July 16, the Shah took refuge in the Russian Legation at Zarganda and in the evening of the same day the

National Council consisting of the Nationalist leaders, the chief *mujtahids*, notables and as many members of the former Majlis as were then available, held an extraordinary meeting, deposed the Shah and chose his twelve year old son, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, as his successor, with the old trusted Azudu'l Mulk, the head of the Qajar family as the Regent. The National Council also nominated the first Cabinet with the Siphadar as the Chief Minister and Minister of War, and set up a special Court, known as Malkama-i-Qazawat-i-Ali (the Supreme Court of Judicature) to try political offenders. The elections at Teheran were conducted on August 17, while a Directory of 20 members was appointed with extensive powers of control. On September 13, the Directory was increased in size to 40 members, but its function became restricted to those of an Advisory Council. On November 15. the new Parliament was opened with all solemnity in the presence of princes, clergy, nobles and foreign representatives. The speech from the Throne was read out by the Siphadar, which included, *inter alia*, an exaltation of the National Parliament, "won by the courage and endeavours of the people themselves", and an exhortation to the Representatives of the Nation and the Ministers of the Crown to "concentrate their attention on the reorganisation of the different departments of the state and the ordering of their formation according to the principles which prevail in civilised countries", for the comfort of the people and the strengthening of the constitution. (Vide —Browne—Ibid, pp. 336-37).

The subsequent working of the constitution did not prove to be successful, and that was because there was no agreement as to the political or economic programme, and no expert knowledge of the principles of government. As Berard wrote : "Le revolution persane n'est pas une victoire du pouvoir civil on religieux sur le pouvoir militaire, une revanche du droit divin sur le sabre, une restauration d'un *mikado* sur un *chogun*, comme au Japon. Et ce n'est pas davantage un assaut des soldats contre la theocratie, comme en Turquie ou en Espagne. Le caractere dominant de cette revolution persane est que l'armee n'y a joué aucun role, ni pour ni contre le Roi : la garde royale n'a meme pas essayé de la defendre.

La revolution parsane n'est pas non plus une revolte de idees modernes contre la tradition, comme dans la France de 1789, l'Allemagne de 1848, ou la Russie de 1904-1905. Et ce n'est pas davantage une reaction des sentiments nationaux contre la tyrannie

de lois éternelles, comme dans l'Espagne de 1810, l'Italie de 1830 à 1866 ou la Hongrie de 1849" (Ibid, p. 11-12). The king—a Qajar-Turkish in race and language maintained himself on the throne with the help of a Russian general, a Cossack Army and "par accord de deux ennemis anglais et russe". And hence, the revolution cannot be regarded as proceeding from a political consciousness or preparedness of the people for full fledged democratic Government.

The nature of the Persian Constitution will be discussed in detail later ; but for the present, the history of the political evolution of Persia upto 1935 is going to be treated here very briefly. The first cabinet including the 'two patrician heroes of the revolution' (*Ency. Britan.* Vol. 17, p 596), viz, the Siphadar as Premier and the veteran Bakhtiari chief Sardar Asad as Minister of the Interior, completely failed to solve the internal difficulties of the country that arose over the disbanding of the *Mujahidins*, who were soldiers of fortune. The Nationalists were divided into two parties, the Revolutionists (Inqelabian), and the Moderates. Sir Percy Sykes writes : "Unfortunately by its activity, its violence and its secret organisation, the former party gained the ascendant. Nor were the leaders any wiser. Sirdar-i-Asad intrigued with the Revolutionaries and laid traps for Siphadar ; Taqizada, the leader of the Revolutionary party was anathematized by the *mujtahids* of Kerbala, whom he had unwisely defied, but was supported by the Sirdar. Assassination was employed by the revolutionaries to overawe their opponents. Ultimately Taqizada was forced to leave Teheran and Siphadar found it necessary to resign, as also did the President of the Assembly, who was a moderate" (*A History of Persia*, Vol II, p 422). The next cabinet formed by the revolutionary party under Mustaufi-ul-Mamalik did not last long as public opinion was against it, and again Siphadar formed a cabinet. The Regency became vacant on the death of Azad-ul-Mulk, and Nasir-ul-Mulk, who was then in England, was elected Regent by a large majority. In 1911, it was decided that foreign guidance was necessary for organising the various state departments, that Americans should reconstruct the financial department, and the Swiss, the police and the gendarmerie. In June, 1911 the ex-Shah made an abortive attempt to regain his throne, but his plan was nipped in the bud. The appointment of Mr. Schuster—an American—as financial adviser to the new government was very much resented by the Russian Government who by an ultimatum demanded his

immediate dismissal. The Majlis refusing to comply with the Russian ultimatum, several thousand Russian troops entered Persia and tried to march upon Teheran. The new Regent, Nasir-ul-Mulk, fearing a catastrophe, called the cabinet and Yeprem Khan, the military leader of the revolutionary party, dissolved the Majlis on December 24, 1911, with their approval, and signified acceptance of the Russian demands. Mr. Schuster was dismissed and the financial administration was carried on with the help of the Belgian customs officers.

Just before the War, the condition of Persia was almost chaotic. There were internal factions, financial instability, political confusions, economic poverty, and external dangers. The National Assembly was not summoned until after war had broken out in Europe. In July, 1914, the young Shah reached majority and was crowned. He summoned the Majlis, and in his speech from the throne declared neutrality of Persia in the Great War. But soon this neutrality was most contemptuously violated by Great Britain, Russia and Turkey whose armies fought on the Persian soil and inflicted considerable damages on property. In March 1918, the British Government tried to impose an agreement upon the Russian Government which would secure recognition of the South Persian Rifles—an organisation made by the British force in Southern Persia, and the maintenance of British troops in Azerbaijan until the end of the War. The Persian Government spiritedly refused all these demands, but after the victory of the Allies, the Shah dismissed the cabinet which was hostile to the British, while the new cabinet of Vosugh-ud-Dowla, friendly to the British, signed the notorious Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919.

The Agreement reiterated the undertaking of the British Government "to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia" (Art. I). The British Government would supply, at the cost of the Persian Government, the services of experts required for the several departments of the Persian administration, on terms to be settled between the two parties (Art. 2), and such officers and munitions for the creation of a uniform force for the establishment of order in the country and on its frontiers (Art 4). For financing these reforms, the British Government offered to provide or arrange a substantial loan (£ 2, 000, 000 at 7%, redeemable in 20 years) with adequate security in the revenues of the customs or other sources of income of the Persian Government (Art. 4), while by Articles 5 and 6, the British Government agreed to develop communications in Persia, and to set

up a joint Committee for revising the Persian Customs Tariffs—almost all these conditions reminding one Japan's Agreement with Manchukuo.

After the Armistice, a Persian delegation arrived in Paris Peace Conference and published in a brochure its claims, divided into three parts, viz, (i) political—i.e., abrogation of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, and the withdrawal of consular guards and the abolition of consular courts, which Sir Percy Sykes described as “unpractical visions, in view of the risks that are constantly run by European subjects living in Persia” (1*bid*, Vol. II. p. 518); (ii) Territorial Restorations—in the east she claimed Transcaspia, Merv, and Khiva; in the north-west, Caucasus up to Derbent, including Erivan, the chief centre of the Armenians, and Baku; in the west, Asia Minor to the Euphrates, including the entire province of Kurdistan, Dierbekr and Mosul; (iii) Reparations, for the losses to life and property, etc, due to the violation of her neutrality by Russia, Turkey and Great Britain. The delegation was not allowed to put its case even, before the Peace Conference, and Persia came back humiliated, and disgraced, though Great Britain expressed her desire to renounce her claims under the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. The new agreement of 1919 had produced a county-wide agitation against it, and evoked suspicion abroad. It was not put before the League of Nations, and America and France naturally feared that Persia was going to be turned into Great Britain's “private preserve.” When the Shah returned to Persia from his European tour, the unpopular cabinet of Vosugh fell and the new anti-British cabinet refused to ratify the Agreement.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviks had overthrown the Government of the Tsar in Russia, and their forces of national liberation had crossed the northern borders of Persia. Their troops numbering over 9000, well-equipped with field artillery and machine guns, defeated the Cossack Brigade in March 1921 and advanced as far as Resht, threatening Teheran. But, suddenly Bolshevik Russia changed her policy, withdrew all the Russian forces from Persia, opened negotiations with the Government of the Shah, denounced the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, returned all territories conquered by the Tsar, and gave up all claims to former Russian loans to Persia, or to extra-territoriality. The new treaty, establishing cordial relations between these two countries was signed at Moscow on Feb. 26, 1921. The exchange of ratifications took place at Teheran on Feb. 26, 1922, and the treaty was registered with the League of Nations on 7th. June,

1922. (Vide—M. Nakhai—*L'Evolution Politique de L'Iran*—pp. 110-112).

On 20th February, 1921, when there was confusion and chaos throughout the country, Reza Khan—a young officer of the Cossack Bigade, marched upon the Capital with an army of 3000 Persian Cossacks, seized the government, arrested the members of Siphadar's cabinet, set up Dr. Zia-ud-Din as the Prime Minister and himself became the Minister of War. On Feb. 26, 1921, the new Cabinet annulled the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, while a treaty with Russia, referred to above, was signed on that very date. Dr. Zia-ud-Din wanted financial assistance from the British to stabilize the budget, but as Reza Khan had already managed to get the Gendermerie transferred from the Department of the Minister of the Interior to the Department of the Minister of War, that is himself, he became too powerful for the Doctor who fled to Baghdad for British protection (Vide—*Contemporary Review*—Feb. 1926—p. 196). The next Prime Minister was Mushir-ud-Dowlah, who also resigned as his policy towards the newspapers was opposed by the Shah. His successor, Khavan-es-Saltaneh also came into conflict with the all-powerful Commander-in-Chief and had to resign. Therefore, Reza Khan himself became the Prime Minister in 1923. By this time, the Shah was also feeling the dominant personality of the Prime Minister too incommodious and left Persia, "apparently in fear of his life," for Europe, where he died in 1930.

In 1924, Persia was almost a Republic for the first time in her history, though not formally, with Reza Khan as its first President. All preparations were complete for declaring Persia a republic, following the example of Turkey. But the abolition of the Caliphate, the disestablishment of Moslem religion and the expropriation of religious endowments created an indignation in the minds of the devoted Shias and a revulsion of feelings against the Ottoman Republic. Reza Khan in sympathy with the feelings of the Ulemas, *Mujtahids* and influential merchants, adroitly changed his policy and declared a republican form of government to be against Shia religion. The Majlis, though full of democrats, had great confidence in him and gave him dictatorial powers in 1925. The absentee Shah was deposed on October 31, 1925, by the Majlis, "in the name of the national welfare." On that very date the National Consultative Assembly met and the presiding deputy read the following resolution: "In the name of the welfare

of the people, the National Consultative Assembly declares the abolition of the Kajar dynasty, and within the limits of the Constitution and other laws, entrusts the Provisional Government to the person of Reza Khan. The determining of the form of the Permanent Government shall be made by a Constituent Assembly which shall, for this purpose, amend articles 36, 37, 38 and 40 of the Supplement to the Constitutional Law." Of the 115 Deputies who were present, 80 voted in favour of, 5 against, this resolution and 30 remained neutral. On the 12th of December, 1925, two hundred and sixty deputies met in the National Constituent Assembly and passed the following resolution by 257 votes for and 3 neutral: "In the name of the people: The National Constituent Assembly herewith commits to Reza Shah, Sirdar-i-Sipah, and his descendants in the male issue, the constitutional monarchy of Iran, the oldest son of a Shah always to be heir-apparent. In case there is no male issue, the Shah himself shall choose his successor who in turn, shall be approved by Parliament. No member of the House of Kajars can ever be a pretender to the throne. The Crown Prince is not to assume the reign until he is twenty-one years old. In case the heir-apparent is a minor, Parliament is to elect a regent but this regent, too, must not be a member of the House of Kajars. The Shah, the heir-apparent, and the regent must take an oath on the constitution before Parliament." On December 15, the new Shah took the oath to defend the constitution and on December 16, he was publicly proclaimed. On Feb. 25, 1926, he appointed his eldest son, Shahpur Mohammed Riza, Valiahd (Crown Prince) of Persia. On 25th April, 1926, accompanied by the Crown Prince, and the Court Minister Teymourtash, Reza Shah entered the Gulistan Palace in Teheran, sat on the "Soldier's Throne" of Nadir, and taking the crown from Teymourtash, put it himself upon his head.

The Constitution of Persia.

The Constitutional Law of Persia is to be found in the following documents: (1) The Imperial Rescript of August 5, 1906, which Sir Percy Sykes describes as the Magna Charta of Persia (Vide-supra Vol. II. p. 403); (2) The Constitutional Law of December 30, 1906, containing 51 articles, passed in the reign of Muzaffar-ud-Din; (3) Supplementary Constitutional Law, containing 107 articles published 8th October, 1907, in the reign of Muhammad Ali, with modifications of articles 36-38 by the Constitutional Law of December 12, 1925; (4) The

Electoral Law of September 9, 1906, containing 33 articles, passed in the reign of Muzaffar-ud-Din ; (5) The New Electoral Law of July 1, 1909, containing a preamble, 63 articles, and a table of the Electoral Districts and their representations—passed in the reign of Muhmmad Ali. As regards the Judicial System of Persia, the followings laws are important : (1) The Principles of the Organisation of Justice” or the Law of 1912 based on articles 71-89 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law of 7th October, 1907. (ii) and the New Judicial Regulations of 1927.

Article 7 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law (henceforth to be referred to as S. C. L) declares that the “principles of the Constitution cannot be suspended either wholly or in part”, while Articles 51 of the Constitutional Law (henceforth to be referred to as C. L) makes it obligatory to the reigning king and his successors the “maintenance of these laws and principles.” The Constitution (S. C. L, Art. 26) definitely says that “the powers of the realm are all derived from the people ; and the fundamental Law regulates the employment of those powers”. In this respect the Persian Constitution is absolutely democratic and just the reverse of the Japanese Constitution in spirit. It definitely emphasises the importance of the separation of powers into the Legislative, the Executive and the Judiciary. (Art. 27 & 28, S. C. L). Art. 28 says : “The three powers above mentioned shall ever remain distinct and separate from one another”.

The King.

At the head of the Constitution stands the king to whom all the executive power belongs in theory. The laws and ordinances are carried out by the Ministers and state officials in the name of the king, but always “in such manner as the Law defines” (Art. 28, S. C. L.). The sovereignty is a trust confided by the people to the person of the king (Art. 35 S. C. L.). The Constitutional monarchy is vested by the people “through the intermediary of the Constituent Assembly in the person of His Majesty Reza Shah Pehlavi, and in his male heirs, generation after generation”. The right to inherit the throne belongs to the eldest son of the king, whose mother is of Persian origin. If there be no male issue of the king, the nomination of the Crown Prince shall take place on the proposal of the king and with the approbation of the National Assembly on condition that this prince-inheritor does

not belong to the Qajar family. But if a son be born to the king in the meantime, he will nevertheless, be the legitimate heir to the throne. In case of the decease of the sovereign, the Crown Prince is empowered to discharge all royal functions provided he has completed 20 years ; otherwise, a Regent, who must not belong to the Qajar family, shall be elected by the National Assembly. (Art. 36-38 S. C. L.). No king can ascend the throne if he has not taken a prescribed oath before the National Assembly, swearing upon the Koran his determination to preserve the independence of the country, to follow the Constitution, to defend the religion and to promote the welfare of the people. The Regent is also bound to take the same oath. The person of the king is inviolable ; the Ministers of State are responsible to both Chambers in all matters. The Persian king can, therefore do no wrong. The decrees and rescripts of the king relating to state affairs will have legal force "only when they are countersigned by the responsible Minister, who is also responsible for the authenticity of such decree or rescript" (Art. 45). The king appoints or dismisses the Ministers, confers titles and honours to the people, is the head of the Army, Navy and Air forces, declares war, concludes peace, makes treaties, can convoke an extraordinary session the National Assembly and the Senate. But the expenses and disbursements of the Court are determined by law and the Royal prerogatives and powers are only those which are expressly mentioned in the S. C. Law. (Art. 46-57 S. C. L.).

The Cabinet.

Ministers of the king are appointed and dismissed by the Royal Decree of the king (Art. 45, S. C. L.). Nobody can be a Minister who is not a Musalman by religion, a Persian by birth, or a Persian subject or who is related to the king by blood. Ministers are responsible to both Houses, both individually "for the affairs specially appertaining to their own Ministry, also collectively responsible to the two Chambers for one another's actions in affairs of a more general character" (Art. 61, S. C. L.). Art 63 says that "the honorary title of a Minister is entirely abolished", and Art. 65 says that "The National Consultative Assembly or the Senate can call Ministers to account or bring them to trial". By Art. 67, when a Minister or the entire Cabinet is censured by a vote of no-confidence passed either by the Assembly or the Senate, the Minister or the Cabinet "shall resign his or their ministerial functions." Ministers can be prosecuted by the Assembly or the

Senate for their delinquencies before the Court of Cassation, in all matters affecting the state, though the determination of such delinquencies will be regulated by a special law. (Arts. 69 & 70 S. C. L.). The Ministers have the right to attend and participate in the proceedings of the Assembly (Art. 31, S. C. L.)

For looking into the affairs of the king, there is a Ministry of the Court; the Minister standing equally in rank with the Cabinet Ministers, enjoys the same privileges, but he cannot participate in the meetings of the Council of Ministers, nor has any responsibility before the House. In 1935, the Cabinet was composed of 8 Ministers and three Under-Secretaries (for Commerce, Agriculture and Industries) who were directly under the direction of the Prime Minister. But in November, 1938, the posts of the Under-Secretaries were abolished and now the Cabinet consists of the following twelve Ministers: Prime Minister, Ministers of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Roads and Communications, War, Justice, Education, Posts and Telegraphs, Commerce, Industry and Mines, and the Director-General of Agriculture. The Prime Minister is chosen by the Shah, while the other Ministers are chosen by the Prime Minister. Each of these Departments is excellently organised. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has got five subdivisions: (1) Cabinet and Cipher division; (ii) Personal, Inspection and Administrative Tribunal, (iii) Passports, Nationality and Registration; (iv) Economics; (v) Archives, Literary and confidential files. Besides these, there are four political departments as follows: First Political Department, in charge of affairs relating to Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, Egypt and Hedaj—all muslim states; Second Political Dept. in charge of affairs relating to Soviet Russia, Poland, Baltic States and the Balkan; Third Political Dept. to deal with European and Asiatic States, America and other parts of the World; Fourth Political Dept. dealing with Treaties, the League of Nations and the study of International Laws. There are two other departments attached to the Foreign Minister, viz, (1) the Department of Protocol and Ceremony, (2) and the Department of Accounts.

The Ministry of the Interior has a Tourist and Propaganda Department [see—Guide Book to Iran, pp. 51-52—by G. H. Ebtehaj (1935)].

The Ministry of Finance is now functioning very smoothly. It has become very much improved by the labours of Dr. Millsbaugh—the American—who was appointed in 1921, and whose service was

dispensed with in 1927 on account of a vital difference of opinion between Dr. Millspaugh and the Persian Cabinet on a question of responsibility. The Revenue of Iran has increased from 1,250,002,000 rials in 1937 to 1,528,832,000 rials in 1938, while the expenditure has also increased from 1,248,037,000 rials in 1937 to 1,527,018,000 rials in 1938. (80 rials = £ 1; 100 rials = 1 pehlavi gold coin), The gold standard adopted by Iran in 1931, was suspended by a law of March 31, 1932. Foreign exchange is controlled and regulated by the State ; while the Foreign debt of Iran outstanding on April 8, 1938, was only £991, 060.

The Ministry of Communications must be congratulated on its completion of the great Trans-Iranian Railway which runs for 808 miles from Bandar Shah on the Caspian Sea to Bandar Shahpur on the Persian Gulf, after ten years of continuous labour and a total cost of £28,500,000. The money was entirely raised from "internal resources, largely a monopoly tax on tea and sugar ; it was thus a symbol of Persian independence" (vide—The Annual Register, 1938—p.281).

The Ministry of War has brought the Army to the highest pitch of efficiency, while the total peace-time strength amounts to over 40,000. Besides, Iran possesses a small fleet in the Persian gulf and not a negligible air force. The Majlis has passed the compulsory Military Service Law in 1927. The service beings at 21 and lasts for 2 years, but graduates of high schools and universities serve only 18 and 12 months respectively. Article 106 of S. C. L. requires the military expenditure every year to be approved by the National Assembly, while Art 107 says that no foreign troops may be employed in the service of the state except in accordance with the Law. The military cannot be deprived of their rights, ranks or functions except in accordance with Law.

The Ministry of Education has got a very difficult task in educating the public, in as much as Persia, some decades ago, was full of religious prejudices and fanaticism. The number of schools has increased from 612 in 1921 to 4939 in 1937, while the number of pupils has increased from 55,000 in 1921 to 273, 680 in 1937. The courses include teachings in the sciences, history, art, literature, medicine, religion and law. There are some military colleges staffed with foreign experts.

The Legislature.

At present the Persian Legislature is unicameral, but article 43 (C. L.) definitely says that "there shall be constituted another

Assembly, entitled the Senate, consisting of sixty members, the sessions of which, after its constitution, shall be complementary to the sessions of the National Consultative Assembly." We shall discuss here the constitution and powers of both these Houses as prescribed by the Constitutional Laws.

The Upper House or the Senate shall consist of 60 members, 30 of whom shall be nominated by the King, 15 elected by the people of Teheran and 15 by those of the provinces. The members shall be chosen from amongst the learned, well-informed and respected persons of Persia. The regulations of the Senate must be approved by the Assembly (i.e., Lower House). So long as the Senate has not been convoked a bill shall receive the Royal Assent and become an Act on being approved by the Assembly. The two Houses have almost equal power, excepting in the money bills, which belong exclusively to the Assembly. In other bills, consent of both Houses is necessary. When the Assembly is not in session, the deliberations of the Senate are ineffective. In case of disagreement between the two Houses, the disputed proposal shall be reconsidered by a new Assembly composed of members of the Senate and members of the Assembly elected in equal moieties by members of the two Assemblies. The decision of the new Assembly is only recommendatory, and in case it is not accepted, and the King supports the view of the Lower House, the latter will be effective. But if the King also does not support it, and the Senate, by a majority of two-third, wants with the approval of the Cabinet, the dissolution of the Lower House, the latter will be dissolved by an Imperial Command and new elections shall take place within one month in Teheran, and three months in the provinces. After the arrival of all the members, the disputed proposal, if approved by the new Lower House, shall receive the Royal assent and become Law. (Arts. 43-49, C. L. and Art. 27, S. C. L.)

The Assembly—The Lower House represents the whole people of Persia. The number of deputies has been fixed at 136 by a law of October 22, 1911 but Art 4 of C. L. says that in case of necessity the number may be raised to 200. The tenure of the House is for 2 whole years calculated from the day when all the representatives from the provinces shall have arrived in Teheran. Members must be between 30 and 70 years of age and have the right of re-election. By Art 6, the members of Teheran are empowered to constitute a valid Assembly during the period preceding the arrival of the pro-

vincial delegates. At least two-thirds of the members of the Assembly must be present for opening debates and three-fourths when the vote is taken. A majority is obtained "only when more than half of those present in the Assembly record their votes". The Assembly shall make its own internal rules and regulations, and even the periods of session and recess. On the opening of the Assembly, an Address shall be presented to the King, to which a reply shall be given by His Majesty. Members must take an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign and swear on the Koran to preserve the law of the realm and promote the welfare of Persia. The deliberations of the Assembly shall be open and public and the publications of its proceedings are absolutely free. (Arts. 1-15, C. L.). The Assembly has the right to initiate all legislations that it deems necessary and to approve or withhold all measures that are submitted before it by the Ministers. It has all power to create, modify, complete or abrogate any law, subject to the approval of the Senate and the Royal assent. Over financial matters, the budget, fiscal arrangements, "the acceptance or rejection of all incidental and subordinate expenditure", etc., the Assembly has the exclusive and decisive power. Without its approval no portion of national resources can be held or transferred (Art. 22, C. L.), no concession to any public Company can be given, no state loans can be contracted (Arts. 24, 25, C. L.). As regards administrative powers the Assembly has the right to demand explanations on any matter from the responsible Minister, which should not be withheld without plausible reason, or for a long time. (Art, 42, C. L.) Treaties and covenants shall be subject to the approval of the Assembly. Should a minister fail to give a satisfactory account of any affair, the Assembly may demand his dismissal from the Royal Presence and if his treason be established in the Court of Cassation, he shall not be employed in the service of the State (Art. 29, C. L.). The Assembly can make direct representations to the King by means of a Committee consisting of the President and six of its Members. When a Member of the Assembly proposes a measure, and at least fifteen members approve its discussion, the President of the Assembly may send the measure to one of the Committees of the House for preliminary investigation, on whose report a discussion shall take place in the Assembly and the responsible Minister must take note of it. Private individuals have the right to submit any criticisms or complaints to the Petition Department of the Archives of the Assembly, and the Ministry or the

Assembly shall take note of it, if the matter concerns them. The President of the Assembly, either personally or on the demand of ten Members of the Assembly, can hold a secret conference in which only the selected members of the House and any Minister may be present. The deliberation of such conference will not be disclosed to the public without the consent of the Minister, or the President. The Assembly has the right to reject any measure of the Ministry, but such rejection must be signified by some outward sign (Arts. 32-42, C. L.). The Members of the Assembly can not be molested by any body on any pretext or excuse whatsoever. Even in cases of crime or misdemeanour and the member being arrested *flagrante delicto* no punishment can be inflicted upon him without the cognizance of the Assembly (Art. 12, C. L.). But one person can not at one and the same time be member of the two Houses, and a member ceases to be a member when he accepts any lucrative post under the government.

For facility of work and sound criticism of measures, the members of the Assembly elect eight Parliamentary Committees of which the Legislative, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Economics are most important. All legislative projects whether ordinary or urgent are introduced over the signature of the Prime Minister and the Minister concerned, and, after reference to the appropriate Committee for consideration and amendment, are presented to the Majlis for final discussion and sanction. Art. 101 of S. C. L. authorises the establishment of a Financial Commission whose members shall be appointed by the Assembly. The Commission is empowered to inspect and analyse accounts, liquidate the accounts of all debtors and creditors of the Treasury and to determine the legality of all expenditures, so that "no item of expenditure fixed in the Budget exceeds the amount specified or is changed or altered and that each item is expended in the proper manner"; and to submit to the Assembly a complete statement of the accounts of the kingdom, accompanied by its own observations.

The Judiciary

Until the first decade of the 20th century, there was in Persia no division between judicial and executive functions. But as a protest against the encroachments of the muftis on temporal affairs and also for better government of the people, the common law (*qauun-i-urf*) of Persia gradually grew up side by side with the religious law

(*qunun-i-shari*). To the latter was left "public worship, the law of marriage, family and inheritance, vows, in part also pious foundations (wakf), all fields which in the popular mind are more or less closely connected with religion" (*Encyclopædia of Islam*—Joseph Schacht). Commercial Law, Constitutional and Criminal Law, law relating to war and taxation, etc., came within temporal jurisdiction and were moulded in accordance with local customs, needs of the situation, equity and prescriptions. But in modern Persia positive law is very quickly superseding the religious and customary laws, the Sharia Courts being virtually restricted to matrimonial cases and to the functions of the Court of Wards. The Judges of the Sharia Court are at present nominated by the Minister of Justice, and as Sir A. T. Wilson says, "Religious Courts act as experts expressing views to other ordinary Civil Courts, on whom devolved the duty of giving judgment" (*Persia*—p. 227).

The Judicial system of Iran is based on the Law of 1912, entitled "The Principles of the Organisation of Justice", formed essentially on the French model and on the foundations of Articles 71-89 of the S.C.L. of 1907. By this law, the Courts of Iran are classified into two classes—general and special, the latter dealing with special questions, commercial, military, religious, etc. The general Courts of the lowest degree are the district courts presided over by Justices of the Peace and dealing with claims up to 400 tomans. The next higher courts are those of the First Instance, which are also, since 1928, presided over by a single judge, established mostly in towns and having jurisdiction over several district courts. Above these stand courts of Appeal in Teheran, Tabriz, Shiraz, Kermanshah, Ispahan, Meshed, Kerman and Ahwaz. These courts are composed of three or four judges. The highest court of Iran is the Court of Cassation (Art. 75, S.C.L.) which "shall not deal with any case of first instance, except in cases in which Ministers are concerned". A special section of the Court of Cassation hears complaints against judges. Wilson says that "the districts having courts of First Instance or Courts of Appeal had also a Parquet presided over by the Attorney-General, under whom came his assistant and investigators" (Ibid. p. 223). Besides these courts, there is a system of circuit courts. In Persian jurisprudence, there is a very unhappy dualism, in as much as Art.2. and 71 of the S. C. Law definitely declare that "at no time must any legal enactment of the sacred Assembly be at variance with the sacred

principles of Islam", and a committee of five *ulemas* can "reject and repudiate wholly or in part, any such proposal which is at variance with the Sacred Laws of Islam, so that it shall not obtain the title of legality." In Ecclesiastical matters, the decision of the *Mujtahids* is also declared to be final. But in actuality, though with doubtful legal validity, modern Persian legislations are directly encroaching upon the domain of the *Mujtahids*. The Corpus of Persian legislation chiefly consists of the following: The Penal Code, enforced in 1925, based on the French Law with Islamic limitations; the Code of Criminal Procedure, based on the Russian Code of 1910; the Civil Code, containing 955 articles, based on Islamic principles but chiefly influenced by French and Egyptian legislations; the Code of Civil Procedure (1912) based on the Russian Code of 1910; Commercial Code, enforced in 1925, based on French principles.

Foreigners in Persia used to enjoy rights of extra-territoriality also known as capitulations, since the treaty of Turkomanchi in 1827. But in May, 1928, these special rights came to an end, unconditionally with respect to Russia and France, but subject to the following conditions, with reference to Great Britain: that foreigners in no case should be tried by Persian religious courts; that international law should form the basis of relations of Persia with Great Britain; that in civil or criminal cases, in which a foreigner is involved, only written evidence should be admitted; that no foreigner may be arrested or imprisoned without a warrant except in most serious cases; that they should be given bail and should be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours, and that no unfair discrimination should be made against foreigners in the matter of taxation (Vide-Sir A. T. Wilson—*Persia*—pp. 246-51. A note from the Persian Government to Sir R. Clive, dated May, 10, 1928).

The Courts of Iran are supervised by the Ministry of Justice whose administrative side consists of an Inspection Department, a Translation Dept. (translating foreign codes into Persian and *vice versa*) and a Standing Commission entrusted with the responsibility for codification. The number of Courts has been considerably increased and where Courts of First Instance do not exist, cases up to 1,000 tomans can be now taken up by the District Courts. The salaries of Judges have been increased and judicial impartiality and independence assured.

The Constitution, following the Fundamental Rights of the people

in other states, guarantees "equality of rights before the Law" to the people of Iran. Their lives, property, homes and honour are protected from every kind of interference (Arts. 8 & 9 S.C.L.). No one can be arrested summarily, except in cases of crime or misdemeanour, without a written authority of the President of the Tribunal of Justice. No one can be punished except in accordance with law. Freedom of residence, security of property, "acquisition and study of all sciences, arts and crafts, except in so far as is forbidden by ecclesiastical law," promotion of education at the cost of the Government, freedom of publications, excepting of heretical books and anti-Islamic matters, freedom of societies and associations (anjumans and ijtimas), freedom of postal correspondence, and secrecy of telegraphic correspondence—are all guaranteed (Arts. 10-23, S.C.L.). Foreign subjects may become naturalized in accordance with law, while Government Officials excepting the Ministers, can be proceeded against without special authorisation. In the matter of taxes no distinction shall be made amongst the individuals who compose the nation, and no money can be realised from the people except in accordance with laws duly passed by the Parliament (Arts. 24, 25, 97, 98, S.C.L.)

The rigour of the ecclesiastical law of Iran had kept the wings of individualism unduly clipped. But with Reza Shah's rise to power the sphere of individual liberty has not only widened, but has also become veritably real. In 1927 the compulsory Military service Law was passed which undoubtedly strengthened the nation and secured individual liberty. By a law of September, 14, 1931, the right to divorce has been permitted to women. As Filmer correctly points out, "By fixing the husbands' responsibility towards his wife by providing for the custody of minor children, by establishing broader safeguards for her property rights, the law went far in affording a Moslem woman a measure of rights which for centuries had been denied her" (*The Pageant of Persia*, (1937) p. 371). This law also diminished the authority of religious courts and required that all marriage contracts and acts of divorce be registered with a Civil official. The marriage law of 1935, again, fixed the one minimum legal age for women at fifteen and for men at eighteen in contravention of the Koranic prescription which fixed them at nine and fifteen, respectively. Co-education has been introduced in several schools and colleges, notably the Medical and Legal institutions. In June 28 1935, at a tea-party, the cabinet Ministers assembled together with

their wives. The wife and the daughter of the Shah, come out in the public without veil, while thousands of women frequent the cinemas, restaurants, etc. In August 1935, all high sounding titles were abolished ; those which were retained being "His Imperial Majesty" for the Shah; "Excellency" for high officials; "aga" or 'mister' for men and "khanom" or madam for women. Religious toleration has reached such a stage in Iran, that the laws of December 28, 1935, prescribing a uniform dress for all male Iranians (European coat, vest and trousers) and of 1935, repealing the Pehlavi hat by the European headgear, passed unopposed, while the Babists and the Bahaists are rapidly increasing their numbers.

Several decades ago Lord Curzon could write that "Turkistan, Afghanistan, Transcaspia, Persia, to me, they are the pieces of a chess-board upon which is being played out a game for the dominion of the world"; and indeed, in the year 1919, that dream was almost realised. But then, old Persia reasserted herself once again; and the genius of Reza Khan and the conjuncture of strange Anglo-Russian conflict have again brought Persia to the forefront of international politics. The government is a peculiar national socialism, with state monopoly of imports, exports, foreign exchange and state-controlled private companies. It is also a monarchy, where the Shah is entrusted with comprehensive power, "that of an army leader, of a statesman and of a diplomat"; where the majority of 136 deputies is made up of members of the "Targhi", a government party"; where as Mahammed Essad Bey points out, the Assembly is "almost exclusively composed of representatives of the ruling classes and the leading families, with the broad mass of the people taking practically no active part in political life "(Ibid.p. 216); where provincial governors are invariably still now high army officers; and where "like parliament the Press takes its inspiration from the government and rarely attacks an administration on any ground, never on grounds of political affiliation" (*Political Hand Book of the World*, 1939, p. 146). But Iran is also a country where constitutional government originated for the first time in Asia, where democracy is not only a name but a reality; where the theory of separation of powers, individual and collective responsibility of the Ministers, constitutional monarchy and the safeguarding of the fundamental rights of man—are all co-operating towards the evolution of a state that might well become the political ideal of the East.

India's Contact with Japan.

By A. K. Mukerji.

Editor : Eastern Economist.

Indo-Japanese Cultural Link.

Nearly fourteen hundred years have elapsed since Buddhist Scriptures were first introduced into Japan. We find to-day that the Japanese are ever eager to acknowledge their great cultural debt to India. Such Indian ideas as *Nirvana*, *Retribution*, *Metempsychosis* and *Benevolence*, which have welded with the native concepts, have had great influence on Japanese thought, customs and manners.

In addition to *Buddhas* and *Bodhisattvas*, a multitude of images may be found in the temples of the older Japanese sects, most of which are either the guardians of the Buddhist faith or disciples or spiritual beings with which the Mantrayana or Shingon sects peopled the spheres. With very few exceptions, all these deities and personages are of Indian origin, though Japanese attributes and legends have collected round some of them.

Of guardian deities, the principals are the two Kings and the Four Deva Kings. The former are represented by two gigantic figures of ferocious aspect, which are to be found at the outer gate of almost every temple in Japan. The four kings are generally placed in the inner courts of temples and are figures holding weapons in their hands and trampling demons underfoot.

As a counterpoise to these well-meaning but alarming guardians of the faith Japanese temples often contain images of human saints or *Rakan* (arhats) much after the style of the early Indian temples.

In fact, one of the most remarkable aspects of Japanese Buddhism is that Japan has preserved many Indian figures which are either lost or unknown in China, through which the religion was introduced into this country. This is illustrated by Kishi-Mojin and also by several Indian deities of whom we hear nothing or very little in Pali literature but who are still worshipped in Japan.

Another Indian deity who has several temples in Japan is Bente, that is *Sarasvati*, the goddess of eloquence and riches, who is also

connected with islands as is testified by her shrines at the Pond at Ueno, Tokyo, and also at Enoshima near Yokohama.

Even the Seven Gods of Luck, though hardly to be connected with the serious Buddhism, show the Indian origin or inspiration. Daikoku is apparently *Mahakala* and *Hotei* is a strange transformation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya generally represented as an enormously fat and hilarious cleric.

Besides this great influence on the religious and philosophical life of the Japanese, Indian culture affected considerably the themes and the diction of her literary works produced between 800 and 1100 A. D. and even in later times, till nearly the end of the nineteenth century.

Indian influence has also affected Japanese social institutions, educational system and even social pastimes. The Terakoya or private school, for example, had mostly Zen priests for masters, and these schools, which existed in Japan until the modern educational system was established, appear to be the copy of a similar institution in the ancient India. The "Goningumi" or "five-men groups", the smallest units in local self-government system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were organised on the model of the ancient Indian *Panchayat*. The family system, responsible for the cohesive quality of the Japanese people, had some connection with the ancient India, and Japanese still chant Buddhist scriptures at memorial services as requiems for the departed. The most popular indoor games in Japan are perhaps "Go" and "Shogi", both of which had their origins far in the olden India. Among those Indian influences, it is surprising fact that many Japanese words of Indian origin are still in use of the present Japan.

It is natural then the Japanese, whose code of *Bushido* does not permit them to forget a debt of gratitude, should feel a sincere attachment for their first cultural mother, India. With the years Japan has modernized herself, basing her technical civilization on the patterns of the West, but her cultural and philosophical attitudes have changed little, remaining true to the spiritual culture which she adopted and evolved for herself.

That India has recognized the harmonious manner in which Japan has assimilated the Western techniques without impairing her native culture and ideals can be observed in the increasing number of Indian students enrolling at Japanese Universities. These students, steeped in the age-old culture of their mother country are finding in Japanese institutions of learning some return for the ancient lore which their

forefathers introduced into Japan. Japan welcomes these sons of India and earnestly hopes that they will bind even further the cultural ties which have always existed between the two countries.

Muslim traders from India have a place of worship of their own in Kobe. The credit for originating the idea of the mosque must go to Mr. M. A. K. Bochia, to whose courageous and optimistic outlook the Muslim Mosque in Kobe must ever bear testimony. More than half the financial burden of the undertaking fell on Mr. Ferozzuddin of Calcutta. But for his generosity the Muslim community here would not have been able to have the artistic and magnificent building, which may now be said to be adorning the city of Kobe.

Maulvi Aftabuddin Ahmed, Imam of the Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England spoke in opening the Kobe Mosque: "Praise be to God, the Originator, the Maintained and the Law-Giver of the whole universe; He who never sleeps or slumbers; He who never tries or weakens; He who is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth: He who is the First and the Last, the Apparent and Hidden; Whose benevolence is all embracing and who has prescribed Mercy for Himself; Who has sent us His Holy Prophet Muhammad (May the Peace and blessing of Allah be upon his Soul)—to teach us to the Path of Allah to whom belongs all that is in the Heavens and the Earth.....

In opening this mosque we are opening a House in which God's Light will shine for ever in the hearts of man whom neither trade nor gain keeps back from participating in the Light of God.....

"The Japanese themselves are great merchants and manufacturers. Who knows but that God may intend them to spread His own Light. Whatever His will may be it is our duty to kindle the torch of Islam in this land, and to keep it alive for ever. The Light of God is shining now in this House of God. Let us thank God and ask for His blessings on His holy Prophet Muhammad and us all. Amen"!

The mosque in Tokyo celebrated its completion in the anniversary of the Founder's birth in May, 1938. Its construction was made possible chiefly through the generosity of Japanese sympathizers for the cause of Islam.

Commercial Link Between India and Japan

Mr. J. N. Tata and his son, Mr. R. D. Tata, of India, went to Japan in 1889—1890 in connection with the spinning industry, which

had been started in Japan quite a long time before. Japan imported a considerable quantity of yarn from India, for she could not manufacture all the yarn she needed. It was no time for Japan to depend upon the hand-spinning of the old folk or children. Hand-spinning was quite out of date. So machine spinning was started in Japan. The first spinning mill was built in Sangenya of Osaka and soon several other companies were organised at different places in the country, all on a larger scale than the first. The spinning industry of Japan may be said to have originated at Sangenya and at Miye of Ise Province. The operation of these spinning companies naturally made it necessary to import raw cotton. Japan had some cotton produced in the country, such as was called Moka Cotton. But it was in such an insignificantly small quantity that Chinese cotton was purchased. It was of so inferior quality, however, that Japan's eyes then turned to India, the land of raw cotton and spinning in the Orient. An investigation of India and her spinning was now felt necessary, when Mr J. N. Tata and his son went over to Japan and they were approached for raw cotton.

Another difficulty presented itself now. Cotton had to be brought over by steamer. The Oriental lines were then operated by three shipping companies ; namely, the P. & O., and an Italian and an Austrian line, the first mentioned company almost monopolizing the services to Japan. Freight was quoted at Rs. 17 or more per ton of cotton to Japan. This was unbearably high, but they would not take less. Just at this juncture, Mr. J. N. Tata came over on a visit to Japan, with the object of opening a new shipping service between India and Japan. He offered to share fifty fifty in the business. The P. & O. was so overbearing that Mr. Tata could not operate a service by himself. An arrangement was made with him by Mr. Masazumi Morioka, then president of the N. Y. K., Mr. (later Viscount) Eiichi Shibusawa, Mr. (later Baron) Rempei Kondo, Mr. Masayoshi Kato, Mr. Masabumi Asada and some other leading businessmen and the Japanese spinners guaranteed an annual shipment of 50,000 bales. Naturally, the P. & O. offered keen competition by absurdly reducing their freight from 17 to 1½, until a subsidy was granted by the Japanese Government in aid of the competitive service of the N. Y. K. The P. & O. saw the inadvisability of maintaining such competition ; it came to an end and the freight was carried at a reasonable rate. The joint operation between N. Y. K. and Mr. Tata came an end three

years after, and the service fell into the sole hands of the former. No competition is possible in these days in this service, but such was the state of things forty years ago, and co-operation between India and Japan was in this way crowned with success.

While the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was in force, Japan was bound in her action by special political relations towards India, but upon its revocation on the initiative of Great Britain after the World War was over, these special relations naturally died of themselves, and Japan entered into a new significant relation, economic and financial, with continental India, as much as with China, her big market in the East, which has been internally disturbed with political agitation, to the great impediment of our friendship and co-operation with that republic. So long as one country retains a trade or economic relation with another, mutual progress, as well as friendly relations, is a matter of first consequence, and in such a country as Japan, which has a limited market at home for her commodities, it is vitally important to extend her market abroad, as much as possible, in order that loss caused by dullness or crisis in one part of the market may be made up for by gain in another. Needless to say, such extension of the market depends upon its extent, prospect and other circumstances. India, for instance, presents several economic questions of an international nature, such as that of the cotton industry. The Indian market has been for many years under the control of British commodities, so that Japanese goods will find it hard to cultivate a new field in India. With a population of over 350 millions, however, she fell as a market for Japanese commodities only behind the U. S. A., and China till a few years ago, but she has recently made such a remarkable progress that she is now surpassed only by U. S. A. so far her foreign trade is concerned. What then is the condition of Japan's trade with India to which is mainly attributed the first development of her marine transportation? What is Japan's situation in Indian trade in comparison with her trade with America and China.

In 1877 Japan's trade with India was no more than 1% of her total foreign trade, but it showed such a prodigious stride that in 1917 it recorded no less than 12%. America showed an increase from 13% in 1877 to 31% in 1917, which gives her the first position in Japan's foreign trade. China comes next with a fall in percentage from 21% in 1877 to 17% in 1917, showing comparatively slow progress. India held the third position, next to the U. S. A. and China but her

position in Japan's foreign trade lies not so much in her position as the third largest importer of Japanese commodities as in the rapid progress she made to put herself equal in percentage with China, till in 1932 India was ahead of China, becoming the second largest customer of Japan, which position India held down to 1937.

Japan's trade with India, which made a phenomenal progress recording an increase in quantity of no less than 1457 times as much as in value in 1937 as in 1877 shows an increase in percentage from 1% in 1877 to 11% in 1936 of Japan's total export trade, and she falls only behind the U. S. A., while Japan's imports increased from 191 thousands in 1877 to 449,486 thousands in 1937, or by 3353 times. While Japan has excess imports in her trade with U. S. A. and China, the case is reversed in her trade with India, for Japan imported from India more than she exported to India for a long time and her import excess from 1900 to 1937 was no less prodigious than 4 billion yen, though in 1932 and 1933 Japan exported a little more to India than she imported from India for the first time in her Indian trade, only to see an excess import of Y30,008, 826 in 1935, Y112, 901, 553 in 1936 and Y150, 119,733 in 1937.

A short history of Indo-Japanese relationship to-day

In September, 1902, over a score of the Japanese who had been to India, or who took special interest in India, with a few Indian residents in Japan, met together in Tokyo and as a result of this meeting a club called the Japan-India Club was organised, with the chief object of promoting friendship between India and Japan. This club was the beginning of the Indo-Japanese Association.

With a view to coping with the national development of the country and also to meeting the increasing demand for business extension, the Japan-India Club was reorganized under the title of the Indo-Japanese Association. The late Viscount Gomi Nagaoka was the first President, with Sir Claude MacDonald, British Ambassador to Japan, as adviser. The inauguration of the Association took place at the Peer's Club, Tokyo, December, 1903.

But the rupture of diplomatic relations between Japan and Russia in 1904 forced the Association reluctantly to suspend operations. A foreign newspaper ascribed a political significance to the existence of the Indo-Japanese Association and it seemed advisable to limit its activities to the mutual benefit of its members.

In 1906, the Association resumed its active work upon the restoration of peace between Japan and Russia. In June, the same year, President Viscount Nagaoka died and was succeeded by Count (Later) Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, Sir Claude MacDonald remaining as Adviser. The Association gradually increased its activities.

The economic relations of the world showing remarkable development, the Association extended its outlook in 1914 to include within the scope of its work the Dutch Indies, Siam, French Indo-China, the Philippine Islands and the South Seas.

On February 10th, 1916, the amalgamation of the Dutch Japanese and Indo-Japanese Association was effected. The former had been organised in 1912 for the betterment and promotion of friendly relations between Japan and Netherlands and her possessions, and for the development of Japan's trade with South Seas. The union of the two Associations augmented the membership of the Indo-Japanese Association, which now found itself on a firmer basis than ever.

President Marquis Okuma died in January, 1922, and Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, Vice-president, and Marquis Nobutsune Okuma, a Councillor of the Association and heir to the much-lamented Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, were elected President and Vice-President, respectively. With the new staff, the Association was now ready for the new action when in September 1923, the great earthquake visited Tokyo and its vicinity reducing to ashes the library, samples, reference books, and reports of investigations, which were the results of the most elaborate efforts of many years on the part of the Association.

Through the courtesy of one of our members, the Association established a temporary office at the Community Center of Tokyo and the work of reconstruction was at once started. A new Executive Committee was organised in October 1924, by some of the prominent leaders in business and learning, who accepted directorships at the request of Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, President and offered their assistance and co-operation. At the general meeting held in November, the same year, a plan was decided upon for the extension of our work.

We were taking effort for our own resuscitation, we extended every help to the Indian refugees of the great earthquake. The disaster killed several residents but some of those who escaped went to Kobe and others returned to India. The Association provided means for the relief of those who remained in Japan. The Association

helped many an Indian student in the pursuit of his study in Japan, and several Indians received technical training in industry by being admitted into factories through the Association, though to our great regret we find it impossible nowadays to render assistance in this line on account of keen competition. Indian tourists are no less welcome. When, for instance, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore came to Japan on a visit, the Association made arrangement for his visits, receptions and lectures.

In 1926 we established the Indo-Japanese Commercial Museum at Calcutta as intermediary in our trade with India. The museum had over four hundred varieties of Japanese samples exhibited and did pretty good work helping business transaction and settling claims between Japanese and Indian traders, as the Association acted as an instrument of introducing commodities between India and Japan. But the Museum was abolished in 1937 after being operated over 11 years.

Upon the strength of the unanimous approval given at the general meeting held in 1924, preparations went steadily on for the restoration and development of the Association. Some new members were added to the Executive Committee and another committee was appointed for the extension of work. A plan was made for the raising a fund and the subscriptions began in August 1925, with a comparatively satisfactory result inspite of the depressed condition of business. We were pretty well prepared for new activities when great loss befell the Association in the sad demise of Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, President, which took place on the Nov. 11, 1931. It was such a great blow to the Association that some of our plans for new activities had to be put off. Marquis Nobutsune Okuma was elected President in the place of the lamented Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa. Mr. Kenji Kodama being elected Vice-President.

Japan supplies India with her products cheap, much cheaper than any other foreigner supplies. She always keeps fair play in her trade and never sells any of her commodities by dumping, of which she is falsely accused, for her national efficiency and systematic and disciplined labour account for extraordinary inroad into foreign markets. But India raised the tariff walls higher and higher against the importation of Japanese goods under the pretext of protecting her domestic industry. When the tariff question came up in 1927, the Association sent long cablegrams, in the name of Viscount Eiichi

Shibusawa, President and Marquis Nobutsune Okuma, Vice-President of the Association, to the Indian Government, the leading newspaper offices, influential leaders of India, including the Speaker and President of the Legislative Assembly and party leaders, strongly protesting against the discrimination attempted at Japanese exports. The Association kept close watch over the development of the problem, and every time when any sign of discrimination against Japanese goods was noticed, the Association made a strong protest. In 1933, the Indo-Japanese Commercial Treaty was abrogated by the Indian Government and subsequently a discriminatory tariff was declared. The result was that the Indo-Japanese Commercial Conference was held at Simla and later at Delhi, India and the Association sent Mr. Iwao Nishi, President of the Indo-Japanese Commercial Museum, so that he might co-operate with the Japanese delegation. Thanks to the conciliatory attitude on the part of the delegates of both countries, the Conference arrived at a peaceful conclusion and the two countries found themselves in amicable relations of commerce.

The second Indo-Japanese Conference was held at New Delhi in July, 1937, to revise the Agreements arrived at between India and Japan at the first Conference. It lasted till Mar. 12 when a new agreement was arrived at between the delegates of both countries. Mr. Nishi, President of the Commercial Museum, Calcutta, attended the Conference as adviser. Simultaneously with the second Indo-Japanese Commercial Conference, another Conference was going on between the delegates of Japan and Burma, which was separated from India in April, 1937, and the agreement was provisionally signed between the two delegations at New Delhi on Mar. 1, 1937.

In 1930, when a great earth-quake visited Burma, the Association raised a relief fund for the benefit of the earthquake refugees. In January 1934, another great earthquake took place in the north-eastern part of India. It was much severer than that of 1930, killing several thousands of people and the Association again collected some money in aid of the sufferers, Marquis Okuma, our President, appealed to the public by broadcasting a lecture on the miseries of the earthquake, the collection amounting in both cases to tens thousands Yen.

As is stipulated in the Constitution, the Association aims at the promotion of friendly relations between Japan and British India and

other southern countries of Asia, and for the realization of this object we have a new plan of activities as outlined below :—

Collection of materials for investigation :—The Association will send investigators to India and other southern countries of Asia with the special object of thoroughly studying and investigating conditions in these countries. The results of their investigations will be published from time to time, in the journal for distribution among our members.

Exchange of results and materials of investigations :—The Association will keep a close connection with the Governments, banks, commercial firms and other public institutions in Japan, India and other southern countries of Asia for the purpose of exchanging with them the results of its investigations for the reports and other issues of their researches for mutual information and reference.

Library :—Our library, which contained quite a large number of books, was totally destroyed by the earthquake, 1923, and we are preparing for a new library, which will be provided with principal books and leading newspapers and magazines published in India and other southern countries of Asia. They will be classified with catalogues and indices for the convenience of investigators.

Social Room :—We shall have a social-room to be used free of charge of our members who may desire to exchange information on matters relating to India and other southern countries of Asia.

Lodging accomodation :—We hope to provide lodging accomodations for the benefit of those residents who have come from India and other southern countries of Asia to make their stay in Tokyo as agreeable and as pleasant as possible and to afford them every facility in business and study.

The journal to be issued monthly :—The Journal hitherto issued two or three times a year irregularly, will be published monthly in order to give greater facilities to the members.

Public Reports :—(a) Public reports will be issued from time to time on various subject (b) Information will be supplied free of charge when requested and (c) Public lectures will be held regularly in Tokyo and at times in the local Provinces.

Financial Standing to be investigated :—On request we shall investigate into the financial standing of those who are engaged

in trade between Japan, India and other southern countries of Asia.

Advisers in Industry : For Japanese engaged in various branches of industry in India and other southern countries of Asia, we will offer materials for investigations and be equipped to answer inquiries and so aid them in business and investigation.

Assistance to tourists and sight-seeing parties : We will undertake the conduct of tourists and sight-seeing parties in Japan and India and other southern countries of Asia.

Commercial Museum : Now that the Indo-Japanese Commercial Museum operated at Calcutta, 1926-37, has been abolished, we are planning to have a commercial museum in the chief cities and towns in Japan, India and other southern countries of Asia for the purpose of exhibiting samples of principal products and staple commodities of these countries. A circulating museum, if found necessary and desirable, is a part of our plan.

Education and Training: A special department will be started in Association for training Japanese who may desire to be qualified for activities in India and other southern countries of Asia. Preliminary education or training will be given, when needed, to those who may come in search of education of technical learning in Japanese schools.

The Object of the Indo-Japanese Association

India is one of the oldest countries in the World and has a population of about four hundred millions. The two parts, Further India and Nearer India, including in these British India and the French and Dutch territories make up one extensive region with homogeneous natural characteristics. History tells that Japan owes much to India in regard to religion, science, and arts. When now we consider the matter in the light of present economic conditions, it appears that there are many things commercial, industrial etc, in regard to which India and Japan need each other's help. Such historic relations and such mutual economic interests should lead Oriental countries into more friendly contact.

The Indo-Japanese Association takes upon itself, so far as it lies, to promote friendship between the two countries, and promises to provide every possible facility and opportunity to help both peoples to work in concert whenever investigations have to be made with regard to commerce, industry, religion, science or art. If, therefore, our Association shall fortunately succeed even to degree in carrying out of

its aims, the relations between Japan and India will be strengthened, and the result on the one hand, will be the advancement of the prosperity and happiness of both peoples, and on the other hand, a contribution will have been made towards the peace of the world and the progress of mankind. Especially if we consider the Japanese Empire, it may be said that she in her peaceful national policy, is bound to open a great market of ample wealth and prosperity necessary for her economic development in future.

Those who sympathise with the aims and objects of the Association are respectfully requested to join and help us to accomplish the aspiration of this organization.

Indo-Japanese Trade Prospects

Neither Japan nor British India has been satisfied with the existing Indian-Japanese trade treaty.

The import of raw cotton by Japan greatly decreased due to the inactivity of Japanese importers of raw cotton, discouraged by the Sino-Japanese conflict. The inactivity has been particularly remarkable this year.

However, this was the situation just before the outbreak of the European war. Now the problem is quite different. The world political situation has greatly changed compared with that just before the war. The Indian-Japanese Trade Conference will surely be affected by the recent world political condition. At least, the British Government will not be positive in interfering with the improvement of trade between Japan and India.

If the war is prolonged the demand for Indian cotton will certainly greatly decrease, and, at the same time, India will not be able to import British cotton cloth smoothly. Consequently, the Indian demand for cotton cloth cannot be filled only by the domestic cotton cloth industry in India. Naturally, India will depend on the import of Japanese cotton cloth.

What is considered unexpectedly effective in conducting the third meeting of the Indian-Japanese Trade Conference, is that Japan has completely broken away from European countries. In other words, Japan has established a concrete policy of complete neutrality in the European war.

At the same time the supremacy of Japan in the Far East will be proportional to intensification of the European war.

International Education in Japan.

By Tomoo Watanbe.

Director, the International Institute, Tokyo.

Of late there is a noteworthy trend among the intelligent people in the world to view the East with eyes of curiosity, wonder and admiration particularly towards Japan whom they try to face with a serious attitude of study. Already many students have come over to Japan from our close neighbours, China and Manchoukuo to carry on their studies. But in the last four or five years many students from other lands have come to stay and study in our country in increasing numbers, particularly from Siam, and Java, Afghanistan, Burma and India.

In welcoming young foreign students to our land, it is important to remember that we provide necessary facilities for them and enable them thus to accomplish their aim. This is the duty of a civilised nation who thus try to contribute to the advancement of human culture and civilization. It is at the same time the way to promote international friendship and realize ultimately world peace.

In March 1934, the Cultural Work Department of the Foreign Ministry created a section within the organization, whereby means have been provided to systematize the nation's international cultural work. Almost simultaneously with this, there was established the Society for International Cultural Relations. In November, 1935, the Kokusai Gakuyu Kai Kan or the International Students' House, its headquarters and a home for foreign students the first one of its kind, was established in Japan. We offer them a comfortable abode and give them assistance in learning the Japanese language. We endeavour to establish for them special connections with Universities and Colleges throughout the country and enable them to enter into proper educational institutions. We hold lecture-meetings, conversation, and movie shows introducing various phases of Japanese culture. In the summer vacation, seaside life, camping and other modes of enjoyment that will improve students' health and arouse in them a feeling of attachment to Japan are encouraged. Not

infrequently do we also sponsor trips to places of interest and visits of inspection to educational, industrial, and cultural institutions and establishments.

Here at our Students' Institute, inspite of differences of nationality and religion, we try to make Japan a second home for them full of joyous reminiscences which they can never forget all their life. Thus we are trying conscientiously to fulfil our duty as citizens of a civilized nation.

The International Students' House, had its building, situated at 458, Nishi Okubo 1-chome, Yodobasi-ku, Tokyo, beautifully reconstructed and opened for use on February 1, 1936. At the time of the opening, the house had the accommodations for 29 and rooms furnished for the purpose numbered 28. But with the increase of students, the rooms have since been increased to 42 and the accommadation capacity also to 42. All the rooms are heated in the cold season.

One difficulty which the foreign students experience in arriving in Japan is to properly learn Japanese. The International Students' House, carefully considering this point, has devised an efficient method whereby the fundamentals of conversational Japanese can be taught to foreign students. At the same time efforts are being made to teach them the basic Japanese.

Every available convenience is given to foreign students to enter into Japanese institutions of learning such as Tokyo Imperial University, Tokyo Kogyo Daigaku, Tokyo University of Commerce, Waseda University, Jochi University, Tokyo Koto Kogei Gakko, Kiryu Higher Technical School, Hakodate Higher Fisheries School, Kyoto Koto Kogei Gakko, Tokyo Koto Kogakko, Tokyo Dental College, Suisan Koshujo (Fisheries Institute), Tokyo Higher Normal School, Eiyo Kenkyujo, Tokyo Medical College, Urawa Higher School, Nagoya Higher Technical School, Higher Sericultural School. and Seigakuin Middle School, Seisoku Middle School. The total number of the students thus enrolled at Japanese schools is 42.

Commencing from November, 1936, our Institute has started exchange, despatch and invitation of students between nations. It has further commenced to award scholarships to students and to give subsidy to educational inspection parties and to International Students' conferences like that of the Japanese-Filipino and the American-Japanese Conferences.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Japan celebrates her 2600th Year

The year 1940 of the Christian Era corresponds with the 2,600th anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese Empire. 2600 years of history, from 660 B. C. to 1940 A. D., is no mean record for a people. Come what may, therefore, the Japanese intend suitably to celebrate this *annus mirabilis* in their history. All through this memorable year, and throughout the country, there will be unfolded, one after another, the romances of the 2600-years-old history in pageants or other forms of presentation. The year 1940, then, is the most opportune time to see Japan—to see Japan in her 2,600th year.

But age is no more than an idle boast unless one can show some achievement for the years lived. It is possible to live to senility or to virile honorable old age. What then has Japan to show for her 2,600 years?

Japan's chief claim to recognition is that she is the ideal crucible for the blending of East and West. It is this unique position which makes her the lodestar of all who would see a people in a perfect natural setting, retaining the best of their indigenous culture, while adopting many features of Western culture and civilization and adapting them to her peculiar genius. The visitor to Japan today observes this most in the facility he may enjoy of appreciating Japan's 2,600-years-old culture through a modern Western setting which offers him most of the amenities of his homeland.

Japan cordially invites the world to visit her and to share in her 1940 celebrations. There will be nationwide and exceptional attractions to appeal to all tastes in this great centenary in her history. Japan's ability to transport and entertain her guests is unchanged by events in the Orient. Particulars of these celebrations will be published later, and may then be obtained from the Board of Tourist Industry of the Japanese Government Railways and the various tourist agencies.

Confucius said, "*To find the new seek the old.*" We would rather say to those who desire to know the true Japan, "*Seek the Japan of 660 B. C. through the Japan of 1940.*"

Adult Education In Iran

Thanks to the Information Service of the International Bureau of Education, we reproduce the following text on Iran to which we have dedicated a special article in this issue of *New Asia*.

A resolution was passed by the Council of Ministers in June 1936 to organise Adult Education in Iran. It was put into effect throughout the country at the beginning of the academic year 1936-1937. In accordance with this resolution double classes were opened in all parts of the country and housed in the elementary school buildings, the first class being for illiterates and the second for those who already have some knowledge of reading and writing or who have gone through the instruction given in the first class.

Evening schools have been formed for two fundamental purposes : first, to teach the illiterates how to read and write ; secondly, to provide adults with useful individual and social training conducive to good citizenship. The course of study is for two years and includes the following subjects *reading* and *writing* enabling the adult, when leaving the school, to write ordinary letters and make use of books, papers and simple publications ; elementary *arithmetic* (writing of numerals up to a million, the four fundamental operations, common and decimal fractions, weights and measures) ; brief *history* and *geography* of Iran and an elementary knowledge of *civics*.

This programme is carried out in 96 lessons, three nights a week and two hours a night. Attendance is compulsory for all illiterate subalterns of Ministries and Governments offices. It was arranged that associations should be formed in all the provinces to encourage the public to attend evening classes. Each pupil has a report card which indicates his attendance, diligence and ability.

There have been privately organised evening classes for adults in Iran for many years, but they were not as efficient as those started under the new scheme. During 1936-1937, 1567 classes forming 800 evening schools were opened throughout the country in proportion to the importance and capacity of each locality ; for Tehran and suburbs the number of schools was 109 (218 classes).

To give technical assistance to the teachers in these schools a system of inspection has been instituted in the capital and provinces. For every 10 schools one inspector has been chosen from the teachers of secondary school and the graduates of the National Teachers College who have had practice in teaching. As a result of the

inspections and the experience gained, adult schools operated on a still sounder basis in 1937-1938.

Encouraged by the Ministry of Education the Ladies Clubs opened adult classes for women in Tehran, Tabriz and Rasht. In a few months, more than 1000 illiterate women registered for instruction in these schools. Special classes to teach foreign languages were also formed by the Ladies Club in Tehran.

As extra-curricular activities, lectures have been arranged by the Senate of the University of Tehran to be given to the students of adult classes, on such topics as hygiene, ethics, social science and law.

A division was created in the Ministry of Education called the Division of Adult Education : it has a Chief, an Assistant Chief and the necessary staff. It comprises the following sections : 1) Correspondence, 2) Organisation and inspection of adult schools in the capital, 3) the same in the provinces, 4) Forum section, which handles the affairs of the Institute of Oratory and Preaching, 5) Publications and statistics.

Special books for adult classes have been prepared by qualified authors appointed by the Ministry of Education ; they take into account the fatigue of the students of evening schools after their hard day's work and their special mentality. The price of those books has been made so cheap as to enable people in all walks of life to buy them.

The Ministry has provided the means of establishing private evening secondary schools for adults, so that all who desire to continue their studies and obtain government school certificates are enabled to study in the evening. The buildings of government schools may be used and local educational authorities have been instructed to provide light heat and furniture, and to supervise the administration. These schools are open six nights a week from 7 o'clock to 10. They have exactly the same curriculum as the day secondary schools.

Courses have been opened for teachers of elementary schools in the diagnosis and treatment of trachoma, for rural school teachers in agriculture and horticulture, also special courses in physical education and in scouting. Among the various summer session courses offered in 1937 in Tehran and certain principal cities, there were special classes on education, designed to instruct the teachers of elementary schools in the principles of pedagogy (subjects : 1 teaching method, 2) principles of education, classroom management, etc., 3)

painting and drawing). Elementary teachers had an opportunity to discuss their problems with secondary school teachers. The total number of teachers attending was 294 (102 from boy's schools and 192 from girl's and mixed schools). The Institute of Oratory and Preaching aims at training preachers, well-informed orators and competent lecturers, and at organizing public lectures.

In the second year under the Regulations for Adult Education, the appropriation for adult education was increased from 1,607,325 rials to 2,650,000 rials. The 3rd year began on Sept. 1938. Satisfactory results having been obtained in the first and second years, the number of classes were considerably increased : 965 schools comprising 1,703 classes have been established all over the country. Since according to regulations each class is used by two groups of students every other night, the number of classes may actually be regarded as being 3,406.

Cultural Congresses

Indian Historical Records Commission

The Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Darbhanga Library Hall of this University on the 13th and the 14th December, 1939. His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, Governor of Bengal, inaugurated the proceedings and Sir Jadunath Sarkar presided. It was attended by scholars and representatives of Provincial Governments and Indian States.

One of the important recommendations of the commission is a request to the Government of India that steps should be taken to secure copies of records relating to India, preserved in the Indian Office in London and at various places in the Continent including Holland, France and Portugal.

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Indian History Congress

The Third Session of the Indian History Congress was held in Calcutta from December 15 to December 17, 1939, at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor and the University. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, presided. The work of the Congress was divided into five sections presided over by eminent scholars : (1) *Archaic Section*—Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., D.Lit., of Benares Hindu University ; (2) *Ancient Imperial Section*—Professor K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, M.A., of Madras University ; (3) *Early Mediaeval*—Dr. N. Nazim, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), of the Archaeological

Survey of India ; (4) *Mughal*—Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad ; (5) *Modern Section*—Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., of Annamalai University

One hundred and eighty-four delegates attended the third session from all over India. The session was inaugurated by His Excellency the Chancellor in the spacious pandal erected between the Senate House and the Asutosh Building. All the meetings, including a lantern lecture on Prehistoric India by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology, were held in the University premises.

A Historical Exhibition and an Art Exhibition were organised in connexion with the Congress and were housed at the Senate Hall in which many valuable and object inscriptions and records were displayed.

The members of the Congress were entertained at dinners by Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. N. N. Law, at lunch by the University of Calcutta, and at tea by Dr. S. C. Law. A Steamer Party was organised by the Reception Committee of which the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor was the Chairman.

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Two outstanding research publications.

The 18th century with the fateful battle of Plassy (1757) is most important in the history of Bengal as well as in the history of British relations with India. The credit of making the first systematic and exhaustive survey of that century with Alivardi (ruling Bengal between 1740-56) as the central figure, goes to Prof. Dr. Kalikinkar Datta. He has already established his reputation as a research-scholar by his "Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-70 A. D.," "Education and Social Amelioration of Women in Pre-Mutiny India" and "The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57." Now in his "Alivardi and his Times" published by the University of Calcutta, which conferred on the author the highest academic distinction of Ph. D., we find the author at his best. His exhaustive bibliography admirably demonstrates the technique of his research extending not only to political history but to commercial, economic and social histories as well. The reconstruction of the confused political annals of Bengal is admirable and convincing. At the same time we are impressed by a rare quality in the author of surveying the changeful political relations against the background of the more or less stable socio-economic relations. This was sadly neglected so far in most of our historical works. Dr. Dutt's survey of education, of the position of women, of the social relations between the Hindus and the Moslems of Bengal, open a new field for research in which he will be honoured as a pioneer and we hope that he will enrich our historical literature with many such precious volumes.

Another striking personality in the age of transition between the mediæval and modern India is the great social and religious reformer Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833). Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond.), has already earned fame by his "Selections from Official Letters and Documents (1791-1830)", relating to the life of

the great Bengali pioneer honoured as the Father of Modern India. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has attested to the author's sober scholarship and unsparing labour in the collection of first hand evidence and we find these qualities admirably demonstrated in his recent selection from official records (1803-1859) relating to "Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the last Moghuls" (published by Mr. N. Mookerjee, Art Press, Calcutta). Herein we read how a Bengali Hindu was appointed an envoy of the Muslim King of Delhi, Akbar II and how faithfully he tried to fulfil his mission by undertaking a voyage to England where he died in 1833. In a valuable introduction running to over 100 pages the learned author has given a brilliant commentary to the documents and to many incidents referred to therein. Years of patient and devoted labour lie behind his work and we hope that Dr. Majumdar's services would be adequately recognised and that he would be encouraged to publish his other studies on the progressive movements of 19th century Bengal. The convergence and collaboration of the Hindu, the Moslem and the Christian factors in the evolution of Modern India, deserve a serious and documented study of the type of Dr. Majumdar's works and all scholars interested in this line of research should come forward to help Dr. Majumdar in his selfless investigations.

Indo-Japanese Cultural Association.

Mr. T. Wakamatsu, the Consul-General of Japan, was the guest of honour at a special re-union of the Indo-Japanese Cultural Association during his brief stay in Calcutta in the Christmas week. Mrs. Wakamatsu together with many Japanese and Indian ladies graced the occasion with their presence. In reply to the address of welcome Mr. Wakamatsu replied by assuring his friends that he would try his best to foster friendly relations between India and Japan connected by cultural ties for centuries. Before his departure for Delhi, the Consul-General was At Home to a representative gathering of Indian, Japanese and European residents of Calcutta who were charmed by their splendid hospitality.

Notices and acknowledgments.

The 4th (October, 1939) issue of *New Asia* was caught in the whirlwind of the European war which naturally interfered with the normal delivery of letters, periodicals etc. So we are ready to send extra copies if we know from our friends that they have missed the October issue. We on our turn are missing many important periodicals and other documents from our friendly correspondants abroad to whom we offer our best thanks for supplying us regularly, so far, with their valuable publications. Our special thanks are due to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, Geneva, the Bureau of International Education and the International Red Cross of Geneva, the American Association of Museums, the Pan-Pacific Union, Honolulu, the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo, the China Weekly Review, Shanghai and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

NEW ASIA

Vol. II.

APRIL—JUNE, 1940

No. 2

EDITORIAL.

With April we reach the eighth and so far the most ominous month in the European war. Hitler with characteristic ruthlessness overcame Denmark and, from that vantage ground flung Nazi battalion, over 64000 strong, into Norway. The allies, no doubt, have inflicted severe losses on Germany both in air and on the sea but German intrigue and aggressiveness are still far from being effectively controlled. Strong rumours are already afield that Germany may soon fling herself on Sweden involving thereby the entire group of Scandinavian nations in this disastrous war. Belgium and Holland also appear to be in a highly precarious condition. Belgium, in the last war, paid a heavy price as we all know ; but Holland and Denmark, Norway and Sweden were amongst the few fortunate neutral nations who profited enormously by their neutrality in the world war of 1914—18. For Norway and Sweden this should be the first fire-baptism after over a century, to defend their hearth and home. For Holland it would be something more. The Dutch people according to the census of 1930 numbered about 8 millions ruling over the destiny of over 62 million souls in South Eastern Asia now known as the Netherlands Indies. As early as 1602 and almost simultaneously with the British East India Company, the Netherlands created the Dutch East India Company which extended its sway over the various islands like Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes etc. Ruling them for nearly two centuries the Company was dissolved in 1798 and the colonies came to be governed by the mother country. In 1795 the French Republican army invaded Holland, when the

Dutch royal family had to fly to England and could not return to Holland till November, 1813 when the country was freed from French domination. During the Napoleonic wars Java was occupied temporarily by England and came to be ruled by Sir Stamford Raffles. The Congress of Vienna ordered Belgium and Holland to be united but the union was dissolved by the Belgium revolution of 1830 and Belgium was constituted an independent kingdom by the Treaty of London, April, 1839. Thus parting company about a century ago the two sister nations continued to follow somewhat parallel lines of evolution, as two very small nations with very big colonies. The population of Belgium (11,775 sq. miles) in 1930 was about eight millions ruling over 9,18,000 sq. miles of Belgian Congo with the population of over ten millions. But Holland enjoys the precarious privilege of being, after Great Britain and France, the third great colonial power of the world, exciting naturally the jealousy of ambitious neighbours. The maximum strength of her army is fixed at about 20,000 only including 1000 for the sea service. The Dutch garrison of the East Indies is composed of 1000 officers and 32,000 other ranks in 1935. The Dutch navy commands only about half a dozen coast defence ships and cruisers and a few sub-marines. These are poor defences even for the small mother country what to speak of the far flung and enormous colonies. Any power invading or controlling Holland in course of the present war would come immediately to utilise the huge quantity of raw-materials, food-stuff, rubber, oil, gold etc. of the Dutch East Indies which further complicated the international issues through its geographical situation. The Netherland Indies is in the very hub of the Pacific World almost touching British Malaya on the one side and the American Philippines on the other. French Indo-China as well as British Australasia must negotiate with any power dominating over the East Indies and Japan also has vital interests in that zone as clearly expressed by Mr. Arita in a recent statement which has evoked significant reactions from Holland and U. S. A. : "The Japanese navy feels grave concern for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Dutch East Indies because any change in the *status quo* of those islands, as a result of the European war, would mean the expansion of the conflict to this part of the world..... To this the Japanese navy has the strongest objection particularly in view of Japan's national policy of standing out of the European war."

We in India are not in a position to judge the gravity of the above statement made by responsible officers of the Japanese navy. If with the invasion of Holland the war extends to the East Indies, we Indians must forthwith revise all our opinions and attitudes with regard to the defence problems of India. Every Indian, whatever may be his political or religious affiliation should get ready to present a united front for unity is the best guarantee of security. From our experience of the last World War we have seen that local conflagrations always tend to spread and already within six months of the outbreak of the present European War we feel that the fire is almost spreading to the Pacific World through the Dutch East Indies and to the Near East through the Balkan states and Turkey. Most of the Asiatic nations except Japan appear to be pathetically unprepared in the face of this world crisis, specially in view of the ominous expansion of Communist Russia from the port of Vladivostock, through the Trans-Siberian stations threatening the frontiers of India, Iran and Turkey, right up to Finland and Scandinavia. We can ill afford now to indulge in political prophesies and we only hope that the Asiatic nations would be spared the tragedies looming ominously on the horizon of Europe.

Creative Democracy—The Task Before Us

By JOHN DEWEY

Under present circumstances I cannot hope to conceal the fact that I have managed to exist eighty years. Mention of the fact may suggest to you a more important fact—namely, that events of the utmost significance for the destiny of this country have taken place during the past four-fifths of a century, a period that covers more than half of its national life in its present form. For obvious reasons I shall not attempt a summary of even the more important of these events. I refer here to them because of their bearing upon the issue to which this country committed itself when the nation took shape—the creation of democracy, an issue which is now as urgent as it was a hundred and fifty years ago when the most experienced

and wisest men of the country gathered to take stock of conditions and to create the political structure of a self-governing society.

For the net import of the changes that have taken place in these later years is that ways of life and institutions which were once the natural, almost the inevitable, product of fortunate conditions have now to be won by conscious and resolute effort. Not all the country was in a pioneer state eighty years ago. But it was still, save perhaps in a few large cities, so close to the pioneer stage of American life that the traditions of the pioneer, indeed of the frontier, were active agencies in forming the thoughts and shaping the beliefs of those who were born into its life. In imagination at least the country was still having an open frontier, one of unused and unappropriated resources. It was a country of physical opportunity and invitation. Even so, there was more than a marvelous conjunction of physical circumstances involved in bringing to birth this new nation. There was in existence a group of men who were capable of readapting older institutions and ideas to meet the situations provided by new physical conditions—a group of men extraordinarily gifted in political inventiveness.

At the present time, the frontier is moral, not physical. The period of free lands that seemed boundless in extent has vanished. Unused resources are now human rather than material. They are found in the waste of grown men and women who are without the chance to work, and in the young men and young women who find doors closed where there was once opportunity. The crisis that one hundred and fifty years ago called out social and political inventiveness is with us in a form which puts a heavier demand on human creativeness.

At all events this is what I mean when I say that we now have to create by deliberate and determined endeavour the kind of democracy which in its origin one hundred and fifty years ago was largely a gift of grace, the product of a fortunate combination of circumstances. We have lived for a long time upon the heritage that came to us from the happy conjunction of men and events in an earlier day. The present state of the world is more than a reminder that we have now to put forth every energy of our own to prove worthy of our heritage. It is a challenge to do for the critical and complex conditions of today what the men of an earlier day did for simpler conditions.

If I emphasize that the task can be accomplished only by inventive effort and creative activity, it is in part because the depth of the present crisis is due in considerable part to the fact that for a long period we acted as if our democracy were something that perpetuated itself automatically ; as if our ancestors had succeeded in setting up a machine that had solved the problem of perpetual motion in politics. We acted as if democracy were something that took place mainly at Washington and Albany—or some other state capital—under the impetus of what happened when men and women went to the polls once a year or so—which is a somewhat extreme way of saying that we were in the habit of thinking of democracy as a kind of political mechanism that would work as long as citizens were reasonably faithful in performing political duties.

Of late years we have heard more and more frequently that this is not enough ; that democracy is a way of life. This saying gets down to hard pan. But I am not sure that something of the externality of the old idea does not cling to the new and better statement. In any case we can escape from this external way of thinking only as we realize in thought and act that democracy is a *personal* way of individual life ; that it signifies the possession and continual use of certain attitudes, forming personal character, and determining desire and purpose in all the relations of life. Instead of thinking of our own dispositions and habits as accommodated to certain institutions we have to learn to think of the latter as expressions, projections, and extensions of habitually dominant personal attitudes.

Democracy as a personal, an individual, way of life involves nothing fundamentally new. But when applied it puts a new practical meaning in old ideas. Put into effect it signifies that powerful present enemies of democracy can be successfully met only by the creation of personal attitudes in individual human beings, so that we must get over our tendency to think that its defense can be found in any external means whatever, whether military or civil, if they are separated from personal attitudes so deep-seated as to constitute personal character.

Democracy is a way of life controlled by a working faith in the possibilities of human nature. Belief in the Common Man is a familiar article in the democratic creed. That belief is without basis and significance save as it means faith in the potentialities of human

nature as that nature is exhibited in every human being irrespective of race, color, sex, birth, and family, of material or cultural wealth. This faith may be enacted in statutes, but it is only on paper unless it is put in force in the attitudes which human beings display to one another in all the incidents and relations of daily life. To denounce Naziism for intolerance, cruelty, and stimulation of hatred amounts to fostering of insincerity if, in our personal relations to other persons, if, in our daily walk and conversation, we are moved by racial, color, or other class prejudice ; indeed, by anything save a generous belief in their possibilities as human beings and hence in the need of providing conditions which will enable these capacities to reach fulfilment. The democratic faith in human equality is the belief that every human being, independent of the quantity or range of his personal endowment, has the right to equal opportunity with every other person for development of whatever gifts he has. The democratic belief in the principle of leadership is a generous one. It is universal. It is belief in the capacity of every person to lead his own life free from coercion and imposition by others, provided right conditions are supplied.

Democracy is a way of personal life controlled not merely by faith in human nature in general but by faith in the capacity of human beings for intelligent judgment and action if proper conditions are furnished. I have been accused more than once and from opposed quarters of an undue, a utopian, faith in the possibilities of intelligence and in education as a correlate of intelligence. At all events, I did not invent this faith. I acquired it from my surroundings as far as those surroundings were animated by the democratic spirit. For what is the faith of democracy in the method of consultation, of conference, of persuasion, of discussion, in forming of public opinion which in the long run is self-corrective, except faith in the capacity of the intelligence of the common man to respond with common sense to the free play of facts and ideas which are secured by effective guarantees of free inquiry, free assembly, and free communication ? I am willing to leave to upholders of totalitarian states of the right and the left the view that faith in the capacities of intelligence is utopian. For the faith is so deeply embedded in the methods which are intrinsic to democracy that when a professed democrat denies the faith he convicts himself of treachery to his profession.

When I think of the conditions under which men and women

are living in many foreign countries today, fear of espionage, with danger hanging over the meeting of friends for friendly conversation in private gatherings, I am inclined to believe that the heart and final guarantee of democracy is in free gatherings of neighbors on the street corner to discuss back and forth what is read in uncensored news of the day, and in gatherings of friends in the living rooms of houses and apartments to converse freely with one another. Intolerance, abuse, calling of names because of differences of opinion about religion or politics or business, as well as because of differences of race, color, wealth, or degree of culture, are treason to the democratic way of life. For everything which bars freedom and fullness of communication sets up barriers which divide human beings into sets and cliques into antagonistic sects and factions, and the democratic way of life is undermined. Merely legal guarantees of the civil liberties of free belief, free expression, free assembly are of little avail if in daily life freedom of communication, of give and take of ideas, facts, experiences is choked by mutual suspicion, by abuse, by fear and by hatred. These destroy the essential condition of the democratic way of living even more effectually than open coercion which—as the example of totalitarian states proves—is effective only when it succeeds in breeding hate, suspicion, intolerance in the minds of individual human beings.

Finally, given the two conditions just mentioned, democracy as a way of life is controlled by personal faith in personal day-by-day working together with others. Democracy is the belief that even when needs and ends or consequences are different for each individual, the habit of amicable cooperation—which may include, as in sport, rivalry and competition—is itself a priceless addition to life. To take as far as possible every conflict which arises—and they are bound to arise out of the atmosphere and medium of force, of violence as a means of settlement—into that of discussion and of intelligence is to treat those who disagree even profoundly with us as those from whom we may learn and, in so far, as friends. A genuinely democratic faith in peace is faith in the possibility of conducting disputes, controversies and conflicts as cooperative undertakings in which both parties learn by giving the other a chance to express itself, instead of having one party conquer by forceful suppression of the other—a suppression which is nonetheless one of violence when it takes place by psychological means of ridicule, abuse, intimidation, instead of by overt imprisonment or concentration camps. To cooperate by giving differences a chance to show themselves in the belief that the expression of difference is not only a right of the other persons but is a means of enriching one's own life-experience, is inherent in the democratic personal way of life.

If what has been said is charged with being a set of moral commonplaces, my only reply is that that is just the point in saying them. For to get rid of the habit of thinking of democracy as something institutional and external and to acquire the habit of treating

it as a way of personal life is to realize that democracy is a moral ideal and so far as it becomes a fact is a moral fact. It is to realize that democracy is a reality only as it is indeed a commonplace of living.

Since my adult years have been given to the pursuit of philosophy, I shall ask your indulgence if in concluding I state briefly the democratic faith in the formal terms of philosophic position. So stated, democracy is belief in the ability of human experience to generate the aims and methods by which further experience will grow in ordered richness. Every other form of moral and social faith rests upon the idea that experience must be subjected at some point or other to some form of external control; to some 'authority' alleged to exist outside the processes of experience. Democracy is the faith that the process of experience is more important than any special result attained, so that special results achieved are of ultimate value only as they are used to enrich and order the ongoing process. Since the process is thus capable of being educative, faith in democracy is all one with faith in experience and education. All ends and values that are cut off from the ongoing process become arrests, fixations. They strive to fixate what has been gained instead of using it to open the road and point the way to new and better experiences.

If one asks what is meant by experience in this connection my reply is that it is the free interaction of individual human beings with surrounding conditions, especially the human surroundings, which develops and satisfies need and desire by increasing knowledge of things as they are. Knowledge of conditions as they are is the only solid ground for communication and sharing; all other communication means the subjection of some persons to the personal opinion of other persons. Need and desire—out of which grow purpose and direction of energy—go beyond what exists, and hence beyond knowledge, beyond science. It continually opens the way into the unexplored and unattained future.

Democracy as compared with other ways of life is the sole way of living which believes wholeheartedly in the process of experience as end and as means; as that which is capable of generating the science which is the sole dependable authority for the direction of further experience and which releases emotions, needs, and desires, that call into being the things which have not existed in the past. For every way of life that fails in its democracy limits the contacts, the exchanges, the communications, the interactions by which experience is steadied while it is also enlarged and enriched. The task of this release and enrichment is one that has to be carried on day by day. Since it is one that can have no end till experience itself comes to an end, the task of democracy is forever that of creation of a freer and more humane experience in which all share and to which all contribute.*

*A message presented at a banquet in New York City held in honor of John Dewey's eightieth birthday (October 20, 1939) and reprinted through the courtesy of *Unity*, Chicago.—Editor.

Outline of Nippon Literature

By Yasushi Uriu, Tokyo, Japan

Archaic Period (before A. D. 700) : Age of The Gods

The first part of the archaic period of Japan, as of many other countries, is known to us only by cosmogonic and theogonic myths of which the latter largely resemble Polynesian legends. According to the *Nihon Shoki* : "Of old, heaven and earth were not yet separated, forming a chaotic mass like an egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out and formed heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became earth."

So far, there is much of a scientific explanation in it, but as to the birth of the deities, not unlike nearly all myths, both the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* simply state that three deities were spontaneously produced. They begot many children, ending with the god Izanagi and the goddess Izanami, to both of whom the other deities gave instructions to "make, consolidate, and give birth to the floating land."

Thereupon the two deities stood upon the drifting bridge of heaven and thrust down the jeweled spear and stirred the brine with it. "When the brine went curdle-curdle, they drew the spear up and the brine that dripped from the end of the spear coagulated and became an island." Then they married and from their union resulted the island of Japan, as well as numerous children, one after another. The first of the last three children born after the death of Izanami is Amaterasu Omikami, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, generally known as the Sun Goddess. It was to her that her father, Izanagi, gave his divine jeweled necklace with the instruction that she should rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven.

The nomination of this goddess, as was not uncommon with many other primitive tribes, suggests the existence of a sun-worshipping idea among the early Japanese. The story of her hiding in a rock-cave and the heaven that became dark as the result may be regarded as an amplification of this conception. Moreover, an interesting point is that it was a female deity, and not a male one such as Jupiter, whom they enthroned as the ruler, the highest deity, of their heaven.

A goddess usually suggests grace, beauty, love and peace. Hence it is implied that the primitive Japanese undoubtedly looked upon these qualities, if not particularly as their ideals, at least with favour.

Amaterasu Omikami hated the rough conduct of her brother, Susano-no-Mikoto, who was fond of fighting and killing. His violence went so far one day as to insult her by breaking her loom and she thereupon hid herself in a rock-cave, making heaven completely dark. The deities met in darkness to discuss what to do and decided to give music and dances in front of the cave in order to entice her forth. As the performance went on merrily and the laughter of the deities shook heaven, the goddess opened the stone door to peep out. A god who was waiting outside then grasped her hand and brought her from the cave and the sun shone once more. Susano no-Mikoto, for punishment, had his finger nails torn off and was banished from heaven.

Many foreigners believe in the prevalence of the Spartan spirit among the Japanese peoples. But as this story proves, that spirit seemed to take no part in the opening of their country, whatever may be the facts in the later periods. Compare this with Greek mythology, full of war records or such ceremonies as drinking infants' blood or burning children alive to please the gods in Greece, Carthage, Egypt, and elsewhere, or the bloody amusements performed in the Roman amphitheatres.

The original name of Japan was Toyo-ashihara-mizuho-no-kuni, which means the land of luxuriant reed-plains and rice-fields. This name itself implicitly describes a peaceful land which is mainly based on agriculture. In fact, those early people of Japan lived very simple, natural lives. Their clothes were made of bark interwoven with hemp thread. Their abodes were mostly caves until the invention of places built of unplanned wood. The principal food was rice, accompanied by salt, vegetables, fruit and flesh. They had wine, but it was crude.

Their days were passed in cultivating the fields, hunting in the mountains, and occasionally fighting. They were brave, courteous light-hearted, pleasure-loving; they were humorous, simple-minded, kindhearted, sentimental rather than passionate; they were apprehensive, but not profound, inclined to neatness but seldom or never philosophical. They believed in the existence of heaven (Takamagahara), the region of the dead (Yomi-no-kuni), and the kingdom of the sea (Watatsumi-no-miya), but they hardly seemed to bother about the question of life and death.

They loved and respected their ancestors, but they adored Nature perhaps more deeply, because it had a direct concern with their agriculture. So they prayed mostly to the gods of agriculture, for the welfare of their own and others, desiring happy, clean, peaceful lives. This led to the establishment of the Shinto religion, a religion of love and gratitude rather than of fear.

Their land itself, as already stated, is said to have been formed by the co-operative work of two deities, male and female. And the male god, Izanagi-no-Mikoto, very much attached to his deceased wife, Izanami-no-Mikoto, went to see her in the region of the dead with the wish to bring her back. Upon meeting her at the barrier of that region, he told her frankly, "The land I started to make with you is not yet thoroughly completed."

It is generally understood, even by the Japanese themselves, that Japan is a country where men have precedence over women in all things. However, the feelings of Izanagi-no-Mikoto, notwithstanding his previous understanding that "women had better not start things", manifest his co-operative attitude with the woman. That man and women should co-operate in the making of the country, that is, in all things, seemed to be therefore the essential maxim at the opening of this country. Such a charming legend, together with that of the Sun Goddess, is scarcely to be found in the history of the nations among whom women now hold a high position.

In short, this people, as most primitive races were more or less inclined to be, seems to have led an extremely natural life, ignorant as yet of the vice of pretension. Its legends that tell of no murder of Cain and no apple of Adam aptly indicate that such conceptions did not meet with its approval. Enmity and murder were not appreciated and sexual love was not regarded as a sin. Hence the story of Susano-no-Mikoto, that fierce and cruel god, who was chased from heaven. But even so, he was not altogether alien to a natural human feeling that taught him to love a woman. Upon consummating his marriage with the girl he loved, he sang with joy :

*Many clouds arise,
And a manifold fence all around ;
For the spouses to be within,
They form a manifold fence.
Ah ! this manifold fence.*

This song composed by him is generally believed to be the origin of the Japanese verse "waka", but judging from its perfect formality, it is uncertain whether an after-addition was made to produce 31 syllables. The original might have been as follows :

*The uprising clouds even,
To shut up within the spouses,
Make this manifold (eight-fold) fence.*

There is also a live song made by another deity :

*Whatever befalls me,
Ne'er shall I forget my love
With whom I slept
In the island of wild-ducks—
The bird of the offspring.*

It is easily conceived that these songs were made rather intuitively with little attempt at refinement. Songs were made also on wine, warfare, or travelling. But no war song is known to us before the reign of Emperor Jimmu. The song sung by his soldiers is an example of the utmost simplicity and primitiveness.

*Ho ! now is the time ;
Ho ! now is the time ;
Ha ! Ha ! Psha !
Even now, my boys !
Even now, my boys !*

The poetic language was not yet introduced throughout these ages. They sang as they felt like singing and the songs survived from mouth to mouth. The same can be said of the prayers to the gods, recited with a view to the general welfare and the exorcising of evil spirits. The same thing applied to the records of events, which were told by the official reciters, until the introduction of writing from Korea in the third century, but more correctly until the appointment of the official recorders at the beginning of the fifth century. However, we may safely assume that the art of writing did not develop outside a small class of official scribes until the seventh century, when the Kojiki was compiled.

Pre-historic Period

The length of the age of the gods remains beyond our knowledge. But the latter part of the archaic period may be more adequately called the pre-historic period which begins with the accession of

Emperor Jimmu as the first Emperor of Japan. The date of the accession is officially assigned to 660 B.C., from which the years of the Empire are reckoned.

From a chronological standpoint, the period from the accession to the close of the reign of Emperor Nintoku in 399 A.D., marks an apparent lack of historical exactitude with its almost incredible longevity. The 17 rulers (counting Empress Jingu separately) reigned 1,056 years, while the next 17 rulers reigned only 228 years (A.D. 400—628), average $13\frac{1}{2}$ years. In view of the fact that the first official recognition of the art of writing occurred in 405 A.D., this is not altogether insignificant.

Strictly speaking, therefore, it may be more correct to end the pre-historic period at 400 A.D., but for the reason already given that no mention is made of the calendar-makers before 553 A.D. and that no book was written before 622 A.D., I extend the epoch conveniently to the Nara period.

During this period, obviously as a result of the introduction of writing, the mythological elements began to give way gradually to the more historical. And towards the end of it, myths and legends became more separated from what may be taken as historical accounts.

However, mythology has its own value. Its merits are not to be sought with historical esteem, but to be recognized in the investigation of the circumstances which produced it. The myths I have narrated, for instance, seem to possess little power to convince any critical mind of the absolute authenticity of the events. But they render all the same no little service, if told frankly as myths, to the study of the general inclination of the people that gave birth to such legends.

Many Japanese historians habitually or perhaps purposely mix the myths with historical events to make the history look sublime. But the results are apt to turn out rather opposite to what they originally designed. Myth, I think, has its greatest merit when told unassumedly.

As a matter of fact, the archaic period furnished no valuable contribution to Japanese literature. But there were two events of great importance which formed the basis for the development of literature in this country. One was the introduction of the art of writing, with which came the civilization of China. And the other

was the propagation of Buddhism, transported through Korea with the Buddhist images. Buddhism, in fact, was first introduced to Japan in 552 A.D. by an envoy from Kudara (Pakchoi), a Korean province ; but although Emperor Kimmei was delighted by "the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine," owing to the violent opposition of the anti-Buddhist party led by the military clansmen, no real progress was made until 587. The guidance and consolidation of the propaganda thereafter owe a great deal to the wisdom and virtue of the Prince-Regent Shotoku who was the compiler of the Kiujiiki, records of ancient matters.

The Buddhism which was then brought to Japan, belonged to the Hinayana and the semi-Hinayana schools. The Hinayana, the lesser vehicle doctrine, consists, roughly speaking, of precepts and ethical teachings. Compared with the Mahayana (greater vehicle) doctrines, it is easier to understand and, with little metaphysical element in it, it is more practical for the cultivation of a moral sense. It suited therefore the simple-minded people of early Japan, who seemed to have little philosophical inclination. Its progress indeed was so great that it had become almost the state religion at the close of the period. However, as Emperor Kimmei himself declared, to the average mind the charm of the images seemed to be more enchanting than the doctrine. To this fact is legitimately attributed the remarkable development of Buddhist art in Japan.

As for the intercourse between Japan and other countries, the first Japanese official record mentions the envoy from Mimana (a Korean province) in the reign of Emperor Sujin (97—30 B. C.). But as it is fairly safe to assert that "in varying proportions, elements from almost all parts of the eastern coast of China were present in the population of Japan at the opening of the Christian epoch," it is quite possible that there had been intercourse with Korea and China earlier than this period. Tradition refers to it as early as the days of Susano, who is to have sailed for Korea (Silla) to find gold and silver. It is also reported that he planted trees, for Japan needed "floating riches," which obviously mean ships.

The first mention of Japanese travellers to China is found in the Han chronicles, an entry registering the arrival of a Japanese envoy at Loyan, the Han capital, in A.D. 57. There is an interesting passage which is found in these Han chronicles :—

"The country of Wa (Nippon) lies southeast of South Korea

in the middle of the ocean and is formed of a number of islands. It contains more than 100 kingdoms. From the time when Emperor Wei-Ti conquered Chao-Hsien (i.e. North Korea—hence the Japanese name Chosen) in 108 B.C., more than 30 of these kingdoms have held intercourse with China by envoys or by scribes, etc.”

These chronicles also state that from an early date the people of Japan went to southern Korea to purchase iron. Similar records are found in the Wei chronicles (A.D. 220—255) and also in the Korean records. To be brief, from these records and archeological relics found in the old Japanese tombs and elsewhere, we are fairly confident in asserting that certain parts of Japan, including Izumo, were in contact with China and Korea several centuries before the Christian era and that the inhabitants owed to China the beginnings of their cultural development.

Nara Period (A.D. 710—794)

In chronological order, the Nara period begins with the establishment of the capital in Nara by Empress Gemmyo in 710 A.D. and ends in 794 A.D. when the capital was moved to Heian, the present city of Kyoto. But in view of the cultural history of Japan, it is usually traced about 20 years farther back when Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro began to write poems, in the reign of Empress Jito in the latter part of the seventh century.

The aforementioned Kiujiki, compiled by Prince-Regent Shotoku in 620, having been destroyed by fire, the oldest book written in Japanese is the Kojiki, or Records of Ancient Matters, which was completed in 712. It was written in the reign of Empress Gemmyo by Yasumaro, a first-rate authority on the Chinese language, taking down what was told him by Hieda-no-Are. The language of the Kojiki is indeed a curious mixture of Chinese and Japanese and, as the author himself confesses, evidently the work was not an easy matter. It contains the early traditions of the Japanese race, mythological and historical, from the chaotic times down to the reign of Empress Suiko (573—628).

The compilation of some topographical records was also made in the reign of this Empress.

Compared with the Kojiki, the Nihon Shoki, which was completed in 720 in the reign of Empress Gensho, is a work decidedly more advanced in form, with more detailed historical accounts,

although the myths given in it are practically the same and are treated in a similar manner. It is the joint work of Prince Toneri and Yasumaro, with the co-operation of some other scholars. It is written in pure Chinese, ending its records with the reign of Empress Jito. It may have been a curious coincidence that both the Kojiki and the Nihon Shoki were written in the reigns of two Empresses and ended with the reigns of two other Empresses.

Empress Suiko is celebrated for her foundation of the famous Golden Hall of the Horyuji in 607. It was also under her auspices that the making of Buddhist images showed rapid improvement. Likewise in her reign "the conscious adoption of Chinese political doctrines and institutions" began, with the introduction of the lunar calendar, a code of court etiquette, the exchange of envoys and so forth.

In the reign of Empress Jito, Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro, as already mentioned, set out to write poems in Japanese. He flourished as the greatest poet of the time. In fact, Shakespeare lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth when books were burned; so the literati were buried alive by a Chinese Emperor, Shih Huang Ti, who lavished money and man-power in building the Great Wall that served no useful purpose.

In this epoch, the ingenious character of the nation, which has never contented itself with mere borrowing, came to claim its own justification in literary and aesthetic activities. This tendency, as already indicated, had manifested through the creation of Buddhist art, but soon became efficient enough for the refinement of poetry. The naive, crude form of poetry, which had been the direct outcome of a spasmodic desire to sing, was now cultivated with more rhetorical devices. The intuitive elements that had formed the old poems gave away to a more sensitive, delicate observation with a refined sensibility and a soft impressionistic touch. They were still written in the Chinese characters, not in the original sense of the words, but phonetically, originating the *kana*, or the Japanese syllabary.

The Manyoshu, a collection of poems compiled early in the ninth century, contains 4,496 poems, most of which were composed during the latter half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century. The salient fact of this anthology is that, in it, a long form of poetry, that is, the continual repetition of five and seven-syllable phrases, is frequently found. This style, however, with all its beauty and expressiveness, became suddenly unpopular after the Nara period and a shorter

form which is called the "tanka" was substituted, to be understood generally as the "waka" or Japanese poetry.

The aforementioned Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro is celebrated for his excellence in this kind of verse. His elegy on Prince Hinami is written in this long form, consisting of 149 phrases.

*When began the earth and heaven
By the margin of the river
Of the firmament eternal,
Met the Gods in high assembly,
Met the Gods and held high counsel.
Myriads upon myriads gathered,
Then to each high charge was given.
On the Goddess of the Sunlight,
Her who fills the sky with radiance,
They bestowed the realm of Heaven.*

The verse begins with these words describing the divine counsel in heaven, to which is ascribed the creation of the Japanese Empire. As this conception forms the basis of the Shinto dogma, this poem, together with his other elegies, has been chanted as a prayer in that religion.

In fact, Japanese verse owes its real start to the genius of Hitomaro, who, having learned to see things with a more refined sentiment, gave a definite form to the poetry. His long poem written in grief over the death of his wife is so true to his feelings that we cannot read it without sympathy.

*Whenever the child that my wife left behind her
Cries after her, a man like me finds naught to give him.
So, I take him in my arms and lay him on the pillow,
On which I used to sleep with my beloved wife.
In the daytime I am lonely in this chamber of ours,
And at night I sigh and sigh till the dawn breaks.*

And so, he goes to the mountain where she is buried, with a faint hope of seeing her again. But in vain he searches, rock after rock, only to weep over the fact that she is nowhere to be found.

As gifted as Hitomaro, there is another poet, named Yamabe-no-Akhaito, who, like Hitomaro, seems to have held no important position at court. But his poems, more concise and purely objective, stand equal to the subjective value of those of Hitomaro, which are rich in

exquisite phraseology. His poems on Mount Fuji, both in the short and long forms, are indeed well-known. His short one, which is very popular, is as follows :

*Coming out from the Bay of Tago,
I see upon the lofty peak of Fuji
The snow fall all in white.*

The description, as you see, is extremely simple and natural. It is an exact sketch of what his eyes saw and of the mountain of which the view has never changed since he made this poem. In one of the long poems, he looks at Fuji with wonder and admiration and thinks that its beauty should be told from mouth to mouth without end. He praises it almost in ecstasy :

*Of Yamato, the land of Sunrise,
It is the peace-giver, it is the gold, it is the treasure.
On the peak of Fuji, in the land of Suruga,
I never weary of gazing.*

Besides these two poets, who are the most prominent figures in the Manyoshu, there are many other authors of whom many are women, proving that the Nara period was indeed a "woman's era".

Of this anthology, as well as almost all others subsequently published, it is to be noted that the dominant fact is that the poems were nearly always composed with fine, delicate sentiments, rather than in strong, rigorous, argumentative moods. The sensibilities of these poets, evidently averse to sharp mental conflict, were confined within a somewhat narrow range of emotion. This accounts clearly for the absence of war-songs or poems on hatred, anger, and revenge.

For instance, Hitomaro may be glorified as the Japanese Homer, but in fact he did not write an Iliad. Warfare and any such atrocities, unlike the case in later times, obviously were not their favourite subjects. They mourned frankly over the loss of their beloved ones ; showed no hesitation in enjoying beauty, either inorganic or human. They loved as their hearts commanded, and were sensitive to the charm of nature.

*Since we are such things
That, if we are born,
We must some day die,
So long as the life lasts,
Let us enjoy ourselves.*

Or,

*On the spring moor
To gather violets
I went forth ;
Its charm so held me
That I stayed till dawn.*

It is true that Confucianism had entered the country with the Chinese language, but it remained practically dormant for more than 1,000 years, while Buddhism, with its rapid propagation after the sixth century, greatly influenced not only the thoughts of the people but all branches of art. However, the Buddhism that was a dominant force in those days seemed to teach men but little fear of after-death, at least to a much lesser degree than in the later periods. The æsthetic activity of this epoch was indeed immensely indebted to Buddhist influence. And it is interesting to note that a touch of Indian and Greek arts, or better to say, Graeco-Buddhist art, is found in the architecture, even with, as Dillon says, "the undoubted presence of Persian, more precisely of Sassanian, motives", which all came with Buddhism.

This was also the case with the dress of the period, which was a fine mixture of the Chinese, Korean, and Indian styles. It looked certainly elegant, but not so sumptuous as that of the following era. Here too, a skillful Japanese interpretation is to be traced vividly.

To sum up, this was the age in which the marked tendency to appreciate delicacy and elegance, characteristic of the Japanese temperament, started. And I am inclined to believe that the original Japanese nature is to be found within the range of this tendency. If only, we may assume, such a tendency had lasted unmolested throughout Japanese history, the feature of the later civilization would have been wholly different.

Heian Period (794–1186)

In 794, as already stated, Emperor Kammu removed the capital from Nara to the City of Heian, the City of Peace and Ease, which was the old name of the present Kyoto. The new capital was laid out rectangularly and divided symmetrically by roads into squares. The Imperial Palace was situated in the north centre of it, from which ran in a straight line the main street called the large thoroughfare of Suzaku. The city itself was not walled as those in China or medieval Europe, but its three sides were surrounded, as the name of the province,

Yamashiro suggests, by hills and mountains. These mountains and the lovely rivers, Kamo and Katsura, enclosed not only a quiet and beautiful city, but were also conducive to the elegant and graceful atmosphere in which Japanese literature flourished with unparalleled glory.

The main motive of this transfer of the capital may be ascribed, in short, to "a scheme for the better centralization of administrative power." For the growing strength of Buddhism that had augmented the ecclesiastical influence and the incessant intrigues of the great houses and the increasing wealth of some landholders tended to overshadow the central government. The Emperor, well aware of these dangers, resolved to transfer the seat of the government to divert the tide of the menace. Thereupon alterations were made in the administrative organs and a university was established under his charge.

But the Emperor's rigorous attempt to effect a radical reform did not survive him long and the results began to wane with the rise of the Fujiwara family, finally almost completely to disappear. The Fujiwara family soon became the paramount force in the government and love of luxury and pleasure grew amazingly. Men and women busied themselves with composing poems, playing on musical instruments, dancing and visiting the enchanting hills and dales near the city. Under such circumstances, culture was monopolized by the privileged class and the literary activity remained confined with life at court.

Poetry Becomes Popular

In fact, an ordinary conversation between these people was frequently carried on in the form of poetry, one asking in verse and the other answering in it. Not seldom, even obviously unpardonable crimes committed by members of this group were pardoned due to the merit of their poems.

Beside this, a young lady, for instance, saved her beloved plum-tree from being taken away by Imperial order, as she sang on the spot a sympathetic poem of her own composition that pleased the Emperor.

A court lady named Izumi Shikibu composed a poem in quest of rain in a long period of dry weather and the rain, it is said, actually began to fall while the prayers of some celebrated priests had been a failure,

In a little later period, a venerable priest incurred trouble because of having composed a skilful love poem, and, as the jealousy of the

courtiers almost sentenced him to exile, another poem still more skilful saved him from punishment. Again, a military man called Genzammî was in love with a woman much above him and got not only her, but also a promotion in rank by virtue of his fine poems. Such examples are indeed numerous during these times.

Japanese verse, owing to the vogue of Chinese poetry, had been in a temporary eclipse after the Manyoshu. But at the end of the ninth century, it regained its popularity, with the compilation of the first collection of the best poems since the Manyoshu under Imperial auspices. The chief compiler of this anthology, called the Kokidshu, was Kino Tsurayuki, a distinguished courtier. He not only completed this work in 922, but also wrote in 935 Tosa Nikki, a diary of his journey to the province of Tosa, of which he was appointed governor. Works of this type were produced at intervals throughout the 10th century.

Tale Of Genji

And then came the Tale of Genji (Genji Monogatari), a novel written by a court lady, Murasaki Shikibu, sometime between 1008 and 1020. So much has been said already about this novel that it seems unnecessary to dwell upon it in detail. Suffice it to say that it is the greatest literary work that Japan has ever produced in volume as well as in value. This is a story based upon the life at court, consisting of 54 books, narrating the lifelong love episodes of Prince Genji, his son, and grandson. The prince was indeed so uncommonly handsome that "people called him Hikaru Genji, or Genji the Shining One."

"Though it seemed a shame to put so lovely a child into man's dress," says the Tale, "he was now 12 years old and the time for his initiation was come. The Emperor directed the preparations with tireless zeal and insisted upon a magnificence beyond what was prescribed."

The ceremony was arranged and that day Genji, having arrived at the appointed hour, had "his long childish locks" bound "with the purple fillet." His dress was also changed according to the ceremony, but then, in spite of the general fear that his delicate features would be spoiled, "he looked handsomer than ever."

Aged 16 we hear him already discussing feminine character with some friends. This discussion is called "the talk of a rainy night" forming a celebrated chapter in the Tale. It so happens that "on a night

when the rain never ceased its dismal downpour", Genji sits quietly in his room, "looking at various books and papers." Suddenly he pulls some letters out of the drawers of a desk, arousing the curiosity of his young friend, who insisted upon seeing them. The letters are, of course, love letters and their conversation grows on the subject of women. Presently two more young men join the discussion and the conversation goes on all night, bringing no definite conclusion. But all this while Genji, though sometimes joining in, is thinking of one person only, fully convinced that "there is no one like her,"

In learning, indeed, no one could excel Genji in their profundity or speed, but where his genius was really unparalleled was in love-making. Much has been said on the morality of the Genji, but the story is, after all a faithful description of the age and country in which the author lived. Here is a passage which describes a feast at the palace :

"Toward the end of the second month the cherry flowers at the front of the Southern Palace were coming into blossom and a feast was given to celebrate the occasion. All the Imperial princes, nobles, and literati were assembled and among them the Emperor made his appearance....When all the seats were taken, the composing of poems, as was the custom, commenced, and they began picking up the rhymes. ... Meanwhile, they all partook of the feast, the selected musicians played their parts, and, as the sun was setting, 'the Spring-lark Sings' was danced, succeeded by 'the Willow and Flower Garden'. After them many young nobles danced indiscriminately, one after another. And then lamps were brought in as the reading of the poems began and, late in the evening, they all took leave. The palace grounds now became quiet and deserted and over them the moon shone with her soft light."

Prior to the publication of the Genji Monogatari, already a few novels had been published. Taketori Monogatari, for instance, is a charming fairy-tale written in a simple, unaffected style. The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Kyoto with the characters all Japanese. Its language, too, is almost pure Japanese,

Ochikubo Monogatari, which is assigned to the period between 967 and 969, narrates the story of a young lady of noble birth who has been ill-treated by her step-mother, but is saved by a young nobleman who falls in love with her. There are three or four more novels quite interesting, all written in the pure Japanese language.

To make an interesting contrast to the *Genji Monogatari*, there is *Makura-no-Soshi* (Pillow Sketches) a collection of the rambling notes of another lady-in-waiting called Seisho Nagon. It was written about 1000, A. D. giving, like the *Genji*, a full description of life at court.

Both Murasaki Shikibu and Seisho Nagon were of equal excellence in learning and the art of writing. But Seisho Nagon unlike the other, shows vividly her cleverness and somewhat cynical and even slightly haughty nature, in her dashing way of writing. Had she lived in the present day, she would unhesitatingly have placed herself at the head of the feminist movement.

Other diaries, rambling notes, and outstanding novels were also written by the court ladies or the daughters of some courtiers, thus supporting the Chinese designation of Japan as the "Queen Country". Women at that time were highly educated, allowed a share in inheritance and their own houses, and though not actually in the government, they occupied important offices at court. No social gathering was complete without their presence and no masculine tyranny was able to stand either in society or individual life. And while learned men still continued to write in Chinese, women wrote in pure Japanese style using their national language, to produce most of the important literature of Japan. Students of Japanese civilization and the advocates of Japanese spirit may well be advised not to overlook these interesting facts.

These works of literature manifestly indicate the strong influence of epicureanism. A gentle melancholy over the ephemerality of life lingers like the soft breeze of late spring, but a keen desire to enjoy each transitory moment shines like the sun in early summer; and glad of the privilege of being alive, those people remain almost entirely indifferent to the waggings of the outer world.

Apart from their personal misfortune, there was nothing much that troubled their souls. The sky was blue and flowers were lovely; their business was but to sing and enjoy them. If they met with love-affairs, besides love itself, there was another matter equally important to make poems as beautifully as they could to win the hearts of their loved ones.

Ise Monogatari, the book of Narihira's love adventures, consists of all his love poems. This man, Narihira, was a courtier and military officer, but the most successful Don Juan of all Don Juans. His life, which extended from 825 to 880, was spent in nothing but love-hunting and ballad-making. Even in his long journey to the plain of

Musashi, in the environs of the present Tokyo, which was then but a wild moor, he did not seem to neglect these two subjects.

His poem composed in crossing the River Sumida shows the very fine sentiment of a traveller who thinks of his loved one far away. Night then was falling upon the lonely river on which some "birds of the capital", otherwise sea gulls, were floating. The poet exclaims :

O thou bird of Miyako !

If such be thy name,

Come ! this question I would like to ask :

Is she whom I love.

Still alive or is she no more ?

But soon afterward this handsome nobleman does not refuse some rustic beauties, despite his longing for his home and lover.

The total of his love-affairs, according to the book, amounts to around 125. And in each case he seems to have been nearly always the winner without the slightest use of violence or power. The only things that made him feel unhappy must have been the excessive power of the Fujiwara clan, for which he was no match in competition.

Such an inclination is often seen among men of poetic character. We find it in Shelley, Byron, Heine, and many others, who all disliked tyranny in any form. Narihira, we may imagine, was but one of them. Only, in spite of his powerlessness, he at least won a game against the powerful Fujiwara by seducing the sister of the Prime Minister, the head of that family, causing him great annoyance.

At that time, to fall in love was not regarded as a crime, as in the Tokugawa or even our own times. No one was upbraided for having fallen in love or having declared it in poems. The question was solely concerned with how beautifully and effectively the poems were composed.

Narihira, who made love to many ladies of high rank, composed one day a bold poem wishing the guardian of the mansion where the noble lady dwelt would fall asleep every evening when he desired to call on her. But no trouble was inflicted upon him and after his death a shrine was erected in the capital in his memory.

Some critics say that Narihira led purposely a life of debauchery to disguise his plot against the Fujiwaras. It might have been the case to a certain extent, but I am not so ready to accept this view totally.

He was a romantic poet, just like Byron and Musset, and not a Casanova. And for me this is enough to account for his conduct. On the other hand, if he made love while he really did not love, such conduct, I fear, must be censured.

At the same time, Ono-no-Komachi, a court lady of extreme beauty, caused the death of an amorous nobleman in testing his sincerity, or perhaps, in mere cajolery, having forced him to come a long way to knock at her door for 100 winter nights but without being admitted before the expiration of the agreed term.

Or, again, Murasaki Shikibu, author of the Tale of Genji, disappointed the all-powerful Prime Minister, Michinaga Fujiwara, in his way to her heart.

So far, while men seemed busy in love and ballad-making, women, though equally busy in the same matters, appear to have known how to defend their chastity in case of necessity. For those women, in fact, chastity existed as a virtue for their own interest and not as a trammel to restrict their personal liberty for the benefit of men's selfish demands. Indeed, sexual intercourse is a matter that concerns nobody save those who are engaged in it. Hence, there was no need of inventing the chastity belt nor the necessity of condemning love as an offense against morals.

Following the general tide of luxury and extravagance at court, costume too reached the height of beauty and elaboration. Men's robes had large and long sleeves and trousers cut full to be tied at the bottoms; woman's robes, worn with red trousers were so long that they trailed on the floor a few feet and became exceedingly colourful and voluminous. These garments were made "of costly and gorgeous brocades and silks with beautiful patterns and splendid embroideries".

A well-dressed man wore several suits, "one above the other, disposing them so that their various colors showed in harmoniously contrasting lines at the folds on the bosom and at the edges of the long sleeves".

He had also to powder his face, paint his eyebrows, and rouge his cheeks to complete his toilet, while a fine lady *a la mode* would put on as many as 20 garments, one above the other, not to look bulky but to produce a play of harmonious colours. Her hair was extremely long, parted in the middle of the head to hang flowingly below her elaborate skirt. The following paragraph from the Diary of Murasaki Shikibu gives a full illustration of a parade of beautiful dresses :

"The dress of the ladies on the first day was robes of purple and old rose, red underdresses, and shaded trains ; on the second day, red and purple brocade, deep violet glossy silk, green robes, trains dyed by rubbing flowers. On the third day, we wore white and rose-coloured brocaded garments, trimmed with many folds. The robes were of dull red and old rose brocade, When we wear crimson outside, the inner dress is usually of deep violet. The pale and deep colour of spring leaf buds, dull red, golden yellow, and light and dark crimsons—dresses of these ordinary colours were worn trimmed with six folds in very beautiful combinations."

And so life appeared happy and sumptuous, and pomp, grace, and ease reigned in the period. But the time arrived at last for Venus and the Muse to retire when some military men were allowed to sit on the floor in the Palace. And the curtain began to fall upon the age of peace and refinement.

Kamakura (1186—1332) And Muromachi (1332—1603) Periods

The Kamakura period opens with the books of war. Hogen and Heiji Monogatari by Tokinaga Hamuro illustrate the civil disturbances and conflicts in the capital. Gempei Seisuiki, believed to be by the same author, describes very interestingly the rise and fall of the Heike and Genji clans.

Heike Monogatari, which is written in beautiful poetic prose, deals with practically the same events of the day. Only, it is made a little more tedious than the other three by its religious and moral interpretations. The authorship and date of this tale are curiously uncertain, although according to Tsurezure Gusa, the author is identified with the former governor of a province, Yukinaga, who, having shaved his head, wrote the stories to be sung by biwahoshi (bonzes who played the biwa, a kind of four-stringed lute).

The common fact concerning these historical works is that the authors of them, if not to be called obscure, at least do not make the same brilliant appearance as the two court ladies whom I introduced previously. It follows then that, whoever they may have been, they were not men of great importance, despite their literary talent, and the moods in which they wrote were undeniably under a certain influence of Buddhist pessimism.

The horror of fighting, actual examples of human barbarity and evanescence, must have dealt a terrible blow to their minds. The

standard of morality in which they had hitherto had faith was seen pitifully smashed by flash of the sword. A general openly killed his father and brothers murdered each other in cold blood.

Here blood flowed like a stream, a mass of fire reflected the very image of hell, here men yelled and woman shrieked and the world around them looked like one large slaughter-house.

"The sound of the bell of the Gion Monastery echoes the impermanence of all things. The hue of the flowers of the teak tree declares that those who flourish must be brought low. Yea, the proud ones are but for a moment, like an evening dream in springtime. The mighty are destroyed at the last, they are but as the dust before the wind."

Compare these famous opening words of *Heike Monogatari* with those of *Makura-no-Soshi* :

"In spring, it is interesting to watch the dawn grow gradually whiter and whiter, till a faint rosy tinge crowns the mountain's crest, while slender streaks of purple cloud extend themselves above."

Thus, alas, the age of soft elegance ended forever. Beauty, charm, and splendor became things of the past. Man's life, whosoever he might be, now looked like nothing more stable than a flickering light. And amid the endless turmoil, the only path open to mankind, had they the sense to abhor hell-fire, led to a monastery gate.

This tendency reaches its height in *Hojoki*, written by Kamo-no-Chomei, a resentful Shinto priest. To illustrate the utter pessimism of the author, nothing is more eloquent than the opening words, which read:

"The current of a running stream flows on unceasingly, but the water is not the same ; the foam floating on the pool where it lingers, now vanishes and now forms again, but is never lasting. Such is the fate of mankind and their habitations. In a splendid capital where the dwellings of the exalted and lowly join their roof-trees, and with their tiles jostle one another, they may appear to go on from generation to generation. But we shall find, if we make inquiry, that there are in reality but few which are ancient. Some were destroyed last year to be rebuilt this year ; others, which were great houses, have been ruined, and replaced by smaller ones. The same is true of their inmates".

Some time in 1181 or 1182, a terrible famine accompanied by a pestilence devastated a large part of the country. Chomei's memory

of its horrible disaster made his pen run with high-pitched eloquence. "By garden walls or on the roadsides countless persons died of famine and, as their bodies were not removed, the world was filled with evil odors." The spring was succeeded by the summer and the winter brought a new year. But in spite of everybody's hope and prayers, the state of things went from bad to worse. Within the capital alone, the number of the corpses found in the street and river-bed during two months was 42,000.

Indeed, the ruthless blast of mutability blew against all mortals. The actual teaching of nature's lack of discrimination toward all earthly existence was but to push the bewildered souls to seek refuge where an worldly vicissitudes would come to disturb them. Hence, the easy doctrine of Jodo or the Zen teaching the mental equanimity gained popularity in preference to the ritual and esoteric cults of Tendai and Shingon.

Chomei himself, having been a Shinto priest, retired from the world to shut himself up in a small hut, which remained "secure and undisturbed", while a great number of people died and numerous houses were destroyed in the capital. And satisfied with "a bed to lie upon at night and a mat to sit on in the daytime", his days passed in quiet seclusion with a statue of Amida Buddha and a copy of the Buddhist sutra beside him. But among those who followed a similar way, the most celebrated was a soldier called Saigyô.

Saigyô, a military officer attached to the guard of the retired Emperor Toba, was born in 1118. Celebrated for his courage and military training though he was, the awakening of his inner life induced him to throw away his sword and, leaving his wife and 4 years old daughter at home, he wandered as a poet-monk. Travelling about here and there, he composed numerous poems during his 50 years' vagrancy.

But notwithstanding his apparent serenity of mind, his poems speak yet of an unmistakable trait of pessimism in the depths of his heart that struggled between emotion and self-surrender.

"How can this passion still possess my soul,

When, methought, I had utterly renounced the world ?

The solitary figure of a monk in sedge-hat and black robe, loitering about as the wind blew, now gazing at a nameless stream, now wishing to die under a blooming cherry, would make of itself fine poetry. With his placid resignation to the ups and downs of the

world and his calm contemplation of nature with which he learned to unite his heart, Saigyo indeed makes a vivid picture of an age of decadence.

*"Methought I had no desire of living longer ;
Yet why should I not long to see another year,
Again this pure moonlight of restful autumn?"*

Two noted literary productions of the Muromachi period, the one entitled Taiheiki, a narrative of historical events in which violence crushes justice, and the other, a collection of rambling notes, called Tsurezure Gusa (already referred to), were written by two priests.

Taiheiki begins with the description of the Shogunate government of Minamoto Yoritomo, founded in 1181, and, narrating interestingly the events of the reign of Emperor Go-Daigo from 1319 to 1339, ends with the reign of Emperor Go-Murakami in 1368. Although its historical value is to be a little discounted, its language is nevertheless beautiful with a fine combination of the Chinese and Japanese tongues.

Tsurezure Gusa is one of the celebrated works in Japanese literature. Its author, Kenko, was a Buddhist priest, a man of good family. After the death of the Ex-Emperor, Go-Uda, in 1324, he retired from public life, living in the neighbourhood of the capital. Kenko, Buddhist though he was, was the sort of man who had "more than a mere tolerance for other faiths, with the liberal comprehensiveness characteristic of the Japanese nation". He wrote these rambling notes "to while away the livelong days of tedium", as he tells in the opening of the book. Here are some short paragraphs extracted from it :—

"However accomplished a man may be, if he is destitute of gallantry, he is a very lonely being. Such a one reminds me of a costly wine-cup that has no bottom."

"If, even without any pious intentions whatever, we kneel down before the Buddha, and take in our hands the sacred book and the bell, a good work goes on of itself within us. If, even with wandering minds, we take our seat on the ropemat, unaware we become absorbed in devout contemplation."

"There is no greater pleasure than, alone by the light of a lamp, to open a book and make the men of the unseen world our companions".

"It is not only when we look at the moon or flowers with our eyes that they give us pleasure. On a spring day, though we do not

leave our house, on a moonlight night, though we remain in our chamber, the mere thought of them is exceedingly cheering and delightful."

Yokyoku or No drama, which was produced early in the 15th century, was as generally surmised, the work of Buddhist monks. Its stories are in the main of a dismal nature, dealing with ghosts and telling of the tortures of hell, finally to promote religious aspiration.

Thus, without counting some minor works, the literature that had flourished at court in the previous period, now was handed down to monks and recluses. Moral codes, having been shaken at their very basis, lost their power as criteria of human society. And in their place a new rule, invented to suit the assumption of the strong, flaunted the principle that "might is right".

However, the strong cannot remain always strong, and the mighty, by nature's law, "are but as the dust before the wind." If, therefore, might is right, then the essence of justice must change every moment, meaning that there is no justice at all. Hence those who could not accept this situation became weary and disgusted and abandoned the world to comfort their afflicted souls with writing

Force Withers Literature

The governments, successively formed by military men, obviously had little or no inclination to respect culture. A Shogun, Sanetomo, the third and last Shogun of the Minamoto clan, was assassinated by his vassal because he had poetic talent rather than political ability. And the outrage of Yoshitoki established lawlessness to last for seven centuries, in which justice and conscience had to bow tacitly where the sword flashed.

Women, who had enjoyed freedom and had manifested excellence in literature, were almost entirely deprived of their activities. And literature with a marked inclination toward decadent sentimentalism continued to decline until the Tokugawa period.

However, it is rash to assume that these military epochs rendered no service to cultural development. The Muromachi period, in fact, under the auspices of some of the Ashikaga Shoguns, brought about a renaissance in art and literature. The frugal austerity of life under the Hojo governments was replaced by lavish extravagance and the refinements of the Heian period, which had been rejected by the military men, gradually revived.

The No drama, for instance, which developed from the Sarugaku hitherto played at the shrines and temples, owes its production to the artistic encouragement of the third Shogun, Yoshimitsu. The versatility of the eighth Shogun, Yoshimasa, made indeed no small contribution to all branches of art, especially to painting, establishing the Kano school which in turn gave birth to the genius of Sesshu. The Ginkakuji (Silver Pavilion), which was originally built as the villa of Yoshimasa, is celebrated for its magnificence together with the Kinkakuji (Golden Pavilion) of Yoshimitsu, both of which are among the most famous places of interest in Kyoto.

In this epoch, the Zen sect reached the height of its prosperity. Five fanes belonging to this sect were recognised by the government as the five leading temples of Kyoto against those of Kamakura, and the priests, being closely connected with the Shoguns and the powerful lords, greatly helped the development of the painting of the Sung school mainly, India-ink drawing, achieving a synthesis of Buddhist religion, Chinese art, and Japanese sentiment. The tea ceremony was also an outcome of this popularity of the Zen principle.

Two noteworthy things occurred to customs in this period. One was the habit of shaving the crown of the head, started by the military men for special purposes. Court nobles and civil officials, however did not follow this habit; they still wore their hair long, gathered in a bunch and bound with a strand of twisted paper.

The other habit that came into vogue was to stain the teeth black. This habit had hitherto been practised only by court nobles, but was now adopted by the military men too. The crown-shaving habit became universal in the Tokugawa period, but the custom of blackening the teeth became confined to married women during that period.

Women continued to wear their hair long and those of the upper classes, wore loose trousers, while among those of the lower classes, skirted robes, which later became common garments in Tokugawa days made their appearance. The obi, that girdle characteristic of Japanese dress, was not yet known in this epoch and instead women used a narrow belt of silk round the waist as a mere fastener, which was completely covered by a long, flowing robe. In fact, the girdle which is known to us as the obi was not worn until the close of the 16th century. Women also wore large hats when they went out, while men invented the kami-shimo which afterward became the ceremonial costume for the samurai.

Thus the Muromachi period, though a time of military government, was not without artistic merit, until civil wars broke out again toward the close of it. Indeed the Japanese, whether by nature or tradition, have never been deprived of their artistic expression. Even disaster and destruction had always failed to suppress their unquenchable thirst for beauty of colour and form. With them, again, the flow of artistic ideas and expressions seems to remain unmolested, never completely wiped out, by the effects of the rigid Spartan spirit and the occasional interruptions of violence.

Tokugawa Period (1603—1868)

With the establishment of the Tokugawa government, peace was thoroughly restored throughout the country to last for two and half centuries. However, those who win victory by force are usually compelled to hold it by the same method, lest their power should fall.

If the Tokugawas were able to come into power, it was the result of the battle of Sekigahara, in which the Toyotomi force failed to win the game. But popularity was then rather on the side of Toyotomi, under whose liberal government the nation began to enjoy prosperity in commerce. Therefore, there was no popular demand for the Toyotomi government to be replaced by the Tokugawa.

Unfortunately, the death of the hero Hideyoshi Toyotomi gave an opportunity to Ieyasu Tokugawa to rebel against the Toyotomi government. As the result, Ieyasu became the conqueror and formed his own government.

Peace and order were therefore necessary, mainly to maintain the stability of the government rather than for the benefit of the people. Those who fought for the Tokugawas did so merely because they foresaw that it would be to their interest to do so. But they might rise again in arms at any moment if they found no satisfaction under the new rule. Such is the usual aspect of feudalism, in which reason submits itself to power. To secure authority under these circumstances, nothing would be more effective than the rigorous practise of the feudal regime. And so, first of all the distinction between the ruling class and the ruled had to be fundamentally established, so that orders would be enforced from above to be obeyed without criticism. Hence the people were taught "to rely" on the government and not "to know" its policy.

Drastic measures were taken to wipe out completely the liberal and democratic ideas that began to prevail in the previous age to be replaced by a prescribed morality. And the country was shut up to stop the penetration of foreign civilization as well as money,

Meanwhile, however, the rise of the bourgeoisie awoke among the people artistic enthusiasm and a desire for refinement. The civilization of the Heian period, though in much more plebeian aspects, gradually revealed itself despite the ever-imposing oppression. The tragedies of Chikamatsu represent the pathetic struggle of these people between the artificial morality and the claim of their natural instincts.

But the world described by Saikaku defies mockingly the general standard of morals, plunging headlong into the abyss of sensual pleasures. His *Koshoku Ichidai Otoko* (the story of a great admirer of ladies) was written undoubtedly under the influence of the *Tale of Genji*. It is the story of a man whose life was spent in one long series of lustful adventures. Even at the end, instead of falling into hell as Don Juan of Moliere, he complacently sails in a small boat for an imaginary island where the only inhabitants are women.

This novel alone, without referring to other works by the same author, gives a vivid illustration of the type of his literature. I cannot tell, however, if Saikaku actually adored a life of this type, for behind the gratification of the flesh and the mordant defiance of morals so characteristic of all his works we find yet a sentiment strangely cold almost desperately sad, with a cruel smile lingering over the flesh and its inevitable destiny.

"Ah, sad is the flesh and I have read all books," said d'Annunzio somewhere; and this sadness, apparently different in its element from that of the weak and oppressed, seems to produce the same pain, perhaps more biting, in the human soul.

The tragedies of Chikamatsu, in which men and women obediently follow the command of the order, and the unmolested epicureanism of Saikaku, thus starting from different directions, unexpectedly meet in the end to acknowledge that after all life is sad. In neither of them, nor in any literature throughout this period, will one find that soft lingering charm of life, characteristic of the Nara and Heian periods.

The mental struggle of the people between an unnatural restraint and natural desire produced arts of a curious mixture of humor, grossness, and sentimental delicacy. Even Bakin, whose works follow a

rigid moral line, was inclined to interweave almost ridiculous imagination with authentic historical events. Kabuki may be regarded as the best example of this kind of art. The novels from Kyoden down to Samba and Ikku, including the *hokku* and *senryu*, though different in type and character, largely represent such a trend of time in which the only way to release the pent-up sentiments was to take things humorously and to enjoy life where the restraint was least rigid.

Kyoden's fiction, except the first one or two works, reminds me somewhat of the novels of Alexandre Dumas, full of sensational events, murders, suicides, thefts, combats, and so on. He started his career as a merchant of smoking apparatus and some kind of medicine. But he soon found his ability in writing fiction and so became a professional novelist, rapidly gaining popularity, so much so as to insist on regular payment for his work. Such a custom had not definitely been practised by his predecessors, but was now followed by all authors.

However, this profession of writing novels became an object of disgust to the authorities. To those rulers, indeed, to write stories, whether fictitious or real, must have seemed utter nonsense and harmful. It was like the Catholic conception of heresy in the 16th century; as everything that was not in accordance with the orthodox teaching of the church was condemned as a crime everything that did not suit the ideas of the rulers had to be suppressed.

So, what had seemed nonsense now became a nuisance, and Kyoden was punished with 50 days' handcuffs for having written of the life in the brothel-quarters. Similar punishments were inflicted on many others, absurd though it appears, in total negligence of the fact that it was the government itself which had established, or at least had recognized, that quarter. Yet the quarter still existed while not a few writers were prosecuted under the law issued in 1791.

In 1826, Mizuno Echizen-no-Kami, the head of the Tokugawa government and a wholesale reformer, promulgated decree after decree banning luxury and pleasure "to restore the austere fashions of former times." Expensive costumes were seized and burned; theatres were suppressed and actors ostracized; a severe censorship was imposed on all publications; and "even children's toys were legislated for". This drastic policy is known as the Tempo Reformation, but it ended none the less in the complete failure of its purpose, as did the effort of Savonarola.

Tanehiko narrowly escaped punishment, while Shunsui died undergoing a sentence of confinement in handcuffs. Shunsui Tamenaga, who was a bookseller of Yedo and a pupil of Samba, is reproached for his immoral novels. But his Umego-yomi (Plum Calendar) is not altogether without some charm with its fine language.

Samba and Ikku appeared fairly safe, because, instead of pornography, they wrote humorous stories of plain plebeian life and travel. Samba's Ukiyo Buro (World's Bath-house) describes amusingly the everyday life of the common people assigning the dialogues to the frequenters of a public bath-house.

Ikku's Hizakurige is a voluminous work consisting of 12 parts. The first part was written in 1802, but the last did not appear until 1822. It is the history of the travels, mostly on foot, of two commoners named Yajirobei and Kidahachi, along the Tokaido and other great highways of Japan. It is indeed interesting with their manifold adventures and mishaps, which are narrated in a light and comic style.

In those days some actors, singers, and painters (the famous Utamaro included) shared the same fate as the authors, when their mode of life and work failed to meet the government's approval.

Indeed, people might have liked to laugh heartily, but instead they smirked; they might have been delighted with open love-making as in the Heian period, but they had to search for it in the licensed quarter. Only the scholars of the Chinese language and the revivalists of old Japanese literature were not only free from persecution, but were also prosperous, owing to the prevalence of Confucianism which was almost the state teaching.

On the other hand, men of different inclination sought companionship with Nature. Like Saigyô, but not necessarily pessimistic, they found the world weary and too troublesome to live in. So they went in search of tranquillity and they heard "the still sad music of humanity" delicately echoed in the calmness and apparent indifference of Nature. Bashô, Issa, and Ryôkan may be classified in this type.

Like Saigyô, Bashô was a great traveller and though he had many worthy pupils, he never liked to stay long in one place, happy in his journey almost as poor as a beggar. One day he met some highwaymen on a road and he was only too glad to give them all he had, even his clothes and calmly continued his solitary walk, making

a poem of his experience. His days were spent in excursions and his impressions, having penetrated into the very heart of nature, manifested themselves in the form of the *hokku*, that 17-syllable poem which was the product of this period. The following *hokku* may give his very image:

*On a withered branch
A crow is sitting
This autumn eve.*

Issa was also an itinerant *haikai* (*hokku*) poet.

*Do not strike.
See, the fly is rubbing
Its hands and legs.*

In spite of his apparent nonchalance and love of vagrancy, this short poem speaks, perhaps more clearly than a voluminous doctrine, of the philanthropy of the true human nature that loves all living creatures.

The age of lawlessness and violence sent men of letters into seclusion. The age of artificial morality and bureaucratic tyranny produced a decline in national activities as stagnant water becomes putrified; the peace and order of two and a half centuries were at last broken.

Meiji Era (1868—1912)

The fall of the Tokugawa government which brought forth the Meiji restoration in 1868 pushed Japan abruptly into a new phase of civilization. This was indeed the time when Japan embarked vigorously on the reconstruction of the country following the newest tide of a civilization hitherto unknown to her.

True, feudalism was officially abolished and Western civilization swept in with amazing rapidity. But one thing must be borne in mind in giving a fair criticism of the period. The work of restoration was not accomplished by the people who would have demanded absolute emancipation from feudal oppression. Certainly feudalism was destroyed outwardly, but it was so politically rather than spiritually. Inwardly feudalism still remained in both those who governed and those who were governed. And the social structure was none the less top-heavy. This is an important consideration in the study of the literature of this period.

The men who were substituted for the leaders of the Tokugawa government and its feudal lords were by no means chosen by the

people, as was George Washington. George Washington "accepted no pay as commander in chief : he accepted none as President of the United States". For him the duty to work for the benefit of the people was sublime and there was no necessity to strengthen his power. But those men who formed the Meiji government had first of all to consolidate their newly established government which was still in embryo. And to achieve it, they believed that their own power should be made supreme. Hence the exaltation of official at the expense of private life.

Outwardly the distinction of classes was no longer in existence. The samurai caste lost all the privileges it had enjoyed for seven centuries. But bureaucracy, almost as much as in the past generations, came to predominate in a new form, backed up by the military authorities. The same Confucian maxim. "Let the people *rely on*, but do not let them *know*," that I quoted in the previous chapter, was a principle largely maintained by the holders of power.

On the other hand, the people who had been accustomed to the long reigns of bureaucratic and military autocracies, were not as yet fully awakened to claim their "Rights of Man". The spirit of subserviency still lingered in their half-opened minds. However, the government as well as the people was then duly aware of one thing that appeared to both irrefutably clear : Japan must develop as a civilized country at all costs. This was their common desire and object, and to realize it, they dashed desperately ahead, paying little attention to cultural refinements.

They had to build up the country on a modern structure ; enrich it with up to date methods ; and above all arm it as best they could to face the enemy. Consequently, they seemed to enjoy no leisure, or better to say, deliberately avoided it, favoring a rigid Spartan spirit which was thought to be indispensable for the completion of their task.

A natural result of such a tendency was the general negligence of culture. And contrary to the tradition of the Heian period, the literary activity of the nation had little or no opportunity to stand against the overwhelming vigour in pursuing purely practical and materialistic objectives. It is usually believed that Japan learned the utilitarian and materialistic spirit from the Occident. But the fact remains that the Japanese themselves were then too busy to pay much attention to intangible things. The grace and delicacy of the past ages seemed

suddenly lost and the people galloped with full speed toward their common utilitarian goal.

The outward forms of Western civilization were quickly and effectively established. But the spirit that produced such a civilization seemed to be unduly overlooked. As a matter of fact, no material civilization can claim its existence without the foundation of spiritual culture. Western civilization, which now boasts of its prosperity, made its real start when feudalism was completely destroyed both in form and spirit. What we see nowadays in the Western countries, especially in the United States, is the fruit that has been produced by brains freed from all bonds of medieval conceptions. It is an impossible task to lead a nation with the social and political ideas of the past centuries, while exploiting it with the methods of the 20th century. Yet this impossible way has been the one followed largely by this country since the Restoration.

Newspapers Make Advent

Newspapers were published in the early part of the Meiji era. But the successive governments treated them almost in the same way as in the Tokugawa days ; ban after ban was launched upon them when they did not approve the government policies. The favorite method of the government then used was to suspend publication. The suppression usually lasted from five to 20 days, but sometimes as long as 30 days. This was undoubtedly a tremendous loss to the newspapers. But a greater loss was suffered by losing the subscribers altogether while the sale was suspended. Several newspapers with democratic inclinations frequently met this fate.

The *Hochi*, for instance, which was not then what it is now, had on the staff that veteran member of the Diet, Yukeo Ozaki. His articles caused it almost invariably to incur trouble with the authority. Besides the *Hochi*, Ozaki worked for several other papers, but, taking his own confession, he "ruined five or six newspapers", by his pen. Besides Ozaki, such men as Inukai and Shimada, celebrated figures in the history of Japanese constitutionalism, worked for the press, the former, as Ozaki, becoming noted as "a destroyer of newspapers".

Another method employed by the government was, of course, to punish the writers by imprisonment. Nearly all prominent journalists of the day went through the prison gate, among whom Ryuhoku Narishima, Toccho Suehiro, and Katsundo Minoura are well-known.

Ryuhoku, is noted, together with Robun, as the author of light novels. When he was in the Choya Simbun, he attacked two high officials who were directly responsible for the law to punish differences of opinion. "Of old," he wrote, "there were such crafty officials as Takeshi Inoue and Saburo Ozaki", etc. The result was his immediate imprisonment.

To cope with this suppression, the leading newspapers, save those in favour of the government, engaged special reporters whose sole duty was to go to prison in place of the competent ones who actually wrote the articles. At that time, in spite of some carelessness and vulgarity that spoiled the dignity of the press, it enjoyed at least a certain independence, proud of its privilege of leading the people instead of being led by authority.

In short, such a saying as "Differences of opinion on politics are punished as seditious, on religious topics as blasphemous, and on social questions as immoral and obscene," may be borrowed to describe the situation. Besides this, frequent attempts were made by ruffians on the lives of the writers whose opinions differed from theirs. However, despite persecutions, not a few men seemed courageous enough to face the threat boldly, fully convinced that "The sedition, blasphemy, and immorality punished in one age are often found to be the accepted and sometimes the admired, political, religious, and social teachings of a more advanced period."

Under such circumstances it is not difficult to imagine the fate of the literary activity of the nation. In fact, we can say almost nothing about it, save to mention some political novels written by such journalists as Yano and Ozaki, until the middle of this era. But literature is an effluence of an inward voice, it claims its existence sooner or later, whatever may be the circumstances. And to open a way, some novelists gathered to form a group called the Kenyusha, headed by Koyo Ozaki. This school was based on what may be termed the revival of Tokugawa literature, greatly influenced by Saikaku strongly flavored by romanticism. Koyo practised the language of Saikaku, while Rohan followed largely its spirit. As for Ichiyo, the first woman novelist of prominence in the Meiji era, she seems to have so carefully studied Saikaku's grace and sensibility as to master them as her own.

Koyo was certainly extremely popular at this time, but generally speaking, his works are overloaded with abuse of emotion and unnecessarily callous and lamentable events. Compared with Koyo,

Rohan was decidedly less emotional and more serious. His historical fiction is rich with "imaginative power, lofty aims, and a fine flow of language," without the extravagances of Bakin.

Ichiyo, who died in 1896 at 24, is distinguished by her very human and especially feminine feelings which pervade her short stories, most of which are of a melancholy kind. Her *Nigorie* is unanimously accepted as one of the masterpieces of the Meiji novels.

The name of Sazanami Iwaya is worth remembrance in praise of his Fairy Tales.

I omit a full introduction and criticism of the authors and their works ; so those who are interested in such subjects are invited to read my separate essays on these matters.

Many novelists who flourished afterwards, owe their fame to this school. The most eminent figure among the disciples of Koyo is perhaps Kyoka who, still alive, hold an eminent position in the history of Meiji literature. In those days, to write romances about the life in the licensed quarters was somewhat in vogue and Kyoka made his reputation largely with such works exquisitely written in his special style.

Kafu Nagai also belonged to this school when he started his literary career and although his early influence seems to have been discarded in his later works, it is yet undeniably traceable in his feelings. It is often assumed that Kafu followed deliberately the spirit of Tokugawa civilization when he was disappointed with the culture of his Motherland after his return from France in 1908. He himself mentioned it in his various works. But the following paragraph indicates some doubt as to the accuracy of such assumption :

"They have the law that regards all sexual pleasure as the greatest social crime. They are the people in whom it is inculcated that it is impossible to stand against the governor and a crying baby. They know that their lips will feel cold if they speak. What can I do then with the paintings that enchanted Verhaeren with their juicy mutton and excellent wine and healthy-looking stout women ? Ah, I love the Ukiyoe, Japanese prints."

Throughout the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras nobody except Kafu has ever made such a bold declaration. And yet there is no obvious reason why he should love Japanese prints if he was so much attached to the liberal and democratic civilization of the Occident. But if he chose the Ukiyoe to divert his disappointment and enjoyed

them all alone in his lonely house, we may as well presume that such a taste had been latent within him, as he confesses in one of his recent works.

To make a contrast with the tendency of the Kenyusha, we must not neglect the merits of such men as Shoyo Tsubouchi, Ogai Mori, and Futabatei Shimei, who all made a great contribution to the translation of Western literature. The most noteworthy work of Shoyo Tsubouchi was "to bring back the nation to more rational literary principles". In his *Shosetsu Shinzui* (1885) and *Shosei Katagi* (1887), he gave a lead to the movement of a realistic school, denouncing the artificial morality of the Tokugawa epoch, especially of Bakin's writings. Among his excellent plays the palm is given to *Kirihitoha*, which has been played with success by the competent actors of Tokyo.

Translations indeed made rapid progress with appalling popularity. And with them were introduced naturalism which was somewhat misunderstood in this country. Katai Tayama and Shusei Tokuda were the leaders of this newly imported movement, but it was a little misrepresented by the partial introduction which was inclined to overcharged descriptions of sexual life. And many works were banned on grounds of immorality. Indeed *Madame Bovary* or *Nana* might have been studied, but *Germinal* seemed neglected. A similar comment may be made upon romanticism and humanism. Before a single author appeared to challenge Hugo or Tolstoi in greatness, writers of this movement were doomed to pass away not much noticed, knelling the short, treacherous day of Mushakoji's humanism. After English and French literature came Russian literature with startling popularity. But this too, has failed to produce a Dostoevsky in the Japanese language.

As a short story writer, the name of Doppo Kunikida should be remembered with admiration. And as a follower of Tolstoi, Roka Tokutomi deserves appreciation, while Soseki Natsume embellished the close of the period with his metaphysical interpretation and beautiful phraseology.

In the field of essay writing, Chomin Nakae should not be forgotten as a vanguard of democracy. And Chogyu Takayama as a humanist on ethical grounds gained a high reputation, while Tokoku Kitamura met a tragic end probably as the result of the deadlock in his ultra-idealism. Reiun Taoka was also a pathetic figure with all his learning and ability.

In poetry there was a change in the wording of both the short and long forms. Toson Shimazaki, who was originally a novelist, may be the last poet who left excellent poems written in an old style. New styles combined the written and spoken languages, but later on even the use of the latter alone has been practised.

Not mere Occidental Imitation

It is not uncommonly asserted that modern Japanese literature has been under the strong influence of occidentalism. Some people even conceive that it is a mere imitation of Occidental literature. But from so far as I have stated, such an observation is not to be thoroughly accepted. Certainly there has been a marked influence of Western civilization that has come like a tidal wave and the remnants of the literature of the past ages seem to have been almost wiped out. However, this accounts only for the fact that a new literature has come to be substituted for the old one, in a form of national literature, albeit still in a transitory condition. The works of all those I have mentioned can assuredly be called pure national literature, whatever may have been the influence upon them. It must be made clear that national literature does not consist of the propaganda of nationalism.

To conclude, in spite of official suppression and general contempt, the Meiji era marked an important period in the development of Japanese literature. True, there was no official collection of poems or publication of voluminous novels such as the *Genji*; nor was there the compilation of records as in the Nara period, nor even the creation of an entirely new form of literature as *No*. In short, there was nothing done for its benefit under the auspices of anybody save through the efforts of the men of letters themselves. But they opened various doors which had hitherto been ignored in the history of Japanese literature, some fighting against poverty, some against persecution, and some against unpopularity. Their work was done and done marvelously. And yet before them there seems to lie still a long way to the Golden Age of literature.

WORLD OF BOOKS

Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures by H. De Terra of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and by T. T. Paterson of Cambridge University, 1939. PP. 354+54 plates and maps.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington founded in 1902 is one of the leading research centres of the New World. Thanks to the noble initiative of the Institution, the first systematic studies on the Ice Age in India were completed by De Terra and Paterson. Their expedition was sponsored by the Carnegie Institution, Yale University, Cambridge University and the American Philosophical Society. With Dr. Hellmut de Terra, the director of the expedition, was associated T. T. Paterson of Cambridge and P. Teilhard de Chardin, the renowned French palaeontologist of the Peking Man's laboratory. Their joint collaboration has produced a report which, for years to come, would be consulted as an authoritative document on the pre-historic archaeology of India.

More than a hundred years ago, through the discoveries of the Siwalik fauna by Falconer and Cautley in 1836, the Siwalik Hills of northern India came to be recognised as one of the chief sources of ancient mammal life. In 1932-33, Dr. De Terra discovered Stone Age artefacts in Kashmir and in the Punjab Salt Range together with a number of new fossil anthropoids from the Siwalik beds. The field-work was resumed in 1935 when two promising Indian scholars Mr. D. Sen and N. K. Aiyengar joined the party exploring thoroughly Kashmir and Jammu, the Salt Range, the Soan Valley of the Patwar region near Rawalpindi and thence through Sukkur region and Mohenjo-Daro, and Narbada Valley to the examination of the terrace geology and archaeology of the region near Madras.

The first part of this valuable report deals with the Ice Age in South Western Kashmir (pp. 1-252). Parts II—V are devoted to Pleistocene and Archaeological studies in other parts of India. Thus they have laid the foundation of a new branch of study which, as they hoped, will "contribute to an understanding of Pleistocene geology and pre-history in Asia" and will encourage "the development of a border science in which geologist and archaeologist joined in a co-operative

study of human evolution on a geologic basis." The bulk of the book is devoted to the geological and glaciological survey of the zones mentioned above. We are interested in the conclusions with regard to human remains and we draw the attention of our readers to them : Paleolithic man invaded the foothills in the Pnnjab and in Poonch as early as the middle Pleistocene epoch ; but similar records are lacking from Kashmir proper where tools showing flaking tradition in subrecent time have been recovered with potsherds in alluvial deposits on the banks of the Jhelum and in terrace sites of the Neolithic Age. But the chronology of the Neolithic Age in India is still vague. In the megalithic site of Burzahom, between Srinagar and Gandarbal, have been discovered flakes and cores reminiscent of palaeolithic technique, but most of the flakes are associated with pottery-bearing layers of either neolithic or historic date. In the industries of Rohri and Sukkur area we find extensive use of cores and blades of different techniques suggesting that the industries were late, but certainly earlier than the earliest period of the Chalcolithic civilization of the Indus Valley (c. 3000 B. C.). For we notice the absence of pottery and metal in the industries of the Rohri and Sukkur area marking the upper limit of the Chalcolithic age of the Indus. The pre-historic hunter of the Old Stone age apparently found the Pir Panjal Range too dangerous to cross for he "came from Peninsular India where no mountain barriers of equal height and wildness arose on his migration routes." Let us hope that the pre-historians in near future will trace clearly these routes of migration linking up satisfactorily the Stone Age cultures of Madras and Narbada valley with those of the Punjab and Sind. The oldest agricultural period in Mesopotamia range from 4000—6000 B. C. and with the intensive study of similar problems in India we may hope to mark the transition from the pre-agricultural to the agricultural period in the culture history of India, supplying thereby the background to our chalcolithic culture of 4th millennium B. C.

Where Theosophy and Science Meet—Parts I, II, III a collective work edited by Prof. D. D. Kanga, I. E. S. Published by the Adyar Library Association, Adyar, Madras.

Each of the three volumes, as the editor hoped, would serve as a stimulus to modern thought and each volume contains interesting articles by different authors classifying their contributions under four heads : Nature, Man, God and Practical Applications. The general

attitude behind the publication is defined by Dr. G. Arundale, the President of the Society who writes in his foreword : "Theosophy and Science are already meeting, both in that dreamland of ours which we think is fact-land. This admirable book tells us how this is so, and I commend it most earnestly to all who seek Truth every where, are happy to find it any where, and always hold it lightly, knowing that while Truth is everywhere, our understanding of it must ever be less than it really is." Prof. Kanga himself has contributed important chapters on Physics, Chemistry etc. and concludes his epilogue by stating that "true religion is revolutionary in character" quoting Prof. Radhakrishnan. The books, we are sure, will help theosophists in transvaluating their values and will also help general readers in appreciating their points of view. The book is excellently printed with interesting diagrams and charts.

The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Vol. XXIII ; Peking, China.

Through this valuable journal which is the organ of the Chinese Social and Political Science Association, we can keep in touch with the cultural activities in Peking. Prof. Kenneth Ch'en of the Oriental Institute University, Hawaii, contributed highly interesting article on the "Cushing Mission" which takes us back to the first Anglo-Chinese War (1839-42) in which China was defeated and was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanking (Aug. 1842) which provided for the opening of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo and Shanghai to British trading vessels. Mr. Y. Cheng published the first instalment of his studies on Wang Shou-Jen as statesman. But the most valuable study is that of Albert J. Chang on "Some Future Aspects of China-Nipponese relations in long Retrospect". Here he refers to Mac Nair's article on political relationship between China and Japan as well as to a very recent and learned article of Prof. Iwamura published in the Osaka Mainichi. It is entitled as "Retrospect of the Historical relation of East Asian nations", showing clearly that the Government as well as private individuals of China and Japan kept active intercourse with one another through centuries.

The Philippine Social Science Review. Manila.

This important journal is edited by the eminent Philippine historian L. H. Fernandez and published from Rizal Hall of the University of Philippines. The population problems have been analysed

by T. A. Tojo of the Philippine Research Bureau, New York. D. G. Wico has given an able study on the Spanish Civil War and P. S. Castrence has discussed the aesthetic of Tagalog prose. P. E. Abelard of the Department of the Political Science writes on "Philippine on the crossroad of Japan's Southward Expansion."

Intellectual Co-operation Bulletin. January 1940.

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has been publishing, all these years, this valuable bulletin which appears now in its English garb, in response to the suggestions frequently made by the intellectuals of the English speaking world. The institute realizes specially in these days of trial of faith, that we are not only in need of "organised mutual co-operation but of faith in a common ideal which will continue to provide the solid basis for all the tasks undertaken." This new issue starts with a series of "open letters" one on the cultural relations between Europe and Latin America and another on the Problems of War as it affects intellectuals.

We are glad to find special sections on "War and Convention relating to intellectual co-operation." "International student organisation for War-time"; "International Museums News during the period of hostilities", "Fate of the Polish Intellectual", "Modification of Radio Broadcasting caused by the War". The valuable report on the 12th Session of the International Studies' Conference is presented only to remind us that while it was going to meet in Bergen, Norway from Aug. 27 Sept. 2nd, 1939. the War completely upset all cultural activities. We recommend the Bulletin to all learned societies and libraries of India.

Iranian and Indian Analogues of the Legend of the Holy Grail

by J. C. Coyajee. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 1-8.

The learned author is well-known in India, specially in Bengal as an authority on Political Economy, but few could suspect that he is a finished Persian scholar as well, who has published "Studies on Shah-Nameh of Ferdousi" and also the "Cults and Legends of ancient Iran and China". In the volume under review he is pursuing the fascinating problem of the Holy Grail. The European students of Comparative Mythology tried to explain the Grail Legend in terms of the hypothesis of its Celtic origin but they ignored the basic fact that the Celtic legends may have been influenced by myths and legends of

Oriental nations with whom the Celts came into contact before migrating into Europe. Prof. Coyajee has succeeded in demonstrating that the Grail Legends have significant analogous features of Iranian and Indian mythology : quest of the Royal Power by the *Devas* and *Asuras*, fire symbol in the three legends, parallelism between Laskhmi Ashi and Guinevere, the cult of royal glory in Iran and such valuable elements in this study of comparative mythology and literature were brought out by the eminent Persee scholar who adds a new significance to the Indo-Iranian and Indo-European studies. He points out very appropriately that the western world was long under the domination of Mithraism which was saturated with Iranian traditions, *Devas* and *Asuras* joining in the quest which combines the ideals of morality, abundance and empire.

Plantation Scheme for the Sadiya Division for the Years 1938-39 to 1947-48.

Assam became a part of the British India a little over a century ago (1826), but even to-day its economic botany and immense forest resources are very imperfectly known. It is customary of the forest departments of Assam to submit a plan of plantation for ten years to come and in this report prepared by Mr. J. N. Das, Divisional Forest officer, Sadiya, we get the plantation scheme for the decade 1938-1948. Mr. Das is a veteran officer of the department who has devoted years of careful study of the problems of Indian forestry as we feel from some of his contributions to the standard magazine on the subject the "Indian Forester" : he wrote on 'Simul plantation in Assam' and also on 'Holloc Regeneration'. Scientific interest and departmental knowledge apart he shows genuine enthusiasm for this subject. Men like him should be encouraged to make a forest planning on an all-India basis for we are sorry to note that the ignorance of the risk of deforestation is exposing our country to serious economic and natural disasters. Officers like Mr. Das may not only give us timely warning but also can give helpful guidance in the conservation of the Forest wealth of India.

Education and Social amelioration of Women in Pre-Mutiny India by Prof. Dr. Kalikinkar Dutta, Patna College. Price Es. 1-8-0.

History of modern Indian is generally neglected by average readers because most of the books of that period give too much economic and administrative details and too little of the social and economic conditions of the people. It is very fortunate that a devoted

research scholar of the capacity of Prof. Kalikinkar Dutt has concentrated his attention to 18th and 19th centuries, so close to us and yet so vaguely known. He recently earned the Doctor's Degree of the University of Calcutta and by his brilliant study on 'Alivardi and his Time' he has taken us to Pre-Plassy days. In the volume under review Mr. Dutta gave a most encouraging and inspiring narrative of education of women ; the beginning of the widow remarriage movement and *sati* and its abolition. He is perfectly right when he says : "The uplift of women has been one of the important and valuable contributions to the Indian reformation of the 19th century, so that they have come forward to play dignified parts in different spheres of its social and national life". His book gives a connected account of the history of education and social amelioration of women in the Pre-Mutiny days which throws helpful light on our own epoch and we recommend the book to be translated into Hindi and other vernaculars of India for the benefit of our women-folk and social workers.

A Historical Review of Hindu India (300 B. C. to 1200 A. D.)
by Panchanana Raya, B. A. Deputy Accountant General, Jaipur State.

The author is a well known figure in Jaipur who, in the recess of his official duties, very creditably turned his attention to several problems of ancient Indian history and culture. Starting with the Indus civilization, the immigration of the Ambastha Brahmanas in Magadha he takes us to Northern India of the Gupta age to Bengal of the Karnatake Senas. Many scholars naturally may disagree with him in his reading of historical chronology and geography but we cannot help admiring his genuine enthusiasm for historical investigation which has enabled him to throw new light on many problems of our social history. We recommend the book to all research scholars who may get into touch with him and through mutual collaboration may develop new lines of research.

The Gospel of Zoroaster by Bhai Manilal C. Parekh. Price Rs. 3.
Harmony House, Rajkot, India,

The author has made comparative religion his special study and in this volume he has given lucid exposition of Zoroastrianism which we are sure will be helpful to all students of religious history. Opening his discussion with the problem of the original home of the Aryans he takes us to the remarkable life and career of the noble sage Zoroaster, his conception of God, his

ethical ideas and social gospel. Next he discusses Zoroastrianism and its influence on Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Some chapters are devoted to the Parsee exodus from Iran into India, to the Parsee community of India and lastly to his reflections on the future of Zoroastrianism. We notice in recent days how the Parsee community, along with other communities in India, is following new urge towards self-renewal and self-expansion. Many of the Parsee foundations and institutions are trying to readjust the programme in the light of current experiences. Therefore we appreciate keenly this valuable study of Mr. Parekh and recommend it to the libraries and universities of India.

Raw Materials And Foodstuffs : Published by the League of Nations, Geneva 75 pages 2/6 oz \$0.60

There was never a moment in history at which information about supplies and sources of raw materials and foodstuffs was more urgently and more generally sought than to-day.

The volume entitled "Raw Materials and Foodstuffs—Production by countries, 1935 and 1938", which has just been published by the League of nations, will meet a very real need. It brings together in a handy form information which previously could only be obtained by much research. Indeed, the volume contains the most complete statistics ever published on the production of raw materials and foodstuffs, by countries. The information relates to some 200 different commodities and nearly 140 countries or areas.

In utilising this book of reference, the reader would be well advised to study the preface which, in addition to explaining the scope of the tables, draws attention to certain of the statistical traps into which the unwary may be liable to fall.

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, in publishing this work of reference, has placed a valuable source of information at the disposal of journalists, scholars, statesmen and others who wish to obtain exact information for the study of problems connected with the production of and trade in raw materials and foodstuffs.

Constitutional Government in Turkey

By Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M. A., B. L.

Modern Turkey arose, like a phoenix, out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. There are no more the Sultans, neither their vizirs and 'rayas', nor their harems and eunuchs. Turkey, to-day, is an ethnic homogeneity, soberly national, republican, secular and socialistic. We shall not enter into the history of the rise and fall of the great Ottoman Empire from 1230 A. D. when Ertroghul with his mighty band from Central Asia swept across north-western Anatolia,—to 1918, when as a result of her defeat in the Great War, Turkey stood shorn of all her European and Asiatic imperial possessions, completely overwhelmed by Allied diplomacy and threatened with Greek and Italian ambitions in Asia Minor. Nor can we go here into the details of those four black and vile Agreements and Pacts (The Constantinople Agreement of March, 18, 1915 ; The Secret Pact of London, April 26, 1915 ; The Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 16, 1916 and the Maurienne Agreement of April 17, 1917) between Great Britain, France, Italy and Czarist Russia, which intended to transfer Constantinople and the Straits to Russia, "an equitable share of the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia" to Italy, to set up independent Arab States, and territorial zones of influence under Great Britain and France and to establish Italian control on West Asia Minor including Smyrna (see—*Turkey*—by A. J. Toynbee and K. P. Kirkwood—p. 69-70). Here, we shall deal with the evolution of constitutional government in Turkey with such further incidental observations as are absolutely necessary for a proper background.

Constitutional government in Turkey may be said to have begun from 1839 when the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane was proclaimed by Sultan Abdul Mejid, who further confirmed that Magna Charta of Imperial Turkey by proclaiming the fundamental statute of Hatti-Humayun (Feb. 1856). In 1876, the new Sultan Abdul Hamid II tried to placate the European powers by introducing reforms more owing to the Russian peril than to the zeal of a reformer ; and the humiliations quickly following the Treaty of Berlin (July, 1878), which was imposed upon Turkey, created many international obligations for her. Thus humiliated abroad the Sultan became more autocratic at home and suspended the constitution in 1878. That explained the formation of the Young Turk Revolutionary Party organised by Turkish exiles under Ahmed Riza Bey. They raised the standard of revolt in Salonika in 1908, were joined by the Ottoman army and deposed the Sultan (April, 1909). The constitution of 1876, with liberal amendments, was revived in that year. But the Turco-Italian war of 1911-12, the two Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the Great War of 1914-18 produced serious disorganisations in Turkish politics and economics.

Post-War Turkey

The Armistice of Mudros was signed on 30th October, 1918. Turkey lay vanquished and exhausted at the feet of the victors. Her Asiatic possessions were under the military occupation of the Entente Powers. The Arabs had revolted and gone over to the side of the Allies. The government at Constantinople passed from the hands of the Young Turks, to those of the Sultan and his 'Entente Libérale.' Proposals for the partition of Asia Minor between the Greeks and the Italians, and of Iraq and Syria between the French and the English, often leaked out. The Sultan in Constantinople was playing into the hands of the Allies, while in far off Anatolia a national movement was slowly rising its head. On May 15, 1919, the Greek Army landed at Smyrna to build up a Hellenic Empire. The Turks had before them three options ; (1) to demand protection from England : (2) to accept U.S.A. as a mandatory power over them ; or (3) to allow each district to act in its own way. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the leader of the Nationalist movement determined to create a Turkish National State. He issued a manifesto to this effect in May, 1919, which being a very important document is given below :

"The integrity of the country, the independence of the nation, is in imminent jeopardy. The Government is unequal to the task for which it has assumed responsibility, the consequence being that our nation is not considered. The energy and the will of the nation alone can save its independence. It is absolutely necessary that a National Assembly shall be formed to protect the country from foreign influence and be independent of all control, so that it will be free to examine the position of the nation and assert its rights before the whole world. It has been decided to convene a National Congress forthwith at Sivas, which from every point of view is the safest place in Anatolia for that purpose. Every district in all the Vilayets must therefore immediately send three delegates each, who possess the confidence of the nation and they must start without delay so that they may arrive as soon as possible. To avoid any danger, this must be kept a national secret and the delegates must travel incognito through all the districts, if it should be considered necessary to do so" (See-Iqbal Ali Shah—*Kemal Maker of Modern Turkey*—P. 81.)

The first National Congress met at Erzerum on July 23, 1919 ; the second one at Sivas on September 4, 1919. Both of them deter-

mined to carry on national struggle ignoring the government at Constantinople while the latter passed a resolution "to safeguard the Sultanate, the Supreme Caliphate and the integrity of the country against foreign pressure." The Cabinet of Ferid Pasha resigned on October 2, 1919, and Ali Riza Pasha formed a new one. In the new Assembly which met at Constantinople after the general elections, the Nationalists were in the majority. A document of great importance drawn up by Kemal, was placed before the Assembly and passed by it on January 28, 1920. This is the National Pact, having a short preamble and 6 Articles. It laid down the principles which represented the maximum of sacrifice which Turkey could undertake in consonance with her independence and stability. The first article, while recognising the principle of national self-determination for the Arabs, strongly demand the political unity of all Ottoman Muslims united in religion, race and aim.

The second and third Articles also accorded the same principle of self-determination to the three Sanjaks and Western Thrace. Article 4, demanded the protection of the security of Constantinople and agreed to open Bosphorous to the commerce and traffic of the world. By Article 5, Turkey agreed to assure the rights of non-Turkish minorities on the basis of reciprocation. Article 6, demanded complete freedom for national and economic development. "For this reason we are opposed to restriction inimical to our development in political, judicial, financial and other matters. The conditions of settlement of our proved debts shall likewise not be contrary to these principles" (For the English translation of the Text of the National Pact, See—A. J. Toynbee—*The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (1922)—pp. 209—10).

The Assembly at Constantinople was soon dissolved under pressure from the Allies, who threatened in an Entente communique, to separate Constantinople from the Turks, if "executive unrest or sanguinary persecution should occur". The Nationalist Party became again an outlawed body, but the deputies who had escaped arrest met on April 23, 1920 at Angora and constituted what is known as the National Assembly of Turkey. In a letter to M. Millerand, Mustafa Kemal Pasha described the position thus: "The Ottoman people, considering that all its rights have been violated and its sovereignty encroached upon, has by order of its representatives, assembled at Angora and appointed an Executive Council chosen among the

members of the National Assembly, which Council has taken in hand the government of the country". The members of the Assembly reiterated their loyalty to the Sultan, but they refused to recognise his government so long as "the Caliph Sultan and his Eternal City should remain under the dominion and occupation of foreigners". In the Assembly, Kemal described the constitutional system thus: "There is no power standing above the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The Grand National Assembly combines in itself the executive and legislative power. A Council elected and authorised by the Assembly will conduct the affairs of the Government. The President of the Assembly is at the same time President of the Council...As soon as the Sultan Caliph is delivered from all pressure and coercion he will take his place within the frame of the legislative principles which will be determined by the Assembly" (See—Iqbal Ali Shah—*Ibid* p. 165.)

A Cabinet was elected which consisted of the following: Bekir Sami Bey (Commissary for Foreign Affairs), Jami Bey (Interior), Fevzi Pasha (National Defence), Dr. Adnan (Public Health), Dr. Riza Nour (Education), Yusuf Kemal Bey (Economics), Jellaluddin Arif Bey (Justice), Mustafa Fehmi Effendi (Sheri and Wakf), Hakki Behidge Bey (Finance), Ismail Fazil Pasha (Public Works), Colonel Ismet Pasha (Chief of the Staff). The Chief of the Staff was included for the first time in the Cabinet. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was President of the Assembly and so the head of the Government. Jellaluddin Arif Bey was the deputy president, discharging the Speaker's functions in the Assembly. (For further details—See Halide Edib—*The Turkish Ordeal*—pp. 144—148). The Law of High Treason was passed on April 29, 1220. The first offensive took place in June, 1920, when the Greeks authorised by France, England and Italy launched an attack against the Turks and captured Brusa, and Mudania. The Treaty of Sevres, which proposed a lamentable division of Turkey into various spheres of influence of the Great Powers, was signed by the delegates from the Sublime Porte of Constantinople on August 10, 1920. It maddened the Turks who determined to destroy the treaty with bullets and began to organise under Kemal. On January 20, 1921, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, passed and adopted the Law of the Fundamental Organisation—the first Organic Statute of Nationalist Turkey and the basis of all subsequent constitutional developments in that country.

This Statute contained 23 articles. Art. 1 proclaimed the sovereignty of the people ; Art. 2 laid down that "the Executive power as well as the legislative power are concentrated in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey which alone represents the nation." Arts. 3, 4, and 5 dealt with the name of the Govt. composition of the Grand National Assembly and its tenure which was fixed at 2 years. In case it was impossible to hold new elections, the session of the Assembly might be prolonged for one year only. According to Art. 6 "The general session of the Grand National Assembly takes place on the first of November without Convocation." By Art. 7 all legislative powers like the making, modification and abrogation of laws, all executive powers as the conclusion of conventions and treaties of peace, the call for the defence of the country etc., belonged to this Assembly. By Art. 8 the Assembly was to administer "its governmental departments through mandatory ministers elected by the Assembly." The ministers could be removed by it. Art. 9 says : "The President elected by the Grand National Assembly is the president of the Assembly during one electoral period. In this capacity, he is authorised to sign and ratify the decisions of the Council of mandatory ministers in the name of the Assembly." Arts. 10-14 dealt with local administration. The country was to be divided into several vilayets, each of which would have considerable "autonomous personality," purely local affairs being managed by an administrative Committee chosen by the Vilayet council from among its members. The chief executive in the Vilayet would be the President of this administrative Committee, but the Vali, representing the Grand National Assembly in the Vilayet, and being appointed by it, would administer the national affairs in the Vilayet. The remaining Articles dealt with the administrative system in the cazas and nahies and the grouping up of the vilayets into inspectorates which would be so many links between the Assembly Govt. and the vilayet administration. The Constituion, therefore, remained silent on the Sultanate though the Angora budgets provided for the Civil Lists of the Sultan Caliph. This Fundamental Law of 1921 did not make any provision for a Senate. The Cabinet was to be elected by the Assembly, and the ministers to be individually responsible to it. The Sultan was stripped of all political prerogatives. [For the text of this Fundamental Law—See Clair Price—*Rebirth of Turkey*, pp. 181-183 and *Current History*, Vol. XVII (1923)—pp. 458-459.]

The Government at Constantinople tried to open negotiations

with Kemal. The Grand Vizir Tewfic Pasha requested the President of the Grand Assembly to unite with him in sending a joint delegation at the Peace Conference to be held in London. The President refused and a separate delegation under Bekir Sami Bey, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, was sent to the Peace Conference which lasted from Feb. 23, 1921 to March 12, 1921, but ended in smoke. On March 16, 1921, the Soviet—Turkish Treaty was signed in Moscow. The preamble to this treaty runs thus : “The two parties to this treaty hereby affirm that in their struggle for liberation, the peoples of the East are at one with the working population of Russia fighting for a new social order. They emphatically proclaim the right of the peoples of the East to liberty and independence and a form of government in accordance with their own demand.” The Russian Government recognised the Nationalist government at Angora and the two outlawed states began to work in collaboration. With the fall of the Czarist Armies under General Wrangel in Southern Russia, Russian arms, ammunitions and gold (£8,000,000), began to reach the Turkish nationalists (See—*Fortnightly Review*, November, 1922, p. 720). On 28 March, the Greek offensive began at Brusa, and for several months Western Asia Minor was filled with horror and bloodshed. On August 5, 1921, the Assembly which held “the rights of the generalissimo”, passed a law investing Kemal Pasha with supreme military powers and “prerogative of the Great National Assembly”, for a period of three months. Article 3 of this Law declared : “The Great National Assembly reserves the right to take away the authority and the office of the generalissimo before the term expires, if it thinks necessary” [For the text of this Law, See Halide Edib—*The Turkish Ordeal*—pp. 281-282]. Kemal united the office of the General Staff with those of the Ministry of National Defence and issued various orders for national consolidation. In September, 1921, the Greek army was routed in the battle of Sakariah. The Great National Assembly honoured the victor with the title of El Ghazi. The French made the Franklin-Bullion Pact with Turkey on October 20, 1921, by which they withdrew from Cilicia, rejected the Treaty of Sevres, and gave the Nationalist Government a *de facto* recognition [For the terms of the Treaty and the Correspondence between the French and English Governments—See Cmd. 1556 (1921) and Cmd. 1570 (1922)]. Great Britain protested. The Greeks and the Italians (from Adalia) gradually withdrew from the Turkish soil.

By October 1922, the Greeks were expelled from Asia Minor, and on 11th of that month the armistice of Mudiana was signed.

Meanwhile, some constitutional practices were growing up in the Nationalist Government. The special powers of Kemal were renewed by the Assembly in February, 1922, but the motion for third renewal was defeated in May, 1922. The Council of Ministers did not, however, resign, and Kemal continued to be the head of the Army. On the next day, after the defeat of the proposal for renewal of term, the Assembly passed a bill and gave Kemal the powers he sought though by another bill it laid down that the Ministers and the President of the Council were to be directly elected by the Assembly, by secret ballot. A secret ballot was actually held as a result of which Mustafa Kemal Pasha was removed from the office of the President of the Council and Rauf Bey was elected in his place. Kemal continued to be the President of the National Assembly and Rauf Bey held his post from July 1922 to August 1923. On October 28, the Powers invited to the Peace Conference at Lausanne, the representatives of both the National Government and the Sublime Porte. This led to the abolition of the Sultanate, for the Sultan had "taken sides with the enemies of the Nationalist Government" during the last four years, and "provoked numerous ills for the country." On November 1, 1922, the Assembly passed a resolution, which contained *inter alia* the following: "Whereas the Turkish people, in the Law of Fundamental Organisation, has resolved that its rights of sovereignty and rulership are incorporated in and actually exercised by the Judicial person of the Great Turkish National Assembly, which is the true representative, and this so completely that these rights cannot be abandoned, partitioned or transferred :.....Accordingly the Turkish people considers the form of Government in Constantinople, which is based upon the sovereignty of an individual, as being obsolete from 16th March, 1920, onwards for ever." The resolution separated the Sultanate from the Caliphate and made the latter elective by the Assembly, though the choice would be confined within the members of the House of Osman. [For the text of this resolution—See Toynbee and Kirkwood—*Turkey* (1926)—P. 150]. On November 4, 1922, Rafet Pasha carried out a *Coup d'Etat* in Constantinople, and on the following morning the Cabinet of Ahmed Tewfik Pasha, the last of the Ottoman Grand Vizirs, resigned. Thus ended the Government at Constantinople. On Nov. 17, the

Sultan Mahmed Vahi-uddin fled on board H. M. S. 'Malaya' at Constantinople and left Turkey for ever. Next day, the Assembly elected Abdul Mejid Effendi as the Caliph of Islam. There were protests throughout Turkey against this radical measure and the "members of the Committee of Union and Progress who could not forgive the Ghazi for stealing their thunder began to murmur and to combine against him, fearing his severity and foreseeing his dictatorship" (*The Times*, Nov. 11, 1938). On Nov. 21, 1922. The Lausanne Conference began its sitting.

The Grand National Assembly used to meet at this time at 1'30 o'clock afternoon, everyday except Friday. In November, 1922, a proposal to invest the Cabinet with the right to dissolve the Assembly was defeated by Kemal, who also began to exercise the right of receiving foreign diplomatic representatives.

The life of the Assembly was coming to an end on April 23, 1923 and with a view to controlling the general elections and maintain peace, the Treason Act was passed. Its provisions were very general. It declared that "all who willingly by act or writing work against the decision of November 1, 1922, deciding on the abolition of the Sultanate and the incorporation in the personality of the National Assembly of the rights of sovereignty or against the legality of the National Assembly are considered traitors to the Fatherland". This enactment stifled all opposition against the Popular Party of Kemal. As a result of the general election, the new Assembly of 1923 included a high proportion of educated men—56 officers, 17 Pashas, 21 Valis, 25 men of religion, 15 doctors, 9 financiers, 10 jurists, 14 businessmen, 46 notables, 4 poets, 14 journalists, 3 ambassadors, and a number of men of varying callings (see *Fortnightly Review*, Nov. 1923—p. 743). The Assembly discussed many constitutional questions. Fethi Bey, the President of the Council, read out a government programme to the Assembly stressing financial reform, invitation of foreign specialists to reorganise the various departments, national education, physical culture, education of girls, development of roads, bridges, ports, etc. The Ministers remained mandatories of the Assembly which retained in itself all executive and legislative sovereignty. Thus, Ismet Pasha went to Lausanne as the plenipotentiary of the Government of the National Assembly. Again, when the Persian Ambassador was accredited to Turkey, his credentials were pronounced to be not in order as they referred to "Ottoman Empire", etc. The Prime Minister was definitely

subordinate to the President of the Republic i.e., Ghazi Kemal Pasha who was the guiding star of the new state, the leader of the Popular Party and yet the Chief Executive of the Government of the National Assembly.

After several months of protracted negotiations, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed on July 24, 1923. It was accompanied by no less than 11 conventions, declarations, etc, of which five, dealing with the Straits, the Thracian frontier, conditions of residence and business and jurisdiction in Turkey, conditions of commercial operation in Turkey, and the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, are very important. The treaty solved the problems of boundaries, minorities, capitulations, nationality and distribution of Ottoman Public Debt. Turkey got the whole of Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople, as far west as the Maritsa ; Constantinople, the Straits ; in the South and South-east, her territory bordered on Syria and Iraq, excepting Mosul. She was also given complete sovereignty over Kurds. As regards capitulations the Treaty said : "The High Contracting parties agree to abrogate the capitulations relating to the regime of foreigners in Turkey both as regards the conditions of entry and residence and as regards fiscal and judicial questions (Art. 26). The Articles relating to the rights of the non-Moslem minorities in Turkey were taken by her as fundamental laws, Art. 38 Says : "Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems. All the inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of religion shall be equal before the law". Arts. 37, 38 and 40, guaranteed to all minorities, freedom of religion, protection of life, liberty and property, the free use of non-Turkish languages, and family law and customs. Art. 44 placed these rights under the guarantee of the League of Nations. These rights "shall not be modified without the assent of the majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Turkey agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these obligations and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances Turkey further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or of fact arising out of these articles between the Turkish Government and any one of the other Signatory Powers or any other Power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an inter-

national character under Art. XIV of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Turkish Government, hereby consents that such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demand, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Art. XIII of the Covenant." I have reproduced this article at length, only with the belief that it may be of some help to our Indian political leaders who are tired of solving the Hindu-Moslem problem (For the proceedings in the Lausanne Conference—See Cmd. 1814 Vol XXVI of 1923. For the Treaty itself, see Cmd. 1929, Treaty Series No. 16 (1923)]. By an agreement for the exchange of populations, 100,000 Greeks remaining in Turkey were deported to Greece and about 400,000 Turks remaining in Macedonia and Thrace were deported by Greece to Turkey, in 1924. [See E. M. Earle—*The Treak of Near Eastern Minorities in Asia*, Jan. 1925, p 49-70]. By the straits convention, Turkey agreed not to fortify the Straits, i.e. the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorous. They were to be kept open in times of war or peace. An International Commission was set up at Constantinople to see that the terms of the treaty were observed.

Within the course of two and a half years, the programme and the ideal of the National Pact, thus, became realised. On 29th October 1923 Turkey was declared a Republic. Kemal Pasha was the first President of the Republic and Ismet Pasha the first Prime Minister. Towards the end of the year it was found that the new Caliph was not faithfully following the conditions of his appointment. He wanted "to wear a cloak and turban as worn by Mohammed the Conqueror at the Selamlık." In January the Caliph wanted to send his Grand Chamberlain to Angora, in the manner of the Pope, to discuss his powers and position. It was also rumoured that he was selling the royal treasures. Kemal declared in the Assembly : "Dignity of the Caliphate can have no other importance for us than that of an historical memory. The demands of the Caliph that the dignitaries of the Turkish Republic should enter into negotiations with him constitute a flagrant violation of the independence of the Republic" [Iqbal Ali Shah—*Ibid*—P. 252]. In the Spring of 1924 an appeal for the strengthening of the Caliphate signed by H. H. the Aga Khan and the Right. Hon. Seyed Amir Ali was published in three Constantinople Papers. Kemal regarded this as a high-handed interference in Turkish internal affairs and an

attempt to undermine the authority of the Republic. On March 31, 1924, a decree of the National Assembly abolished the Caliphate forever from Turkey and sent Abdül Mejid Effendi into exile. [for further details—see Amcer Ali—Caliphate, in *Contemporary Review*, June, 1915 : and Toynbee and Kirkwood—*Turkey*, P. 163-182] All mention of the Caliph was omitted from the State prayers on Friday and instead the favour of God was implored for the nation and the Republican Government. The Sheriat or Holy Law was abolished ; religious courts were subordinated to the Ministry of Justice ; education was secularised ; the Ministry of pious foundations (wakf) was suppressed ; the Sheikh-ul-Islam was dropped from the Cabinet—and all these, almost in a week, drove out religion from politics. On April 20, 1924, the new Constitution of the Republic of Turkey was voted, published and put into force. We shall deal with this constitution in detail, but before that, let us finish this historical survey. Towards the end of the year 1924, Ismet Pasha retired due to ill health and Fethi Bey became the Prime Minister. An opposition party to the Ghazi was formed under Rauf Bey, Kiazim Kara Bekir, Refet, Ali Fand Pasha, and Adnan Bey. The party took the name of the Republican Progressive Party. Amongst its members there were "Three officers whose prestige with the army stood very high and thus a bid was made for the all-important support of the Army" (Julian Palmer - *Turkish Politics : Persons and Parties in the Nineteenth Century and After*, Nov. 1930, pp. 594). The Kurdistan revolt broke out early in 1925. Fethi Bey having failed to crush the revolt speedily, resigned and Ismet Pasha returned to office. The Republican Progressive Party was suppressed as some reactionary and seditious elements were developing within it. The Press was completely brought under control. In 1926 Tribunals of Independence were set up for the summary trial of persons involved in the plot against the life of the Ghazi, and many Unionists like Shukri Bey, Ismail Iambulat Bey, Karakamal Bey, etc., were executed. The consolidation of the state was complete ; the Kurds were subjugated ; and the Ghazi was at the highest of his power in 1927. The General Elections were held in this year. The Ghazi himself approved the names of the candidates from the list of members of his Republican Party, submitted to him by his intimate advisers. All his candidates were elected. Only one vote was cast in the whole country for an opposition candidate, and that was by the Ghazi himself. Mustafa Kemal, now longing for

relaxation of control and growth of a parliamentary opposition, helped Fethi Bey, who had returned in 1928 from his post of Ambassador in Paris, to form an opposition, known as the Liberal Republican Party, and himself retired more and more from active politics though always keeping an eye over it. A special session of the Assembly was held to pass temporary measures dealing with economic crisis. The opposition headed by Fethi Bey cast 13 votes against the Government of Ismet Pasha. But this parliamentary opposition could not survive long, and Turkey has ever since been governed by one single political Party. Criticising the failure of parliamentary opposition, one writer says: "Her (Turkey's) libertarian institutions were never intended as instruments of the expressionist state, but as badges of her modernity as a nation-state qua nation-state. (See Hawgood J. A.—*Modern Constitutions* 1787, p. 34J). This is only a half-truth, for real freedom does not simply consist in the right to express diverse views, but also in the successful carrying out of projects which raise the political, economic, social and moral life of a community. The more backward and superstitious a country, and the greater the external danger, the more the concentration of power in the hands of a few.

Amongst the most important reforms carried out in Turkey the following should be noted: In 1926 the monasteries of the dervishes were closed. Western Laws were adopted. Poles law was abolished, equitable divorce laws were introduced. Turkish family law was superseded by Swiss Law. On April 10, 1928, Acts 2, 16, 26 and S8 of the Organic Statute were replaced in such a way that Turkey became a secular state. Islam ceased to be the state religion. Arabian and Persian influences were checked. In 1929 Arabic and Persian language-courses were replaced by the teaching of modern European languages. The Turkish Linguistic Council established at Ankara tried to replace Arabic and Persian words by Turkish ones. The Koran was recited, for the first time, in Turkish translation on January 22, 1932. The Latin characters were adopted as early as 1928. Women were given complete freedom and admitted everywhere as officials and teachers. The national culture of Turkey was not ignored. The Turk Ojagni of 1912 came to be amalgamated with the Republican People's Party in 1931, and in 1932 it transformed itself into "The House of the People", which is to be found in each town of Turkey—advocating both Europeanisation and nationalisation of Turkish culture. All these houses, in which alcoholic drinks and

card games are prohibited, include departments for language and literature, fine arts, theatre, sport, bureaus dealing with libraries, museums and exhibitions. As Hans Kohn says: "the influence of educational centres of this sort is apt to be much greater than legislative measures." (Ten years of the Turkish Republic in *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1933—p. 149). The Government completely re-organised the economic life of the country, liberating it from the domination of foreign Capitalism, and "in her endeavours to nationalise her economic life Turkey has not hesitated to create difficulties for foreigners and foreign corporations." (For a survey of the reforms in Law, Language, Religion etc., see Luke—*The Making of Modern Turkey*, (1936—pp. 187-234). By the Municipal Law of 1930, Turkish women were given the right to elect and be elected municipal councillors. In the General Elections of 1931, the Kemalist Party retained all the seats. Sethe Bey's Opposition Party was deliberately suppressed. Kemal continued to be the President of the Republic, and Ismet Pasha the Premier. There were two religious risings, one at Menemen, near Smyrna in 1931, the other at Brusa in 1933. Both were ruthlessly suppressed "hanging several re-actionaries and condemning others to long terms of imprisonment." (See Ten Years of Kemalism—by J. Walter Collins, in *Contemporary Review*, August, 1933, p. 183). On July 18, 1932, Turkey became a member of the League of Nations. The next month, the Government decided to appoint women in the police. On December 3, 1934 a law was passed by which "ecclesiastics, whatever their religion or sect are forbidden to wear religious dress except in places of worship and at religious ceremonies."

On December 5, 1934, the right to elect and be elected a Deputy in the Assembly was given to women by an amendment of Articles 10 and 11 of the Organic Statute. [See British State Papers, Vol 137 (1934), p. 685]. In the General Election of 1935, 399 deputies were returned, of whom 383 belonged to the Kemalist Party. 17 were women, while 16 seats, that were ceded to the minority communities in Turkey, like the Greeks, Jews, Armenians, etc., voluntarily by the Kemalist Party, were filled by Independents. On March, 1, 1935, the Fifth Grand National Assembly was opened by Kemal Ataturk, who was again elected the President of the Republic. The retiring Cabinet came back with this alteration that General Kazim Ozalp who was for ten years President of the Assembly was

appointed Minister of National Defence in place of 'M. Zekai Atayeim, while M. Abdul Hali Renka succeeded the General as the President of the Assembly.* On September 27, 1937 the premier, Gen. Ismet Inonu resigned due to some difference of opinion with the President of the Republic. M. Djelal Beyer, formerly Minister of National Economy became the new Prime Minister on October 13, 1937 and in his speech to the Kamutay (Turkish Grand National Assembly) on November 9, developed the principle of Etatism, though individual enterprise was also to be encouraged. On November 10, 1938 Kemal died at the age of 57. Next day, the Assembly unanimously elected Gen. Ismet Inonu as the President of the Republic. The ministry of Djelal Beyer resigned, but on November 12 was reconstituted with himself as Prime Minister, and all other former ministers except those of Foreign Affairs, Justice and Interior. On January 25, 1939 this ministry resigned and the Assembly voted its own dissolution. The new Kamutay was elected on March 27, 1939 "by ballot of the Executive of the Republican People's Party the only political organisation permitted in the country." There were 424 members including 14 women deputies, as distinguished from 400 members in the previous Assembly. The Sandjak of Alexandretta, which was ceded to Turkey by France on June 20, 1939 (on condition that Turkey would recognise the inviolable character of the newly drawn Syrian Frontier) became a Turkish constituency from which a member sat in the Kamutay. The new Kamutay elected Gen. Ismet Inonu as President of the Republic on April 3, 1939. The Cabinet of Dr. Refik Saydam, who had taken over the ministry after the resignation of Djelal Beyer, handed over its formal resignation, but was requested by the President of the Republic to continue in office until the formation of a new government. Saydam Cabinet now contains the following ministers : The Premier, the Ministers of National Defence, Justice, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Education, Public Works, National Economy,

* On July 20, 1936, the Dardanelles Conference completed its sittings and the Montreux Convention was signed. Turkey regained her sovereignty over the Straits. She was given the right to close the Straits to warships in times of war when she herself is a belligerent or when she is menaced. But in time of peace or even in war, when she is not a party, the Straits are to be kept open to merchant vessels and to warships, when the latter does not exceed 30,000 tonnage. On February 5, 1937, Arts. 1 74 and 75 were amended in such a way that the principles of nationalism, etatism and secularism became fortified.

Agriculture, Public Health, Customs and Monopolies i.e., the Prime Minister and 11 other ministers.

The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey.

The principles of the Republican Constitution can be traced back to the resolution of the Congress at Erzerum and Sivas and the National Pact. The Law of Fundamental Organisation of Jan. 20, 1921, served as the basic written constitution during the hectic days of the civil war, the war with the Greeks, the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate. Then, on April 20, 1924, came the great Law of the Constitution; it repealed former organic laws and forms the foundation of the Republic at the present date. This constitution was amended on April 10, 1928 (Arts. 2, 16, 26 and 38—see British and Foreign State Papers—Vol. 133, Part II. (1930), p. 972); on December 12, 1931 [Art. 95—See Ibid—Vol. 135, p. 944]; on December, 5, 1934 [Arts. 10 and 11—See Ibid—Vol. 137 (1934), p. 685]; and lastly, on February 5, 1937 [Art. 1, 74 and 75—See Keesing, *Contemporary Archives*, pp. 2447--48]. The constitution contains altogether 105 articles divided into six sections. The Turkish State is a republic based on the principles of nationalism, democracy, evolutionism, laicism (separation of state and religion) and "etatism" i.e. State ownership or control of the principal means of communication, industries, mines and public utility services (Art. 1). The official language is Turkish and sovereignty, though it belongs to the nation without restriction, is exercised by the Grand National Assembly which is "the sole lawful representative of the nation" and in which all legislative and executive powers are vested and centered. (Arts. 2—5).

Executive.

The Assembly exercises the executive power through the intermediary of the President of the Republic, who is elected by it from among its members for a period equivalent to that of the parliamentary term (4 years). The president exercises his functions until the election of a new president. He is eligible for re-election. He is the head of the state. He may preside over the Council of Commissioners in case of necessity. But during his term of office he "may not take part in the discussions or in the deliberations of the Assembly and may not vote." In case of vacancy of the office, due to illness, death or resignation, etc., of the President of the Republic, the President of the

Assembly (like the Speaker) takes up his duties until the new President of the Republic has been elected by the Assembly. The power of the President is strictly limited to one of suspensive veto for a period of ten days only, over laws which do not concern the constitution or the budget, but if a law is returned to the President after reconsideration by the Assembly, then he must promulgate it. The President, after his election shall take an oath of loyalty to the Republic to defend and increase her integrity and dignity and to observe the principles of the sovereignty of the nation. He receives and designates diplomatic representatives ; he exercises the right of pardon. He has, by order of the Assembly, the supreme command of the army. He is responsible to the Assembly, only in case of high treason. Art. 39 says "All decrees promulgated by the President of the Republic shall be signed by the President of the Council and by the Commissioner within whose jurisdiction the measure lies." Therefore, the ministers are responsible to the Assembly for all measures and decrees. But the Prime Minister is designated by the President of the Republic from among the deputies, and when, there is one party and no other in the State, and that also controlled by the President, the latter becomes, as he has in Turkey, almost a dictator. The other ministers, are chosen by the Premier, but subject to the approval of the President By Art. 44, the new Government must present its programme to the Assembly within a week and request a vote of confidence. The ministers are responsible to the Assembly both jointly and individually. Apart from the Cabinet, there is a Council of State (Art. 51—52) constituted of experienced economists, jurists, and specialists and "those who have held important posts", all chosen by the Assembly. The Council will have advisory power and the ministers are empowered to issue administrative regulations, not contrary to law, on the advice of the Council of State.

The Legislature.

The Legislature, which is the real sovereign body in Turkey, is made up of one single house containing 424 members, elected by every male and female Turk over 22 years of age. The deputies must be over the age of thirty, know the Turkish language and must not suffer the usual legal, physical and mental disqualifications. The life of the Assembly is fixed at four years, though in case of an "impossibility to proceed to legislative elections," the period may be prolonged by one year. The Assembly must meet every year on the 1st of November

"without the necessity of convocation" and the period of recess shall not be more than six months. "Initiation of legislation rests with the members of the Assembly and the Cabinet" (Art 15). The deputies must swear on their honour their loyalty to the Republic. They enjoy immunities from arrest or execution of judgment pronounced against them during their legislative term, in all cases excepting flagrant crimes, when they may be surrendered by vote of the Assembly. Provisions are made for the special convocation of the Assembly, and for the free publication of its debates. The Assembly has "the right of interpellation and of conducting investigations and parliamentary enquiries." The amended article 26 is very interesting, it is as follows : "The Grand National Assembly itself performs the following duties : the enactment, modification, interpretation and abrogation of laws ; the conclusion of agreement and peace treaties with states ; the declaration of war ; the examination and approval of laws relating to the general budget and the final state accounts ; the coining of money ; the approval and annulment of monopolies and contracts or concessions ; the proclamation of general and special amnesties ; the reduction and modification of penalties ; the postponement of legal enquiries and punishments ; and the sanctioning of death sentences which have been pronounced by the courts and have become final." It is thus found that the Turkish Assembly exercises many functions which are exercised in the democracies of the West by the Executive, and even the Judiciary (e.g. Art. 52). The Assembly elects at the beginning of November, each year, its president and three vice-presidents, for the duration of one year. It has the power of dissolving itself before the expiration of its term, by an absolute majority vote, while it can impeach one of its members by two-thirds majority. The Budget must be annually submitted before it at least three months before the commencement of the fiscal year. Expenditure of public funds must be in accordance with the budget or "authorised special law" (Art. 96). A special Court of Accounts is established to audit, verify and control the expenditures and revenue of the state on behalf of the Assembly, and to submit a report thereto, to the Assembly within six months after the Finance Minister shall have presented to the Assembly his statement of final accounting. The articles of the constitution, excepting Art 1, can be modified only when the proposal to amend has been signed by one-third and thereafter passed by "two-thirds of the total number of deputies."

The Judiciary

The Judicial power is exercised on the name of the Assembly by independent tribunals constituted in accordance with the law. (Art. 8.). Judges are recalled only in conformity with law. Court trials are public, except in those cases where a secret trial is specified by the code of procedure. Judges may not hold any other office. The judicial system has been formed on the French model. As the base there are the *Judges de paix*, or local courts with limited but summary penal and civil jurisdiction. There are the *Tribunaux de base* each with a president and two assistant judges with wider powers concerning marriage, divorce, probate and civil rights. There are also several Assize Courts under a president and four judges for serious criminal cases. The Court of Cassation (Appeals) sits at Ankara. Members of the Cabinet, the Council of state, the Court of Cassation, and the Attorney General are to be tried "in all questions pertaining to the performance of their duties", by the High Court, which is "composed of twenty-one members, eleven of whom are chosen from among the members of the Court of Cassation and ten from among the members of the Council of State" by secret ballot, by the plenary assemblies of each of these bodies. The High Court has a President and a Vice-President, elected by the same procedure. The Bench is constituted by fourteen members and the President. The decision which is reached by the majority, is not subject to appeal or annulment. The Grand National Assembly may sit when necessary as the High Court of Turkey. Under the terms of the Lausanne Treaty, Turkey undertook to reform her judiciary and to take immediately in service, for such period as it may consider necessary, but not less than 5 years, European legal Counsellors, for that purpose [See Cmd. 1814. (1923), P 852]. As a result, we find in Turkey a series of legislations and codes which have brought her judicial system on a par with that of any Western country. There is a civil code based chiefly on the Swiss model ; a Code of obligations similarly formed ; a Commercial Code based on German and Italian Codes ; a Maritime Code based on the German code ; a Penal Code based chiefly on the Italian code ; a Code of Criminal Instructions based on the German model ; and a Code of Civil Procedure based on that of the canton of Neufchatel. The Sheri Courts were abolished as early as 1924. Justice, to-day, in Turkey is cheap, impartial and free from religious bias.

Local Government

Local Government in Turkey, though autonomous within its proper jurisdiction, is strictly under the control of the National Assembly through the vali, in all national affairs. There are now 62 vilayets 8 in European Turkey and 54 in the Asiatic. The vali is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, has an executive Council to assist him, and is the president of the Vilayet Assembly which "meets once a year for a minimum of 15 days and a maximum of 40 days." The delegates to this Assembly are elected by kazas, into which a vilayet is divided, in proportion to their populational strength. Each *kaza* has a Kaimakan at the head, who is also appointed by the Minister of the Interior. The kaza has also a District Assembly. It is also subdivided into *nahiyes* (townships) with the *mudir* at the head of each, this officer being appointed by the District Assembly. The nahiyes are subdivided into *kassabas* and villages, the ultimate units.

Pubic Law of the Turks

Arts. 68-88 deal with the fundamental rights of the Turks. Equality before law, inviolability of person, and property, freedom of speech, press, conscience, religion, association, education, correspondence etc, are guaranteed, subject to law. Right to make complaints or address petitions either to the competent authority or to the Assembly is also given to a Turk. "The reply to an individual complaint must be given in writing to the person concerned" (Art. 82). The Ministry is empowered to decree martial law in case of great public danger only for the duration of one month, after which it is to be submitted to the Assembly who can prolong or diminish the the period (Art. 86). Primary education is obligatory for all Turks and is gratuitous in the government schools. The word Turk is not at all a religious or racial term. It is political, and means any Citizen of Turkey.

Political Party

There is only one political party in Turkey, the people's party later called, the Republican People's Party, founded by Kemal as early as 1921. Article 1 of the statute of the party adopted in 1923 reads as follows : "The goal of the party's government by the people and for the people, together with the elevation of Turkey to the status of a modern state." The other articles demand the complete separation of

religion from politics ; social organisation on the basis of modern civilization and the empirical and positive sciences ; equal rights for all citizens, including women. The party has a President who appoints the Vice-President and the General Secretary. These three together form the Presidential Council which designates the candidates for the parliamentary elections. Twelve party-inspectors are nominated by this Council to look after the organisation of the party throughout the state. The decisions of the Council are binding on all members of the party. Kemal was the life-president. As all the members of the Assembly are nominated by the Party's Council, the President of the party who is also the President of the Republic naturally controls the Grand National Assembly (See *Foreign Affairs.*, Oct., 1933—p. 142—144). After Kemal's death Gen. Ismet Inonu was elected President of the party for life on December 27, 1938. He is also the President of the Republic. The principles of the party were altered and made more radical in 1938. They are six in number, viz, (1) Republicanism ; (2) Popularism, i. e. popular sovereignty, but no class war ; (3) Etatism, including state ownership of important means of production, communication etc, and state control of private enterprise, (4) Nationalism ; (5) Secularism—separation of religion from politics and (6) Revolutionism, meaning that the party does not believe in political evolutionism or slow gradual progress, but preserves a dynamic attitude to all problems "in conformity with the principles born of the Revolution "

The constitution of Turkey is a 'sui generis,' a type by itself, quite different from that of the Parliamentary government of Great Britain or the Presidential government of U. S. A or France. It resembles more closely the governments of Germany, Italy and Soviet Russia in spirit than in the letters, of the constitution of the last two. The President of Turkey is almost a dictator, but always with the confidence of the Kamutay. The government of Turkey strangely resembles the provisional government of the Third French Republic. But if several political parties originate and prove strong in Turkey, (which is impossible in near future), there can be no doubt that the Turkish Government will be a replica of the Third Republic. The powers of the Turkish President are great not by virtue of the constitution but by virtue of the fact that he is the President of the only political party in the country. Still, he cannot dissolve the Kamutay, while the latter exercises such distinctly

executive powers as the declaration of war, coining of money, the reduction of penalties, the proclamation of amnesties, the right of dissolution of itself etc. But the constitution of Turkey is different from those of other countries in several very important points. There is no class-war or expropriation of private property as in Soviet Russia; there is no unrestricted private ownership (Art. 74) as in England or U. S. A.; there is no state religion as in Italy, there is no racialism as in Germany; there is no Senate as in France; there are no predominant Islamic traditions as in Persia. The constitution of Turkey, as I have said, is a 'sui generis'. It is distinctly the child of the revolutions (1918—1923), begotten by a leader, whose breadth of outlook and depth of visions, whose cosmopolitanism and love for 'equality, fraternity and liberty', mingled with an acute sense of realism stand unsurpassed in the twentieth century. Turkey, to-day, has well defined frontiers, a homogeneous and contented people of 16,000,000 souls; an excellent system of primary, secondary and higher education (the total number of students in 1936 were 544,621 males and 265,578 females). She enjoys the blessings of financial stability; in 1938—39, her revenue was L. T. 250,049,000 and expenditure, L. T. 249,954,200. By the law of June 21, 1927, military service is compulsory. It begins at 20, the liability to serve lasting for 26 years. The period of service in the infantry is 18 months; in cavalry, artillery and air, it is 2 years; while in navy, 3 years. The State owns a number of monopolies, e.g. tobacco, alcohol, sugar, matches, explosives, cartridges and salt. In foreign relations, she has no enemy. The quarrel with Greece ended with the visit of M. Venezelos in 1930. The Balkan Pact of Feb. 9, 1934 has guaranteed the inviolability of her frontiers together with those of Greece, Rumania and Yugo Slavia. The pact of Saadabad with Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan in 1937, has stabilized the condition in Western Asia. And all these momentous achievements have been done in the course of fourteen years by the energy, will and resourcefulness of a man who was called by Lord Balfour "a bandit who stood for every thing that was opposed to the League of Nations." Turkey today is the most valuable ally of Great Britain and the bulwark against the Russo-German invasion of Western Asia.

Japanese International Cultural Society Sponsors Essay Competition

To commemorate the 26th centennial of the founding of the Japanese Empire by the Emperor Jimmu, the Society for International Cultural Relations, Tokyo, will sponsor a worldwide essay contest, the largest of its kind ever undertaken by the Japanese, it was officially announced by Mr. Setsuichi Aoki, general secretary of the Society. Awards will include five first prize and ten second prize travel scholarships to Japan.

Understanding Sought

This international essay contest has been projected as a means of furthering the understanding of Japanese civilization among the nations of the world and of contributing to closer bonds of intimacy and mutual helpfulness between Eastern and Western civilizations.

Contestants may choose any of the following *subjects* :—

1. The Characteristics of Japanese Culture.
2. The Cultural Intercourse between Japan and other countries (Choice of one or more countries).
3. The Position of Japanese Culture in the World.

The *rules* for the contest are :

1. The contestant must be a registered national of a foreign country.
2. Each contestant is limited to one essay.
3. The contestant may write in any language. However, essays written in languages other than Chinese, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Japanese must be accompanied by a translation in any of the foregoing languages preferably Japanese. Contestants resident in Japan are requested to submit a Japanese translation.
4. Each essay must not be more than 8,000 words in length. If written originally in Japanese the length is limited to 12,000 characters including "kana".

5. Manuscripts must be mailed by September 30, 1940 at the latest. Those manuscripts not received by November 30, 1940 will not be accepted.

6. The winners will be announced on April 29, 1941, on Tenchosetsu, the birthday of the Emperor.

7. All submitted manuscripts will not be returned.

8. The sponsoring society will have all rights to the winning essays.

9. The contestant's name must not appear on the manuscript. Name, address, curriculum vitae and photograph of the contestant must be attached to the manuscript and sent together by registered mail.

10. Manuscripts must be typewritten. (Chinese and Japanese manuscripts excepted).

11. Bibliographical references must be mentioned, if any.

Zones Fixed

The world has been divided into five zones and the contestant, regardless of nationality, will compete in the zone of his or her residence. (e.g. An American resident in China will compete in the Asia zone). There will be one first prize, two second prizes and several third prizes awarded in each zone.

The contest zones are as follows :

- (a) Asia (From Turkey east not including Japan).
- (b) Europe, Africa, Australia and New Zealand.
- (c) Latin America.
- (d) North America and the Hawaiian Islands.
- (e) The Japanese Empire.

Each prizewinner will be notified and their names publicly announced. Prizewinners must notify the contest committee in which form they would prefer the award as listed below. Awards will be void unless notification is received within six months after the announcement.

First prize winners will be awarded a travel scholarship of three months in Japan. They will be given a first class round-trip steamer passage from a port in or nearest the country of residence to a port in Japan (the ship and route to be stipulated by the contest committee) and Y3,000 for a stay of three months in Japan. The prizewinner in the Japan zone is excepted from the steamer passage. The above award will become void unless the winner arrives in Japan within one year after the winners are announced. The winner who is unable to

make the trip to Japan will be awarded books published in Japan and or other articles to the total value of Y3,000, after full consideration of the wishes of the recipient.

Winners to be invited here

Second prizewinners will be awarded a travel scholarship of one month in Japan. They will be given a first class round-trip steamer passage from a port in or nearest the country of residence to a port in Japan (the ship and route to be stipulated by the contest committee) and Y1,000 for a stay of one month in Japan. Prizewinners in the Japan zone are excepted from the steamer passage. These second prize awards will become void unless the winner arrives in Japan within one year after the winners are announced. The second prize winners who are unable to make the trip to Japan will be awarded books published in Japan and or other articles to the total value of Y1,000, after full consideration of the wishes of the recipient.

Third prizewinners will be awarded books published in Japan to the value of Y500.

A certificate and medal will also be presented to each of the prizewinners. The winners of the first and second prizes will be awarded their scholarships (expenses while in Japan) in Japan. Prizewinners in the Japan zone will receive their scholarship award shortly after the announcement of the winners.

Essays to be published

The prize winning essays and their Japanese translations will be published by the Society for International Cultural Relations.

A jury, approximately 10 members, will be appointed soon by the contest committee from among Japanese scholars prominent in various academic fields.

The members of the contest committee include : Mr. Matsuzo Nagai, chairman of the board of directors of the Society for International Cultural Relations and Mr. Takanobu Mitani, director of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Office.

All communications to be addressed to Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (26th Centennial International Essay Contest) Marunouchi, Tokyo, Japan.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

We print below the last pathetic appeal from the brave people of Finland whom we salute as martyrs to the cause of human liberty :

To the Athletes and Sportsmen of the World

In 1938 the International Olympic Committee entrusted Finland with organizing the XIIth Olympic Games in Helsinki, Capital of the Finnish Republic. Finland and her sportsmen accepted this commission with gratitude and, thanks to the generous sacrifices of the entire nation the preparations had progressed so far by the Autumn of 1939 that the successful realization of the Games seemed ensured. In a cheerful and confident spirit we looked forward to the arrival of the world's athletes and sportsmen as our guests.

When the European war broke out last autumn, Finland decided to continue her preparations for the Olympic Games. We thought that even in time of war it was important to keep alive the Olympic idea, an idea that would unite all the nations of the world in a spirit of peace and brotherhood. We felt that it was our duty to arrange the Games at the very time when their significance, as a symbol of goodwill among the nations, was greater than ever. Shortly after having been entrusted with the Games we defined their aim to be a feast which would awaken, in all individuals and nations, a desire for mutual understanding and hold before the eyes of a world, infected with discord and suspicion, the ideal of peace.

But when less than a year remained before the Games, Bolshevik Russia attacked our peaceful people, thereby violating her Non-aggression Pact with Finland. She disclosed her intentions by making air raids on the unfortified Olympic City killing women and children with bombs and machine guns. Russia's aim is to destroy Finland's independence through bloodshed and fire.

The people of Finland have taken up arms as one man. They have abandoned their peacetime occupations and are now using all their power to defend their right to their native land. The nation fights for its very existence.

At this moment Finland is not sending out information about the Games. Nevertheless the Organising Committee of the XIIth Olympic

Games has met in order to make this appeal to the athletes and sportsmen of the world. We beseech you, our fellow athletes and sportsmen in all parts of the world, to think of Finland at this moment—Finland, the country, which was entrusted with the XIIth Olympic Games, the country, which expected to greet the flower of the world's youth as her guests at this great festival of peace, the country which has been attacked without the slightest justification by a Great Power pursuing its bolshevist policy.

And when you are thinking of Finland may you understand that, however encouraging the sympathy shown us by the world has been, it is not sufficient for a nation struggling against an enemy fifty times greater in size and power.

It's up to you, also Athletes and Sportsmen of the world, to decide whether this appeal from the Organizing Committee of the XII Olympic Games shall be a last message or not.

Cultural groups of Bihar.

Recent session of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh turned the attention of the public to the admirable capacity of our Biharee friends for political organization. Few, however, care to explore their various groups and associations which are steadily, though silently, transforming the economic and cultural life of Bihar. Within half an hour's drive from Patna is the famous Sadaquat Ashram which is the nerve-centre of Bihar's national politics. But its significance as an educational colony is no less great. Growing on a beautiful mango-grove dedicated by a noble Moslem patriot to national service, the Ashram offers practically free education and board to generation of youths who came out as devoted workers for national service. The soul of the Ashram is naturally the selfless national leader Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He occupies a most humble cottage and shares in every way the joys and sorrows, the inconveniences and privations of the poorest students of the province. It is but natural, therefore, that Bihar, of all other provinces, holds the proud record of initiating officially, through its noble ex-Minister of Education, Dr. Syed Mahmood, an all round renovation of national education by completing in March the voluminous and valuable Reports of the Education Re-organization Committee which terminated its work at the residence of the learned Vice-Chancellor Dr.

Sachchidananda Sinha. The most significant parts of the Report relate to the detailed exposition of the Basic Education growing out of the important and original project of mass education formulated by Mahatma Gandhi in his Wardah Scheme. The second and third volumes of the Report deal with the necessary adjustments in our Secondary and University education if and when we succeed in making the primary education free, compulsory, co-operative and truly democratic in spirit.

Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, a member of the Committee, submitted a special scheme of a Museum of National Education for Bihar at Patna. It was unanimously decided to incorporate this scheme in the body of the Report recommending that the Government should set up such a Museum if possible immediately, to illustrate, for the benefit of the public, the programme of (a) Basic b) Secondary (c) Professional & Technical (d) University and Cultural Education. Ardent co-operation has been offered by the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, by the Director of Public Instruction, by the officers of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and the Patna Museum. In between the Committee sittings, Dr. Nag addressed several meetings at Patna. His lecture on "Greater India" at the Science College roused considerable enthusiasm and Dr. Nag was requested by some distinguished citizens of Patna to give a practical shape to his cultural programme. In an eloquent and thought-provoking address on "International Affairs and World Fellowship" delivered at the Senate Hall with the Vice-Chancellor presiding and with the *élites* of the town participating, Dr. Nag drew a vivid picture of the world chaos prevailing during the quarter of a century from the last World War to the present war. Isolation and non-co-operation may be temporary phases in the domestic politics of India but she simply cannot help participating in the task of working out a World Order beyond and above the present world chaos. He gave a graphic account of the activities of the various organizations working for that end and finally, as Chairman of the Calcutta Branch of the Indian Institute of International Affairs he recommended the formation of a *study-circle* of the pattern of the study group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs which has its Indian centre at New Delhi with branches at Bombay and Calcutta. Dr. Nag's proposal was carried by acclamation and the Vice-Chancellor generously offered full co-operation.

Epidemiological Intelligence Service Under War Conditions

The delaying of mails and telegrams and supervision of wireless messages were bound to render more difficult the work of a department engaged in the rapid dissemination of information received from several hundred health and statistical authorities. At the same time, the very conditions which render communication difficult make it imperative to continue the service furnished by the *Weekly Epidemiological Record*.

Even before the outbreak of war, the League's Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore, which is responsible for the collection of a large part of the information published in this weekly bulletin, approached the Governments concerned, in order to safeguard its cable and wireless communications. At the same time, arrangements were made in Geneva for the reception of the Bureau's wireless bulletins. This meant that delays in telegraphic transmission could be avoided.

On September 5th, it was announced that the bulletin of the Bureau would continue to be broadcast, both by the Eastern stations and by Radio-Nations at Geneva. Public health administrations concerned to know the incidence and course of epidemic diseases can thus pick up the broadcasts and so safeguard themselves against any delay in the distribution of the *Weekly Epidemiological Record* by post. The replies received in the Health Section showed the eagerness with which epidemiological offices greeted this arrangement.

The broadcast from Singapore and that from Alexandria (the Regional Epidemiological Bureau) are now being picked up at Geneva and the *Record* has thus continued to appear regularly with never more than twenty-four hours' delay since the outbreak of war. The information it contains is practically complete, since all the belligerent countries, except Poland, have continued to send epidemiological reports in the usual way. Notes, supplemented by statistical tables and graphs, deal with the chief diseases which assume special importance in present circumstances—that is, typhoid fever, dysentery and typhus. With regard to typhus, with the refugee problem in mind, both the Hungarian and Romanian authorities have agreed to expedite the despatch of their regular returns.

War and Education under fire.

War is a calamity to all educationists for it snaps all connections between nation and nation. It is some consolation, however, to notice

that the International Federation of Teachers' Associations from its Headquarters at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operations, Paris, is continuing its noble work contributing towards educational co-operation and international good-will. Thanks to their services under the trying conditions of war, we know something about the lot of teachers and pupils in war affected areas : The Czech schools under Nazi regime suffered terribly ; thousands of teachers were dismissed because they were "non-Aryans" and in February, 1939, all civil servants in the ministry of education and school teachers were obliged under pressure from Berlin, to sign a "declaration of Aryanism". The same pathetic cry from the heroic people of Poland through Mr. Stanczyk came : "the occupiers of our country have burnt a great part of our museum collections, our art galleries and libraries. They have closed or disbanded the universities and the majority of the elementary and secondary school...They deported boys and girls of over 14 into labour camps in Germany ...They shot 120 school boys who refused to sing the Hitler anthem. The Russians have interned hundreds of Polish teachers."

Alas ! the condition of the Scandinavian countries appears to be no better. Finland has suffered terribly, Denmark is swallowed, Norway is under fire and the conflagration may soon spread to Sweden. So there appears to be very little chance of holding the Teachers' Conference for the Nordic states of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, proposed to be held at Oslo in August, 1940. A similar conference at Bergen on economic relations sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs was abandoned on the eve of this fateful war in August, 1939. All the civil servants called up to defend Norway's neutrality will, during their military service, be paid full salary. The Governments of Norway and Sweden arranged for the education of a large number of Finnish children. As soon as Russia began to attack Finland, the Red Cross and other associations in Sweden started a subscription list and arranged taking Finnish mothers with their children in Swedish homes. Workmen in big factories decided to work an extra day and sent that extra pay to the fund for Finland which, by the middle of January, swelled to 62 million Swedish crowns, besides hundreds of tons of clothes, shoes, food-stuffs and complete outfit for babies. This is in every way worthy of the nation producing Ellen Key and Selma Lagerlof, two outstanding women writers and humanists of our age.

Soviet Offensive Against India
Suggestions of An Oriental League of Nations,

Under the caption "Diversion on India" 'Le Courrier de Syrie' (an Arab newspaper) writes Damascus, April, 19 on the subject of the possibility of a Soviet offensive in the direction of India.

'As to the supposition that the population of India would help the Russian design, it is sufficient simply to remember that Bolshevism persecutes all forms of religion and social structure, while India is essentially a religious country.'

The "Fate el Arab" considers that the time has come for the people of the Orient, and especially Islamic Orient, to group themselves with the object of guaranteeing peace in the countries extending from Afghanistan to Egypt and from Turkey to Yemen".

The journal adds that question of vital importance confront the the Oriental nations and they should envisage their collaboration in the formation of a super-institution on the lines of the League of Nations, which would regulate the conditions of the reforms, to which they must submit, cultural, agricultural and industrial exchanges which they should establish among themselves.

It is in this way, says the paper that these countries with unlimited frontiers will constitute a collection of people which will be regarded with respect.—Reuter.

The above warning coming from our Arab friends of Syria should make every Indian, in fact every Asiatic, ponder about the future of the Oriental nations. The supposed difference between Nazism and Sovietism exists no longer for we see Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia united to-day by a portentous plan of Totalitarian domination of the world. Central Europe is under their heels and they have almost succeeded in terrorising the Scandinavian nation. The Balkan states appear to be their potential victims and there is every chance of the Nazi-Soviet aggression to darken the political horizon of Asia, as we opine while penning the last sentence of our Editorial. To counteract this evil we must think in term of a concrete organisation like the Oriental League of Nations. It should have its Headquarters in India which is the historical meeting-ground of the races and cultures from the Near East and from the Far East. Through Islam we Indians should appeal to all the nations of Western Asia from Afghanistan to Egypt and Turkey. So through Buddhism we may draw the Tibetans, the Mangolians, the Chinese and the Japanese to join hands

with us in combating the subversive activities of the Totalitarian states. Not only our political and economic organizations but the various denominations and foundations should co-operate in order to make the Oriental League of Nations in every way worthy of that title. It will supply the most necessary corrective to the theoretically world-wide but practically European League of Nations at Geneva. The Oriental League of Nations may co-operate with it as well as with the Pan-American Union, the British Commonwealth of Nations and such living organisations which function with definite historical traditions and objectives. The idea of such a World Federation would be the most stimulating factor welding all the liberty-loving nations of the globe against the ominous forces of disintegration and chaos symbolised by Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia. We hope to develop our project further in our next issue of New Asia.

Acknowledgments

Far from slackening its pace the war has redoubled its fury and while human life seems to be shockingly cheap, human relationship is ever so difficult to maintain. The News Agencies are so busy with things military that we find very little material or scope for discussing the cultural and moral plights of nations. The more thankful therefore we are to those kind friends who remember us in our isolation by sending us gifts of valuable books, bulletins, and periodicals enabling us to appreciate partially the problems and points of view of our colleagues on the other side of the wall of isolation. Thanks to the Editor of that progressive paper, the *Unity* of Chicago, we could publish for the benefit of our readers the stimulating article on "Creative Democracy" by the octogenarian philosopher John Dewey. We are thankful also to the Editor of the *Osaka Mainichi* (English Annual) for the highly interesting and comprehensive article on the "Outline of Nippon Literature" by Mr. Yasushi Uriu. This came very appropriately with the inauguration of the **Japan Library** of Calcutta where many people will get the facility for learning something about Japanese art, literature and other branches of Oriental culture. So we have taken reprints of this article as well as of the valuable article on the "Constitutional Government in Turkey" by Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh who is giving exhaustive and up-to-date surveys of the constitutional experiments made by the different nations of New Asia. Similar studies have already been published in our journal which should also be reprinted e.g. on "Modern Nepal" by Mr. T. Fukai and on the "Art and Archæology of Japan" by Dr. Kalidas Nag. Those who wish to keep with them copies of such articles for reference may apply with four annas postage stamps to the Librarian. **Japan Library, 34, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.**

Lastly, we are thankful to the International Cultural Society (Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai) of Tokyo for their generous gift of valuable books on the life and culture of Japan which will go to enrich the *Japan Library* and enable the Indian readers to form some idea of the cultural heritage of Eastern Asia.

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EDITORIAL

Europe is in conflagration and we do not know whether it would spread over the continent of Asia also. Peace prospects are very poor indeed for the European nations, tragic victims of conflicting state systems. In Eastern Asia the Sino-Japanese war was not so much a war of "ideologies" as of economic mal-adjustments. China, thanks to the violent and non-violent penetration of the White races proved to be the most dangerous zone of "depression" in the political barometer of the East and so typhoons and tornedoes have been ravaging her for nearly a century, ever since the Opium war of 1840. In the last half of a century Japan became progressively the dominant power in the Eastern Asia and the wisest course for China to follow would have been to evolve a close political and economic co-operation between Japan and China. That however was unfortunately so much against the entrenched vested interests of the Western powers that they left no stone unturned to alienate China from Japan. Hence the tragedy of the Chiang Kai-shek regime which, after desperate and fruitless attempts to secure the help of the Western powers, is now thrown absolutely at the mercy of the Communist government of Russia. That government, we know, under the silent and sinister influence of Soviet diplomats, had already extended its tentacles over the Near East, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea zones, and quite recently over Afghanistan, our next-door neighbour. Thus the whole of the Near East from Turkey to Afghanistan appears to be threatened with the invasion of the contending diplomacies of Europe including Soviet Russia. India, the biggest (in quantity if not in quality) unit in the Middle East is caught napping and unprepared from the point of view of adequate national defence in these fateful days of war and violence. Mere pronouncement of the

mantra of non-violence cannot help her in this crisis. This has been realised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others who boldly tried to lift the National Congress above the abstraction of the Gandhian creed. Let us hope that under the new leadership India with her 400 millions will prove strong enough to maintain the equilibrium in the Middle East, by stabilizing the economic and strategic policies of India, Burma and Ceylon with regard to the problems of Indo-China and the East Indies. The French and the Dutch domination over those regions may or may not last long. What is urgent for us Indians to remember is that the future of India is to a large extent connected with the future of the nations of East Asia. It was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Koumintang Party and the National Government in China, who first advocated the principle of Greater Asian solidarity. That however proved too difficult a task for China to accomplish and Japan is the only Asiatic power capable of appreciating and applying the profound policy underlying Dr. Sun Yat-sen's message. Hence we find that from Japan emanated the first clear pronouncement of the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine and the first project of the Asiatic League of Nations. If Japan and China could only stop hostilities and devote their energies now to the creative programme of economic and cultural co-operation, not only Eastern Asia but, we hope, the whole continent of Asia will recover lasting peace and prosperity. The days of vague internationalism of the Geneva League type are gone and Europe, after this tragic war, will be the first to stabilize the European League of Nations, just as the recent Pan-American Conference of Havana is doing with regard to the American League of Nations. Will Asia with her teeming millions fail to read the signals of history? We hope not. The Time Spirit is working in our favour and what tons of books and publications on world affairs could not teach us, the potent World forces are teaching to every man and woman of New Asia, who will continue to think more and more in terms of an Asiatic League of Nations and of Asia's great mission for the regeneration of mankind.

The Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai

(*The Society for International Cultural Relations*)

By **Frank A. von Heiland**, Pan-Pacific Union

Maintaining contacts with numerous educational institutions, organizations and individuals in over fifty countries, the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai of Tokyo, known in English as the Society for International Cultural Relations is probably one of the most active international organizations in the Far East. Its activities cover a wide range of academic and cultural interests in order to satisfy the varied requests for informative material on Japan that daily pour into the society's Tokyo headquarters from all parts of the World.

These requests include study scholarships, exchange professorships, lectures, films and other visual material, literature on diverse subjects, participation in expositions and art exhibitions and so on *ad infinitum*. Among letters from learned institutions requesting the good offices of the society for a donation of books there are also letters from children asking for dolls and toys for their school exhibits. Among requests from museums for a loan of Japanese art treasures there are others for gramophone records of music. All these orders the society endeavours to fulfil.

Founded in the spring of 1934 by eminent scholars, noblemen and other cultural leaders, the society is an endowed foundation. It was established principally for two reasons : first, to satisfy an evergrowing demand abroad for information on Japan, as well as for facilities for the study of the country, its culture and its people ; and second, to make accessible in foreign languages information which previously could be found only in Japanese.

With H. I. H. Prince Takamatsu, second brother of the Emperor, as patron and Prince Fumimaro Konoe, the premier, as President, the society is under capable leadership. The present executive head is Mr. Matsuzo Nagai, former ambassador to Germany and long in Japan's diplomatic service in the United States, who is Chairman of the Board of Directors, succeeding Count Ayske Kabayama who resigned in last spring after serving since the founding of the society.

In its five years of work, the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai has engaged in manifold activities and designed to facilitate the study and understanding of Japan. One of the noteworthy projects was the special loan exhibition

of Japanese art treasures held at the Boston Museum of Fine Art in connection with the tercentenary celebration of Harvard University. It has participated in twentyseven exhibitions and expositions, including the current New York and San Francisco World Fairs. It has donated books on Japan to numerous foreign institutions, including a gift of two thousand volumes to the University of Hawaii in 1937. About thirty professors and lecturers have been sent to a dozen of foreign countries.

Up to the spring of this year, the society has sponsored nearly a hundred lectures for foreign audiences in Japan on a wide variety of subjects pertaining to the history, culture and institutions of the country. During the past year over 300 documentary films on twenty different subjects, 12,500 photographs, 12,700 lantern slides and nearly 40,000 books, pamphlets and brochures were sent abroad. Scholarships have been awarded to thirty-five foreign students to date. Over 2,500 annually use the society's library, which is equipped at present with nearly 6,000 volumes pertaining to Japan and the Orient in foreign languages, principally English.

Among the widely known books published by the society are "Glimpses of Japanese Ideals" by Jiro Harada, "The Art of the Landscape Garden in Japan" by Tsuyoshi Tamura, "Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Literature" by a staff of editors composed of well-known critic and "Guide to Japanese Studies" by a staff of professors.

Important publication projects undertaken by the society are the *Encyclopaedia Japonica* in two large volumes of over a thousand pages each and the Tokugawa Legal Documents (civil laws of feudal Japan) in fifteen volumes of 600 pages each, both to be published in English. The latter is under the supervision of Dr. John Henry Wigmore, Dean Emeritus of the College of Law, Northwestern University, who is editing the manuscripts in Evanston as the translations are sent from Japan.

The society is represented in the United States by the Japan Institute, which was established in Rockefeller Centre, New York City, in the fall of 1938, in view of the great American demand for information on Japan. It is equipped with a reference library of several thousand books, periodicals and other materials written in Japanese, as well as a collection of books in English. Contacts are being maintained with 500 learned societies, educational institutions and organizations throughout the world.

The Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai is continuing to forge strong cultural links with other nations in the belief that in the higher realms of scholarship and culture there exists an area of common interest and that in furthering such activities in collaboration with foreign countries lies the solution to better international understanding.

Muslim Poets and Hindi Literature

By **Kalidas Mukerjee, M. A.**

Hindi literature is the joint creation of the Hindoos and the Musalmāns. The early invasions of the Musalmāns were only to plunder and devastate India—a country of immense riches and splendour, and as their stronghold grew greater and faster, they gradually came in touch with the Indian civilisation. In the early periods of their settlement no direct effort was made by them to spread their culture, but in their iron manner they displayed something of their own will.

Mullā-Dānda was the first man to display his genius in Hindi, quite early—when Hindi had been just emerging out of the *Apabhramsa* stage. Whatever he wrote in his immature-Hindi-language, has made him the pioneer. Mullā-Dānda's contribution in the field of Romantic novel was followed later on by the Sūfi-poets.

At the close of the 13th and the opening of the 14th century sprang forth Khusro with his Hindi riddles and mukris. He wrote in Persian script to amuse those Muslims who had settled in and about Delhi. These people had a taste for Hindi and the composition of Khusro was liked by them; that the poet Khusro has been put to so great an esteem was only due to his Khālīque-Bārī-Kos'. In this book we get an admixture of Turki, Persian and Hindi words, One of his mukris runs as follows :—

सारी रैन मोहिं संग जागा ।
भोर भई तब बिछुरन लागा ॥
वाके बिछुरत फाटल हिया ।
ए सखि साजन ? ना लखि दिया ॥

Then came the Sūfi-poets. Among them Kutuban, Manjhan, Malik Muhammad Jāyasī and Usmān are very popular. Like all these Sūfi-poets, Jāyasī the best of the lot, chose the Oudhī-language and by a popular love-story tried to bring to light the fundamental element existing between man and God. He took the most popular story, viz. that of Padmāvatī and by his poetic genius tried to show the

obstacles that lay on the path of Ratna Singh, the lover. At the end of the story he explained the allegory by the following lines :—

तन चितडर मन राजा कीन्हा । हिय सिंघल, बुधि पदीमनि चीन्हा ॥

गुरु सुआ जेर पंथ दिखावा । बिनु गुरु जगत की निरगुन पावा ?

नागमती यह दुनिया धांधा । बांचा सोइ न एहि बंधा ॥

राघव दूत सोई सैतानू । माया अलाउदीं सुलतानू ॥

प्रेम कथा एहि भांति बिचारहुं । बुझि लेहु जौ बुझं चित पारहुं

This story had been so popular that it was translated into Bengali, later on, by Alwala.

Among the compositions of the Sūfi-poets Jāyāsī's had been the best. Kutuban and Manjhan had written *Mrigāvatī* and *Madhumālātī* respectively ; in addition to these two, *Mugdāvatī* and *Premāvatī* had been written before Jāyāsī. In all these stories the Muslim poets by popular love-stories had tried to bring out the hidden allegory.

At the time of Emperor Akbar Hindi literature had reached its golden age. It was due to Tulsīdās and Sūrādās and to some extent due to the Muslim poets as well. Leaving aside the question of Tulsīdās and Sūrādās, when we consider the Muslim poets, we find Rahīm and Raskhāna shining most brilliantly.

Rahīm was born in 1553 and was the Prime Minister of Akbar. In addition to his knowledge of Arabic and Persian we find him to be a Sanskrit Pandit, and he was, moreover, well versed in Hindi. Rahīm was well aware of the social Institutions of India and it is for this reason we find him displaying his genius to so wide an extent. His following lines are very popular :—

धृत धरत निज सीस पर, कह रहीम केहि काज

जेहिरज मुनी पतनी तरी सो दुंदुत गजराज ॥

Rahīm was friend of Tulsīdās, and when the latter had once sent a letter to the former through a poor man, with the following line :—

सुरतिथ, नरतिथ, नागतिथ सब चाहत ऊस कोय ।

Rahīm completed it by writing :—

गोद लिये दुलसी फिरे तुलसी सो सुत होय ॥

Rahīm had a command over both the north Indian languages Oudhī and Braj-Bhākhā and his books "Rahīm Satsai", "Barvai-Rāmāyana" and "Rāsa-Pañcādhyāyī" have been very famous.

Raskhāna was a pakkā Krishna-Bhakta and he has been given a place in the "Discourses of 252 Vaishnavas" (२५२ वैसखानों की वार्ता). His verses had been so charming that later on any composition on Sringāra-rasa (सृंगाररस) was called "Raskhāna". 'Prema-Vātika' and 'Sujāna-Raskhāna' are his best compositions. He wrote particularly on Krishna and Rādhā and the utter devotion of a Muslim for Krishna is shown by the following lines :—

मानुष हों तो वही रसखान बसों संग गोकुल गांव के गबारन ।
जो पसु हों तो कहां वसु मेरो चरौं नित नंद की धेनु मँभारन ॥
पाहन हों तो वही गिरि को जो कियो हरि द्वज पुरंदर-धारन ।
जौ खग हों तो घसेरो करौं मिलि कालिदि कूल कदंब की डारन ॥

Akbar the great has been included in the list of poets. His following lines at the death of Bīrbal prove it :—

सब कह्यु दीनन दीन, एक दुखयो दुसह दुख ।
सोउ दै हमहि प्रबीन, नहीं राख्यो कह्यु वीरवर ॥

Quadir, the disciple of Saiyad Ebrāhim, composed nice poems in Hindi. His couplets are found scattered in the United Provinces specially round about Hardoi, but no complete work of the great poet has yet been found.

Then we find Mubārak, a good poet indeed trying to decorate the Hindi literature with his fine verses at the beginning of the 17th Century (C. 1613). He had a sound knowledge of Arabic and Persian and he was well versed in Sanskrit and Hindi, too. Here lay his merits in fine compositions. He dealt with each part of the 'Naikā' (heroine) and composed no less than hundred couplets on each of the ten parts. His merit is well-divulged in "Tila-Shatak". After all he was a poet on 'Sringāra-rasā'. One of his couplets runs as follows :—

चिबुक-कूप, रसरी-अलक, तिल सु चरस, हग बैल ।
वारी बैस सिंगार की सींचित मनमथ झेल ॥

Emperor Shāhjahān at times made verses in Hindi. When imprisoned by Aurangzeb he composed the following:—

जन्मत ही लख दान दियो, अरु नाम धसी नवरंग बिहारी ।
बालीह सों प्रतिपाल कियो, अरु देल मुलुक्क दियो बलभारी ॥
सो सुत बैर कुम्है मन में, धीर हाय ! दियो बंधसार में उारी ।
शाहजहां बिनबै हरिसों, बलि शजिव नैन रजाय तिहारी ॥

Ali Muhibkhan, better known as 'Pritam' was a humourous poet and flourished at the beginning of the 18th Century (1730). As a humourous poet he wrote his "Khatamala-bāisi". In addition to this he composed nice verses on heroic-sentiment (वीररस) and a few on Sringā-rasā.

In addition to the poets mentioned above, there were 'Tāj' and many others inclusive of Raslīn who had written plenty of books in Hindi. The Hindi world is indebted much to them. Raslīn was a natural poet, gifted with a strong common sense and a presence of mind which never failed him in the greatest danger. His similes and metaphors are marvellous. Out of his books 'Āṅgadarpaṇa' and 'Rasa-prabodha' are very popular. His compositions on 'Six-Seasons' (षट्-ऋतु) and the 'Twelve-months' (बारह मास) may be compared with any good Hindi poet.

These Muslim poets showed their passionate zeal for Hindi and specially for Braja-bhākṣā. Among them many were as good Vaishnavas as any Hindoo, for instance, Raskhāna may be mentioned. Many of these Muslim poets, shunning the Persian literary atmosphere had so closely adopted the Hindi one, that at the present day they have been put to great esteem by the Indian mass and moreover their names have been so inseparably connected with the Hindi-literature that even the iron-hand of the age will feel it hard to separate.

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JAPAN'S TRADE HISTORY

In the Past Twenty-six Centuries

By **Asit Krishna Mukerji,**

Editor : Eastern Economist.

According to early history, Japan's foreign trade activities in ancient times were restricted almost exclusively with Korea. No sufficient historical data are available at present to clarify Japan's commercial relations in about six hundred years directly following the founding of the Empire. Continental culture was introduced and diffused by the naturalized peoples who migrated in large number to Japan from the regions of Shiragi, Koma and Kudara (districts in Korea). These same people greatly contributed to the promotion of culture and economy in this country.

Japan's intercourse with China seems to have existed even in the days of the *Kan* period, and the post-Kan period privately. Officially, however, the communication with China started in the sixth year of the reign of Emperor Yuryaku, when an official messenger visited Japan from the country of *Go*, a district of Korea. This call was returned by a visit of a Japanese delegate to *Go* in the eighth year during the same reign. It is well known that the traffic between Japan and China took place with commodities as well as with men in those days, for in about 264 years, Imperial delegates were sent to China on fifteen occasions. Many official representatives and merchant vessels also visited Japan from China.

Trade activities conducted by these Imperial delegates and Chinese vessels seem to have been what may be termed governmental monopolies and were conducted under State control.

These Japanese Imperial messengers to China took with them mostly silver, brocade yarns and cotton tissues in the form of gifts, while China sent to Japan coloured tissues, perfumed medicines and other rare articles. Chinese vessels also transported to Japan books mostly concerning Buddhism, industrial art objects, medicines and perfumes. These articles were chiefly confined to luxuries catered principally to the wealthy class, and had little to do with the general masses. Such was a general tendency of Japan's foreign trade in ancient times.

These imported articles were received and displayed at places called *Korokan* which were located in Kyoto, Namba and Hakata. Hence, trade in those days was called *Korokan* trade.

Kasuga and Nara Eras

In the *Kasuga* and *Nara* periods and even during the *Heian* era, Japan's trade with Korea and China was continued, although the formal traffic with Korea was suspended because of internal disturbances in the peninsula. Japan was forced to announce the discontinuance of the Imperial messenger system and the prohibition of trade on several occasions, but private commercial transactions with Korea continued to be conducted. Many individuals were ready to spend fortunes to buy and secure rare articles imported from Shiragi.

Later, Shiragi went to ruin and Koma, which annexed Shiragi, sought to resume economic relations by sending a formal delegate to Japan. On October 13, in the second year of *Ten'u* under the reign of the Emperor Enyu, a trade delegate from Koma visited Japan. This record clearly showed that there existed trade relations between Japan and China on an official basis in those days.

Later, Japan discovered a number of the Koma natives amongst armed pirates attacking Japanese coasts. In retaliation, Japan placed a ban on trade with Koma, but it seems that some of the powerful clans in the Kyushu district secretly violated the governmental ban and continued trade transactions with Koma.

Japan's trade and traffic with China in the *Tang* period (in China) were at their zenith from the close of the *Nara* period and in the beginning of the *Heian* period. The system of sending formal delegates to the country of *Tang*, which had contributed greatly to the promotion of Japan's civilization in ancient times, was abolished in the sixth year of *Kampei* during the reign of Emperor Uda, because of a report brought back by a *Tang* priest concerning the downfall of the *Tang* Dynasty and due to the financial conditions in this country. General trade transactions, however, continued active, and during the reign of Emperor Nimmei, a Government sample fair was opened for miscellaneous articles imported from the country of *Tang* in Kyoto. During the reigns of the Emperors Junwa, Myoko and Daigo, articles imported from *Tang* merchants were accurately listed and strictly inspected in order to prevent the sharp advance of prices at the auctions which opened immediately upon the arrival of the goods. Thus, trade transactions under Government control were encouraged.

- Fall of T'ang Dynasty

After the downfall of the *Tang* dynasty, China was compelled to undergo turbulent days, but even during those troublous periods, Japan's trade activities with China were conducted comparatively on a large scale. Later China was unified under the *Sung* dynasty, and merchant vessels from China began to call at Japanese ports. And merchants arriving here were welcomed at the foregoing *Korokan*. At times, visits of *Sung* merchants were so frequent that the Government was compelled to fix the period of sojourn for them. Later, however, in the *Konoe*, *Nijo* *Rokujo* periods, Taira-Kiyomori opened the Strait of Otodo for the construction of a harbour at Owada (Hyogo) in order to promote trade activities with the *Sung* dynasty. It is easy to imagine how difficult and adventurous the communication with the Continent was with the primitive shipbuilding and navigation technique in those early days. Major ports then were Nambatsu (present Osaka) and Miko Suimon (Muko water-gate : in the vicinity of present Hyogo). Merchant vessels reached the Matsuura beach in Hizen via the Inland Sea and present Moji and Shimonoseki, and cruised southward along the Continental coasts through the Korean waters, arriving at Kienkang (present Chiangningfu, Kiangsu Province).

Navigation of official delegates despatched to the dynasty was mostly conducted by a fleet of four vessels, leaving Nambatsu and rounding the Gulf of Pechili via the Inland Sea, Matsuura, Iki, Tsushima and Korea, or taking a route via the Tsichow Island and Chengking Province, or taking a route via the Gulf of Pechili and Shantung Province to Chengking, the capital city of the *Tang* dynasty. It generally required years to complete the round trip. In those days, the centre of trade activities with China in the Kyushu district was Dazaifu, and Matsuura was the starting point and Mecca of merchant vessels bound for China. This is the reason why Matsuura came to be called Karatsu (Tang Port) in later days.

Mediaeval Ages

Some four hundred years in the medieval ages from the *Kamakura* and *Muromachi* periods to the *Adzuchi* and *Momoyama* periods were the days dominated by feudalism. Specially since the *Kemmu* era, rival military chieftains kept continual strife with one another in various parts of the country, and formed what is generally termed the age of civil wars.

Under the circumstances, domestic trade activities were greatly hampered. On the other hand, trade activities with foreign countries made a reactionary development on the strength of the fall of diplomatic relations and the weakening of government restrictions. These trade activities were conducted mostly by provincial lords, rich merchants or noted priests, dissatisfied with domestic conditions.

Thus, activities of Japanese traders extended not only to Korea and China, but further to the South Sea countries. Traffic with Europe was also started during these medieval periods.

Trade activities with Korea, under governmental restriction since the attack of armed pirates from Korea, became brisk as the government ban grew weaker. As a result, many Japanese civilians made expeditions to the peninsula and resorted to plundering operations since the close of the *Kamakura* era to the early days of the *Muromachi* period.

The country of Koma, afraid of Japanese attacks with the visit of the Yamato race, sent messengers to Japan frequently to ask for the ban of illegal visits and the normalization of trade activities. When Rikeisei, a Korean general, conquered the *Koma* Dynasty and restored the Korean Government during the reign of Emperor Komatsu in Japan, traffic between Japan and Korea grew further active, and the Japanese migrated to the latter country in great numbers. Many war lords here also communicated with Korea. The House of Soh in Tsushima specially made close contact with Korea because of the geographical position of its territory.

In the third year of Kayoshi under the reign of Emperor Gohanazono, Soh Sadamori concluded a contract to send 50 vessels to Korea annually, and to obtain 20,000 koku of rice and beans as remuneration. It was because the trade by the House of Soh was conducted through three ports of Korea, namely; Fuzan-po, Sei-po and En-po, the trade in those days was commonly called San-po trade or three-po trade.

Since the number of Japanese emigrants to Korea increased as a result of the growing prosperity of trade activities, disputes between the Japanese and Korean natives rose in rapid succession and culminated in the outbreak of the San-po Rebellion. Naturally, the Japanese residents in Korea withdrew from the peninsula, and trade relations between Japan and Korea were temporarily severed. The situation did not become aggravated, but the trade volume between the two countries after the resumption of trade relations was almost halved.

Lord Soh endeavoured to restore active trade activities, but failed to regain the prosperity as in the days of Kayoshi. Until the Bunroku campaign and the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the third year of Keicho, and the resultant withdrawal of Japanese forces from Korea by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, there-after, trade between Japan and Korea was suspended again.

In the first half of the *Kamakura* era, Japan's trade with China through the *Sung* dynasty was active privately as well as officially. The major trade port in Japan communicating with China at that time was Hakata, while Hirado steadily came into the limelight as a port of call.

Principal Trade Items

In those days principal export items from Japan to China were rice, lumber, gold, mercury, sulphur, lacquered ware, crystal work, swords and sabres and fans, while cardinal import items from China consisted of tissues, straw-mats, stationery, potteries and perfumes.

Imports of Sung coins (cast copper coins), active since the close of the *Heian* period, also continued to be prosperous. Later the *Gen* dynasty came into power on the Chinese Continent. On the heels of its successive conquests over the country of Koma and the *Sung* dynasty, the *Gen* dynasty attempted to conquer Japan. The attack of Gen soldiers resulted in one of the largest wars Japan had in her history, but the damage of the attack on the trade relations between China and Japan was comparatively slight.

The exchange of merchant ships between the two countries was restored to normal soon after the war.

The most important of Japan's trade activities with the *Gen* dynasty was the Government-licensed trade conducted by the Tenryuji-bune (Tenryuji trade vessels). This system was initiated by the Government with the object of obtaining funds for the construction of the Tenryuji Temple to be dedicated to the soul of the Emperor Godaigo. The Government introduced this system after the example of the Kenchoji vessels and Sumiyoshijinsha vessels. Thus, during and after the reign of the Emperor Gomurakami, all trade ships plying between Japan and the country of Gen, were required to deliver a certain amount of money to the Tenryuji Temple, irrespective of the time of the return of the vessels and the amount of profits gained. The Kanjobune (Accounting Vessel) trade or the Shuinbune (Red Marked Vessel) trade, initiated in later days,

originated from the licensed trade in this period. Trade items in transactions with the *Gen* dynasty were little different from articles which formed the trade with the *Sung* dynasty.

In the 1st year of Oh-an under the reign of the Emperor Chokei, the *Ming* dynasty came to succeed the *Gen* dynasty and placed all China under its unified administration on the Continent. Negotiations for the start of a friendship trade between Japan and the *Ming* dynasty were commenced by the Ming's at first, and later by the Japanese but they failed because of a disagreement between the two parties.

Ming Trade Resumption

Later, the Muromachi Government sought profits in trade with the *Ming* dynasty to make up for losses in the Government's treasury. In the eighth year of Ohei under the administration of Shogun Yoshimitsu, a special messenger was sent to the *Ming* dynasty to arrange for the re-opening of trade relations. As a result, a treaty for the exchange of Kanjo (Accounting) trade vessels between the two countries was concluded in the 11th year of Ohei, and the *Ming* dynasty named Ningpo its trade port for the purpose.

By virtue of this treaty, the two countries came to exchange delegations composed of 200 members and two vessels every ten years. And the two Governments distinguished delegation ships from pirate ships by means of the Kanjo-fu or licensed marks. Under the reign of Shogun Yosinori, the Government charged the House of Ouchi in the Suho province with the control over the licensed marks. Later, therefore, trade activities with the *Ming* dynasty fell under the influence of that house.

Tributes and trade items in those days principally consisted of horses, sulphur, agate, swords, fans, armours and lacquered ware from Japan to China and raw silk, gold and silver, old ware, paintings and writings, copper coins, etc. Copper moneys minted under the name of Eiraku coins in those days with copper imported from the *Ming* dynasty, went a long way toward alleviating the coin famine at that time, while the exports of swords proved extremely profitable and served to relieve the stringency of financial conditions of the Government.

With the advent of the civil-war age, this form of trade was abolished, but trade relations between the two continued to prosper, and some war lords in the Kyushu district attempted to conduct regular trade transactions with the *Ming* dynasty. In those days, Hirado rose in place

of Hakata as the major trade port, while Sakai came to replace Hyogo as a Mecca for foreign trade.

Relations with the Malay States

Japan's trade with Chusung, Annam and Thailand and other South Sea countries was initiated by private merchants in the days of the *Muromachi* period.

Historical data point out that the Japanese already visited the South Sea regions toward the latter part of the 16th century when Spain started its expeditions to the Philippine Islands. Toyotomi Hideyoshi recognized the freedom of foreign trade and established the Shuinbune (red-marked-ship) system in the first year of Bunroku (1592). By virtue of this system, Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued red-marked licenses to trade vessels engaged in trade with South Sea countries to certify that they had no intention other than pure trade activities. This Shuinbune system apparently took after the Kanjobune (accounting vessel) system, but their intrinsic nature was entirely different. Such an attitude on the part of Toyotomi Hideyoshi towards foreign trade activities enabled leading merchants in Kyoto, Sakai, Hakata and Nagasaki to carry on active trade transaction, while a number of provincial lords also obtained the red-marked licenses to engage in trade. These lords were commonly called trade lords. Major export items by the Shuinbune trade included copper, copper ware, lacquered ware, fans, folding-screens, sulphur, camphor, armours, amber, cow hides and fancy goods, while major imports were cocoons, raw silk, silk tissues, woollen tissues, sugar, medicines, fragrant wood, cinnabar, mercury, glass, ivory, agate, coral, potteries and metal ware. All these export and import items were luxuries catered to the upper class of people. Naturally, traders realized enormous profits.

Marco Polo Introduces Japan

Towards the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo, the noted Italian writer and traveller, introduced Japan as a treasure island located to the east of the China Sea, to Europe. As a result, Europeans began to appear in Japan about 2203 (Japanese calendar), namely, in the 11th year of Tenbun (according to western date) or the 12th year of Tenbun (according to Nampo Bunshu), or some 400 years ago.

In some quarters, it is held that Japan's trade with Europe originated from barter transactions conducted with a Portuguese ship which was cast ashore at the Tanekojima Islands to the south of Satsuma (in Kyushu) in those days. There is also an opinion that the origin of Japan's trade with Europe is traced to a trade between a Portuguese ship and a certain

Otomo at the time of the ship's visit at Bungo in the third year of Kyoroku some 10 years later. Nevertheless, articles brought by Portuguese vessels in those days were rare and unique commodities, such as rifles, etc., and war lords in the Kyushu district hastened to open ports in their territories in mad attempt to obtain products of Namban (Southern countries).

During the intercourse, they permitted foreigners to pass through their territories and recognised the freedom of missionary work. Because of such courteous treatments given to foreign vessels, Japan's contact with Europe led by Portugal became increasingly closer. Thus, the scope of Japan's trade activities extended from China and Korea to the South Sea region and Europe. Drastic changes took place with major trade ports as a natural result. As the trade routes of Japan advanced southward, Bonotsu of Statsuma and Hirado of Hizen came into the limelight in addition to Sakai and Hakata. Specially, the number of trade vessels and traders coming to Hirado increased year by year. Since the 2nd year of Genki under the reign of the Emperor Ohgimachi when Omura Sumitada, Lord of Omura, Hizen, opened the Port of Nagasaki to foreign trade; these two ports, namely; Hirado and Nagasaki became two most important ports for Japan's foreign trade with Europe.

Modern Ages

It goes without saying that Japan's foreign trade in the modern ages prior to the *Meiji* era was the trade of the *Tokugawa* era. For accuracy, it is convenient to divide the foreign trade during the *Edo* period into two stages, namely; the first preceding the national isolation and the second coming after that.

Iyeyasu Tokugawa, the first shogun of the House of Tokugawa, was more or less interested in diplomacy and foreign civilization. As a policy of unifying the country and stabilizing the foundation of the Tokugawa Government, especially in conciliating the Osaka "ronin" (lordless samurai), he was first enthusiastic in the promotion of foreign trade and took a positive attitude towards the freedom of trade. Speaking about Japan's trade with Korea in those days, Japan's trade relations with the country, in suspension since the *Bunroku* period, were steadily restored as a result of the visit of a delegation from the country in the 9th year of Keicho through the efforts of the House of Soh at the command of Tokugawa Iyeyasu. In the 14th year of Keicho, a treaty was concluded between Japan and Korea, and by virtue of its provisions, a Nippon-kwan (Japanese House) was established at Fuzan, Korea, and an agreement

was reached in regard to the number of trade vessels, official sales of articles, opening of fairs, etc. In those days, Japan's trade with Korea was unrestricted in respect to the value of transactions.

With the advent of the isolation period, however, the trade volume was extremely restricted for reason of checking the reckless outflow of gold and silver. Iyeyasu Tokugawa also planned to restore friendly relation with the *Ming* dynasty, greatly depressed since the civil-war period. In view of the slow progress of direct negotiations, however, he attempted to make the Government of Loochoo Islands to mediate in the negotiations through the House of Shimadzu in Kyushu. Sho Nei, the King of the Loochoo Islands, first refused the proposition and took an insolent attitude, but later as the House of Shimadzu resorted to force, the King yielded. Thus, the project of Iyeyasu was materialized and trade relations with China became active again.

Japan's trade with South Sea countries continued to develop even in the early days of the Tokugawa period. The Shuinbune (red-marked ship) system, initiated by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was stabilized by Tokugawa Iyeyasu. The Tokugawa Shogunate Government issued the first Shuinbune trade licenses in the 9th year of Keicho (1604). The number of licenses issued by the Tokugawa Government during the 13 years from 1604 to the 2nd year of Genwa, clearly registered in records alone and totalled 199 licenses delivered to 93 persons. The shuinjo or red-marked licenses (licenses given under the Shuinbune system) were effective only for a period of one year and for one return voyage. The actual number of licenses issued is believed to have been far greater than they were recorded. In parallel with the development of trade, the Japanese emigrated in great numbers to South Sea countries (present Malay States) during the *Keicho* and *Kan-ei* eras. As a result, even Japanese towns came to be found in Chusang and Siam (present Thailand) and other South Sea countries. Just as those South Sea countries were lenient towards the visit of Japanese and Japanese vessels, Japan was similarly lenient towards the visit of merchant vessels from those regions. The trade ships from South Sea countries principally called at various ports in the Kyushu district.

European Trade Appears

Since the earlier days of the *Keicho* era, Tokugawa Iyeyasu had intended to trade with New Spain (present Mexico) through the medium of Chusung, but Chusung failed to accept Iyeyasu's proposal. Later however, a Spanish vessel was cast ashore. When sending back the

crew of that ship to Spain, Iyeyasu made a few Japanese merchants accompany them in order to conduct direct negotiations with that country. However, vessels later visiting here from Spain only brought goodwill envoys, and the time was not ripe for launching the Pacific trade for Japan. On the other hand, Holland and England entered the stage of Japan's European trade, in addition to Portugal and Spain. In the 5th year of Keicho, a Dutch vessel was wrecked on the coast of Bungo, and Tokugawa Iyeyasu gave a warm reception to the crew of that ship. This proved to be the start of Japan's relations with Holland. Nine years later, two Dutch ships arrived at Hirado via Nagasaki, and then despatched a messenger to the seat of the Tokugawa Government, then in Suruga. In response to the request of the Dutch messenger, Iyeyasu issued a red-marked license, thus permitting the trade transaction between Holland and Japan. Iyeyasu also authorized the Dutch to erect a hall in Hirado for the exhibition of Dutch products. Later, another Dutch ship called again and presented credentials to Iyeyasu. In reply, Iyeyasu sent his credentials to Holland and issued a new red-marked license. This served to strengthen Japan's trade relations with that country.

Thirteen years after the arrival of the Dutch the "Glove," an English ship, visited Hirado with the intention of opening trade with Japan. Iyeyasu accepted a letter from James I, King of England, and sent a trade license together with his personal reply to England. The visit of the English ship is said to be greatly attributed to the efforts of an Englishman, William Adams (later called Miura Anshin in Japanese), who was the navigating lieutenant on board the Dutch ship which had been wrecked on the Japanese coast. As the English likewise opened a commercial house in Hirado, they became rivals of the Dutch and engaged in bitter competition. The English, however, lost the game and disappeared from the port after 11 years of existence there. What should not be neglected in the trade development in those days was the *Hogin* system. This was a form of investments by speculative capitals in trade vessels.

If the trade vessels in which they had invested returned safely, they received large interest on money loaned, usually amounting to 50 per cent of the principal. On the other hand, if the ships were wrecked, they lost both principal and interest. Such a risky system of loans served to furnish convenient means of securing funds for traders at that time, and contributed greatly to the promotion of trade transactions. It is something like commendam, a form of joint-undertakings or capital investments carried out in the mediaeval ages, specially in Italian trade.

Policy Changes

The trade policy of Tokugawa Iyeyasu, which was extremely easy and lenient in the beginning, made a sharp change principally because of intrigues on the part of Dutch merchants in attempting to oust Portugal and the discovery of a plot on the part of Roman Catholics concerning the overthrow of the Shogunate Government. Under the circumstances, the Government placed a ban on the visit of Dutch and Spanish vessels simultaneously with the launching of pressure on Catholicism.

Later, in the 2nd year of Genwa, the entry of foreign vessels was restricted only to the two ports of Nagasaki and Hirado, and in the 10th year of Kan-ei, the return of overseas Japanese to Japan was prohibited. Two years later, the visit of Japanese vessels to foreign ports was banned and in the 16th year all Portuguese residents in Japan were ordered to return home. Still later the port of Hirado was closed and all the Dutch residents there were removed to Dejima in Nagasaki. Thus, the isolation policy of the Government was completed. During more than 200 years since, Japan's foreign trade with Europe survived only in the form of small transactions with the Dutch in a small territory of Dejima under severe restrictions of the Government. This is the reason why Japan's trade in those isolation days is commonly called Nagasaki trade or Dejima trade.

However, even the Dejima trade was left comparatively free in the first stage, except for raw silk transaction. With the adoption of the resolution policy by the Government, however, foreign merchants took advantage of Japan's ignorance of world affairs to realize exorbitant profits which were taken back in gold and silver. As a result the outflow of gold and silver from Japan amounted to an enormous sum.

The Shogunate Government to counteract this measure restricted the exports of silver by Dutch ships to 3,000 kwan (1 kwan=3.75 kgs.) worth 50,000 ryo. Latter, the Government further reduced the amount of silver for exports and also limited the number of vessels to be used for trade transactions. In the 2nd year of *Kansei*, the number of trade vessels was further limited to one ship, the amount of silver to be taken out to 700 kwan and of copper for exports to 600,000 kin (1 kin=0.6 kg). However, with the homeland (Holland) threatened by the attack of Napoleon I in those days, the Dejima trade finally became completely depressed.

China Trade

During the isolation period, another country came to trade with Japan. It was China. At first, Chinese merchants were allowed to mingle freely with the Japanese people of Nagasaki and to engage in mutual transactions with Japanese traders. Later, because of ill-manners, disputes, violations of religious restrictions and other complications necessitating governmental control and supervision, the Chinese merchants were quartered in a specified foreign settlement (Tojin-mura), in Juzenji-mura in the suburbs of Nagasaki. In addition to such restrictions over residence and transactions, the trade volume and the number of vessels were restricted on similar basis as for the Dutch. In 1685, the Chinese trade with Japan was restricted to 6,000 kwan of silver and 70 trade vessels annually. Later, the volume was temporarily increased to 8,000 kwan of silver and the number of vessels to 80 ships. The increased portion of 2,000 kwan of silver to be carried by the increased number of ships was substituted with exports of commodities such as food-stuffs, camphor, gallnuts, copper and lacquer-ware, commonly called *tawaramono* (articles in bales), or *shoshiki* (miscellaneous articles), since the domestic production of copper used for the settlement of accounts with China became extremely small in those days. Restrictions became further strict later, and in the 2nd year of *Kansei*, the annual exports were limited to 2,740 kwan of copper to be carried only on 10 vessels.

Japan's trade with China and Holland included a large variety of articles both in exports and imports, including principally gold, silver and copper, as major export items and white yarns (raw silk) as a chief import item. Import transactions of raw silk in those days were conducted in a special monopolistic method termed yarn-allotment trade system. Under this system, specified merchants, named junior yarn-allotted merchants and senior yarn-allotted merchants, were stationed in Kyoto, Edo (present Tokyo), Osaka, Sakai and Nagasaki, to receive the allotment quotas of raw silk imported according to certain fixed standards. This is certainly an interesting historical measure, in view of the adoption of the import quota system at present, that a system similar in nature was already in operation in those days.

While Japan struck to the national isolation system, international conditions sharply changed. Old trading countries such as Portugal and Spain lost their prestige, and England, France, Germany and Russia rose in Europe in their stead. On the continent across the Pacific, the United States came into prominence. All these countries were engrossed in

developing their trade markets and sought new fields in Asia. Thus, since the *Kansei* era, foreign vessels were reported to have appeared along Japanese coasts on several occasions. In the 4th year of *Kansei*, a delegate came to Nemuro (Hokkaido) and demanded to open trade relations. British ships also came and took to plundering. Thus the public feeling was thrown into turmoil and the well-informed urged the necessity of the defence at sea. In 1839, immediately following the outbreak of the Opium War, the hand of England was extended over to the close neighbour, China but the Shogunate Government failed to awaken to the changing times. Neither did the Shogunate Government listen to an advice by the Dutch King to take a sharp change in the national policy and open the country to foreign trade. This condition of the Government, however, was not allowed to last longer.

Perry's Visit

The long isolation period of the Shogunate Government which lasted for more than two hundred years was broken by the visit of Commodore Perry from the United States at Uraga in June 1853. In the same year, a Russian ship also came to Nagasaki and sought to open trade relations. In the following year (1st year of *Ansei*), Commodore Perry, escorted by 7 warships, entered the port of Shimoda and sought a reply to his claim from the Government. The Shogunate Government finally accepted the American proposal and concluded a treaty of amity and friendship with the United States consisting of 12 articles, including the opening of Shimoda and Hakodate to foreign trade. This is what is known as the Kanagawa Treaty. In June 1858, Ii Naosuke then Chief Minister of the Tokugawa Government, finding it impossible to stem the tide of circumstances, signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United States and enacted a trade law. The Shogunate Government also took a similar step with Holland, Russia, England and France. These treaties, were unfair and unjust towards Japan, for the right of extra-territoriality for foreigners was recognized and likewise promised them the most-favoured-nation treatment and other privileges, while providing very little for Japan. Import duties imposed on goods from those countries, however, were comparatively high, and served to profit the country financially. These duties, however, were lowered to a level quite humiliating to Japan as a result of the signing of the tariff revision agreement in the 2nd year of Keio (1866), and proved to be a cause of long repentance for many years following.

By the provisions of treaties signed with the five countries, Japan promised to open five ports for trade, namely ; Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Hakodate, Hyogo and Niigata. Actually, however, only the first three ports were opened at the beginning. Other ports could not be opened simultaneously because of the rise of strong anti-alienism. Under the circumstances, Hyogo was opened in 1867, and foreign settlements were established there and in Osaka in that year.

By that time, Japan had already concluded treaties of amity and commerce with Portugal, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy, in addition to the foregoing five countries. Thus, the opening of the country to foreign trade became an inevitable course for Japan whether she liked it or not.

At the same time, the dawn of the Meiji Restoration, the culmination of the movement for overthrowing the Shogunate Government under the original impetus of the visit of the black-ships (foreign vessels) was close at hand.

A noble poem by the Emperor Meiji

Kuni no tame Ata-nasu ata wa Kudaku tomo
Itsukushimu beki Koto na wasure so.

Though for your country's sake,
you strike the foe,
See you do not forget
The love you owe.

THE PEACE PROBLEM AND THE UNITED STATES

By **Kojiro Sugimori**

Distrust of the Soviet Union is undoubtedly the underlying motive for the unusual mission to Europe of Mr. Sumner Welles, American Assistant Secretary of State. At the present moment the Soviet Union is uppermost in the mind of the United States, for it is towards this country that American opinion entertains the most intense fear and hatred. Even if some significance must be attached to preparations for the presidential election in November, the fact remains that Mr. Welles' visit is primarily associated with the new turn the European war has taken with the Soviet Union's invasion of Finland.

Significance must also be attached to a widespread peace movement which has been under way since last autumn. Indications of this movement can be seen from the arguments advanced by such writers as Count R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, his "Europe To-morrow," appearing in the September-October issue of *International Affairs*, published in London; Mr. G. D. H. Cole's "British Labour's Double War," appearing in the *Nation* of December 23, 1939; Mr. Hans Kohn's "The World Must Federate" in *Asia* magazine for February; and "War Aims and Peace Terms" by Sir Andrew McFadyen, published in the *Contemporary Review* of November, 1939. All these and similar articles too numerous to mention are symptoms of the rising peace movement.

That it is not detrimental but is wholly profitable for the United States to assist such a peace movement or to exert a decisive influence upon the course of its development must undoubtedly be in the minds of American statesmen. In view of such a situation, nothing could be better than to assume the leadership of the peace movement. Machiavelli, expounding his political doctrines to his contemporary seventeenth century statesmen, pointed out the inadvisability of maintaining neutrality to the last once a war started between neighbouring countries. He reasoned that if a country remained neutral until the war was over, the victor would be harsh with it on the ground that he owed it no debt of gratitude, while the vanquished would be resentful for its failure to help in the struggle. Machiavelli urged, therefore, that a country should take

part in the war at an opportune moment by watching developments. Not only the interventionists, but even the isolationists in the United States can hardly afford to overlook the efficacy of Machiavelli's realistic logic.

What now appears like a peace movement in the interests of Europe is essentially in line with what the United States stand for, as this movement is primarily for the benefit of the Anglo-French Allies. Even though such terms as the United States of Europe or a New European Federation may be used to describe the goal of this peace movement, the ultimate aim is more or less a revised edition of the League of Nations and the resuscitation of collective security to which the United States ought by all means to lend a helping hand. And when it comes to the question of establishing a United States of Europe, the United States of America is certainly qualified to play a guiding part in such a project. Today is certainly no time for the United States to remain idle, cool and indifferent to the future of Europe.

But in connection with all these questions, the Soviet Union looms very large as a disturbing factor in the American mind. Germany comes next, or is associated together with Russia, while Japan is also not ignored. The Soviet Union is not included in Mr. Welles' European tour and this fact is significant. Professor C. A. Ellwood, one of the leading American sociologists, in his *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*¹ makes this interesting statement from the standpoint of population: "It seems probable, therefore, that the United States and Russia may be the two great world Powers a century hence,—particularly if Russia emerges from its present social and political troubles and takes on fully Western civilization,—while the other nations may tend to ally themselves with the one or the other of these great world Powers."

Since the conclusion of the Russo-German Non-aggression Pact of August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union has partitioned Poland with Germany, virtually seized three Baltic States, and was threatening Finland with political extinction.² This manifestation of Red imperialism must be a thorn in the side of the Roosevelt Administration, and the urgent necessity on the part of the United States is, therefore, to hold the Soviet Union in check lest it becomes too powerful to manage.

The present age is one of great Powers with contiguous territory. Germany's activities are in fact directed towards the acquisition of

1 C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, 1919 Edition, p. 184.

2 The article was written March 1, 1940.

such a position. The annexation of Austria and the Sudeten district and the subsequent virtual annexation of Czechoslovakia, not to speak of the partition of Poland including the recovery of Danzig and the Corridor, are all aimed at the acquisition of such a position. In point of possessing compact territory, however, the United States is unrivalled in the world. Nevertheless, the United States cannot afford to be off guard, for Russia is already approaching very closely the status of the United States, being a single, compact continental country. In the words of Coudenhove-Kalergi, Russia is "three times as large as the rest of Europe." This same Power will perhaps expand towards India, and if such an eventuality comes, Great Britain will not be the only nation to suffer. An over-expanded Soviet Union will prove an exceedingly disagreeable neighbour to the United States, and it may not be beyond the scope of possibility that such a course of vigorous expansion will again menace the American Monroe Doctrine.

This policy was originally formulated in 1823 when the United States faced the menace of Tzarist imperialism. Today a section of opinion in American official and civilian circles has become convinced that the United States cannot afford to allow the Soviet Union a free hand in its expansion programme. This partly explains why Mr. Welles has not included Russia in his European itinerary. When the Soviet Union was shut out from the Munich Conference by Great Britain, it bitterly resented the British action which was undoubtedly one of the causes of the subsequent Nazi-Communist *rapprochement*. It will be interesting to see in what manner the Soviet Union will again even the score for Mr. Welles' failure to include Moscow in his itinerary.

The Powers which are in one way or another on the offensive today are Russia, Germany, Japan and Italy. Great Britain and France are assuming a defensive position despite their greatness and power. While rumours are rampant that Germany will commence a "spring offensive" against the Allies, there is no discussion of the possibility of an Anglo-French offensive against Germany. Great Britain and France are dear to the United States not only by reason of their democratic governments and institutions, but also for their lack of this offensive spirit. Unless this American psychology is clearly understood, it is impossible to grasp the real situation today.

Like the United States, the Soviet Union is rich in natural resources and will doubtlessly become an extremely formidable competitor of the former if given the additional power of technique and organization.

Intelligent Americans have no fear of the Soviet Union's "Red" doctrines, for the United States has herself in recent years moved sufficiently far to the left to acquire enough understanding of such theories to negate the fear which only ultra-conservatives are apt to have. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has been moving further and further to the right. The question of ideological tendencies may be ignored, for the real problem at the present stage of world history is the doctrines of race and nationalism, or imperialism based upon such doctrines. Viewed from such a standpoint, the Soviet Union constitutes a serious problem in the American mind, for it is quite natural that the United States, asserting Pan-Americanism, should regard the Pan-Slavism of the Soviet Union with a suspicious eye.

Next to Russia, the United States regards Germany with the greatest concern, since that nation is also on the offensive. The pivot of European strength is gradually shifting to Middle Europe and towards Eastern Europe, with Germany representative of the former and Russia of the latter. To the United States, however, Western Europe still retains its significance because of its proximity. In his first inaugural address delivered on March 4, 1933, President Roosevelt said: "In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbour." Great Britain and France are good neighbours in the eyes of the United States. Italy, too, is relatively a close neighbour, although it should not be concluded that for this reason Mr. Welles chose Italy as the first country to visit on his mission. Nevertheless, some significance should be attached to this fact.

There might have been some reasons for preferring the safety of a ship travelling on the route to Italy, but the pertinent fact to remember in this connection is that Premier Mussolini is now one of the outstanding leaders of Europe. The great influence he wields can create danger and even crises, but he has thus far upheld Italy's neutrality. Contact with Reichsführer Hitler is still maintained, however, and while relations between Italy and Great Britain have become somewhat strained, the Rome-Berlin axis tends to regain its former significance. Nevertheless, Italy is not a nation which is inherently hostile towards Britain and France. In its relations with the Far East, Italy, moreover, wields great power over the vital trade routes of the Mediterranean Sea and the Near East. In view of these circumstances, the Roosevelt Administration must by all means bring Italy to the Anglo-French side.

It is impossible to ascertain whether Mr. Welles has Japan in mind

during his European mission. Nevertheless, the fact cannot be overlooked that the United States is exceedingly suspicious of Japan today, and is undoubtedly ready to warn the European Powers, including Germany, of the danger of their falling prey to Russia and Japan, if Germany and Britain continue to oppose each other. In the case of Japan, the United States would have a particularly strong argument, pointing out that, for the sake of the White race and European civilization, the present war is a hazardous folly.

It would be a matter of grave concern to the United States, if Germany, Russia, and even Japan came into some sort of co-operative combination. This is explained by the fact that the formation of a New Europe, which will be favourably disposed towards the United States by grouping together Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, is what the United States most desires. If such is impossible, the United States would at least like to see the creation of a limited union in Western Europe, excluding Germany. Such are some of the considerations which presumably occupy the mind of the American Assistant Secretary of State.

Many a country today is at the crossroads of international developments, and even the United States is no exception. In fact, the United States is greatly concerned over the world situation, because American statesmen, like others, cannot clearly foresee whether Germany or Great Britain will emerge victorious from the present conflict. The affairs of the world should not, of course, be determined merely by calculation of victory and defeat from a purely utilitarian standpoint, for, in the final analysis, it is necessary to follow the path of righteousness. What attitude then should the United States maintain towards Germany on the one hand and towards Great Britain on the other? That the United States is predetermined to be friendly towards Britain and antagonistic towards Germany because of ideological viewpoints is by no means a fact. Writing in *Current History* of January, Mr. Vincent Sheean notes: "Conversely, a pause in the present war—an armistice or truce, for peace seems altogether out of the question—might bring exactly the result the German military theorists and some of the Russians have had in mind for years: a full, true alliance between Germany and Russia, whereby the natural resources of the latter would be at the disposal of the technical and organizing genius of the Germans. In that case the war would be resumed on terms so desperately unfavourable to the two Western Powers that nothing except a full-powered intervention of the United States of America could save them from conquest and dismem-

berment." It is not for the sake of ideology alone as Mr. Sheean seems to admit, that the United States is taking the attitude it does. The questions of liberalism and democracy are admittedly involved in the American stand, but, if indeed the primary question at issue is one of liberalism and democracy, statesmen and people in the United States would never light-heartedly support Britain and France, because neither liberalism nor democracy in their true sense are actually realized on the stage of world affairs today. Due to some development of liberalism and democracy in its own territory, the United States has fallen into an hallucination and considers itself realizing, or at least exerting its efforts for realizing, liberalism and democracy in international relations.

In order to realize liberalism and democracy among nations, such statesmen of the United States as President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull and Mr. Welles should, together with the entire American people, fully appreciate the vital importance of historical, social and logical circumstances which render necessary the participation of such countries as Germany, Italy and Japan in all important schemes of things affecting the world situation.

Aside from the problems referred to, there is also the question as to whether Germany will indeed be defeated if the United States participates in the war on the Allied side. The answer is not simple, for the question is dependent upon the nature of a world policy which Germany is to adopt hereafter. Germany's world policy cannot, of course, be determined by German will alone. There are such factors as Russia and Italy which must logically come into Germany's consideration of its policy. Such being the circumstances, it is necessary for the United States to incorporate a definite world plan in its own national policy. Then and only then, will that nation be able to play effectively the rôle of mediator or arbitrator. And if one were to ask what would be the guiding principle in such mediation or arbitration, the answer would be expressed simply in terms of the internationalization of liberalism and democracy.

A NEW TREND IN THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL MOVEMENT OF JAPAN

By Michiji Ishikawa, Tokyo.

I. Basic Character of the New Trend in Japan's Cultural Movement

The general trend of the cultural movement of contemporary Japan is not determined solely by the process of the present war. It does not merely respond to the abnormal pressure of the war, but finds its dynamic motivation in the calm self-examination and introspection of the Japanese people. The continuation of abnormal conditions in the international field of politics and economics, from which it is impossible for this nation to hold itself aloof, has only accelerated the pace of this movement, while precipitating, in addition, the appearance of a new tendency in its progress. In short, it would not be amiss to trace its original cause to the long-felt urge for national self-realization of the Japanese people.

We may count three causes that have lent significant momentum to the self-realization movement of the nation. First, the Great European War focussed our attention on the fundamental weakness and ephemeral character of Western civilization, which had been regarded as infallible. Then came the Manchurian Incident with its alarm to the nation to gird up its loins to preserve its national existence. And the current Sino-Japanese conflict has set the self-realizing tendency in full swing.

The underlying principle of the national self-realization movement can be hardly interpreted in the light of any ideology of Western origin. Its Weltanschauung is "Sai-sei-itchi" ("the absolute oneness of the political and the religious") in classical terminology, and "Hojinism" ("the absolute oneness of Land and Man"), as advocated by Mr. Gaku Matsumoto, is its modern interpretation. It upholds the traditional "familyism", which has survived the feudalistic conventionalism of the past and the capitalistic individualism of the present, blending the "volitional" and the "rational" into a sacrificial "family-sentiment" which considers both the individual and the whole as one indivisible unity. The greatest noteworthiness of Japanese familyism consists in its

ability to transform the synthetic family-sentiment into any social form such as family, nation world, etc., without degenerating into a kind of narrow-mindedness. Familyism shows itself to possess the qualifications necessary to respond to the fundamental needs of the nations of the world. We find the noble sublimation of this principle into "World Familyism," referred to as such in his edict by Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor, when he founded the Japanese Empire 2598 years ago. The Emperor, moreover, adopted it as the fundamental ideal of the foundation of the Japanese Empire, as well as its *raison d'être*. This principle indeed holds out, not only for Japan but for the entire world, a promise of an era of new internationalism based upon the most predominant and universal sentiment.

The new movement, therefore, is moving most conspicuously in the direction of natural synthesis, avoiding and overcoming, as it proceeds, all artificial and coercive tendencies. Naturally by virtue of its synthetic nature the new movement aims at the unification of the partial and the whole, the individual and the national, the national and the international, the spiritual and the material, the civil and the military, the rural and the urban, the classical and the modern, the Oriental and the Occidental, etc.

II. The National Spiritual Mobilization Movement

The new movement, of which "world-familyism" is, as we have seen, the basic principle, and which is moving in the direction of synthesis, comes to the surface in a form which can be described as follows.

On the one hand we find an extensive and laborious search after things genuinely Japanese, while on the other, there is noticeable a general tendency to criticize from various angles the hitherto imported foreign culture. And when these two tendencies are correlated, we have what is called the "national self-awakening movement." In other words, the present national self-awakening movement is a process of conscious unification and rationalization of two cultural elements, namely the genuine national culture, and the imported foreign culture. In practice what I have called the genuine national culture of this country is so marvellously amalgamated and blended with various cultures of foreign origin that to distinguish the latter in Japan's national life is almost impossible. In this connection it is well to remember that even

as the Chinese and the Indian cultures, which form the blood and flesh of Japanese culture proper, cannot be separated from Japan's national life, so the contemporary Occidental culture too cannot be separated from the "genuine national culture of Japan." But although Occidental culture has now been completely fused into the national life of Japan, yet, in order not to lose perspective, and to maintain the vitality of the genuine national culture of this country, a pressing need is being felt to distinguish, at least in theory, between Occidental culture and Japan's genuine national culture.

In Japan it is true that individualism and liberalism are considered to be incompatible with her national spirit. But this only means that she is reluctant to regard them as the alpha and omega of human life to the exclusion of the welfare and integration of the whole. This does not warrant, however, the charge that the Japanese are temperamentally and ideologically opposed to all forms of individual initiative. "Familyism", as it is understood as a national principle, in Japan, implies only voluntary co-operation between the individual and the State. Therefore, the leaders of the national self-awakening movement in Japan are emphatic in their assertion that the sound development of intrinsic national value depends upon the free and voluntary co-operation of all individuals.

The cause of Japan's sympathetic friendship with Italy and Germany, which seems to be very much misunderstood abroad, whether deliberately or otherwise, does not, according to these leaders, lie in her fear of Russia. In their opinion it is not the military might of Russia which is to be dreaded and guarded against. It is Bolshevik culture with its banners of anti-spiritualism and materialism and its foundation in class-antagonism and anti-nationalism, that is her avowed enemy. And since Italy and Germany also happen to be guided by the same principle of steady opposition to Bolshevik culture, Japan naturally entered into close co-operation with them. In doing so, however, the Japanese Government was not motivated by a kind of a spiritual romanticism to the neglect of the promotion of the actual material welfare of the Japanese masses.

The National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, which is making great headway right now, came into existence under Government guidance in October 1937, owing partly to the present war-pressure and partly to the long-felt urge for national self-realization, with national synthesis as its guiding principle. It should not, however, be mistaken

for anything like a religious movement, although it is one of the strongest and most widely spread movements that have gripped Japan since the Great Earthquake of 1923. The Government has been only partly responsible for its initiation. In its origin it was the spontaneous manifestation of the urge for national self-realization, which had been growing at the back of the Japanese people's minds; and the Government's services have been only to give that urge a relief commensurate with its propensities. Even then this was a great success for the Government, for without having to exercise coercion it was able to show the need of its guidance through direct contact with a large number of cultural groups and organizations. The mobilized national spirit of contemporary Japan stands out most significantly in two things, the one being its lack of anti-foreignism, the other being its inclination to become international. Even Japan's sudden reversion of 180° from her former pre-occupation with the absorption of things Western to her present deep interest in the study of things Oriental, is also due to her radically increased sense of responsibility, mutual inter-dependence and mutual self-respect in the international world. Since the Manchurian Incident, the Japanese have been doing their best to create mutual understanding between themselves and their Chinese neighbours.

One of the direct and important results of the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement has been the sudden fusion of all conflicting parties and organizations whose activities, until quite recently, checked, to a certain extent, the progress of Japan's national life. Expressions of this are not few. For instance in the rural areas the "go-nin-gumi", communal units composed of five neighbouring families, and which existed in the feudal age, have again sprung into existence in a new form and are meeting with success in co-ordinating the agrarian life of Japan. National industry, commerce and politics are also leading a more co-ordinated existence. In short, under the guidance of this Spiritual Mobilization Movement the entire Japanese nation is becoming united and co-ordinated.

In this connection the Japanese Government must be accorded high praise in that it has succeeded in guiding the nation to its present high cultural level without feeling the need to resort to sensation-making propaganda, or to fill the people with a spirit of anti-foreignism. It has accomplished its task wonderfully, without becoming hemmed in between the alternative choice of force or surrender. The cause of its success depends upon the free and voluntary co-operation of the people, this being the key to the entire psychic system of the Japanese

nation. "Family-sentiment" is the most vital nerve-centre in the psychic constitution of Japan, and the Government exerted itself to release it, the result being the free and voluntary co-operation between the Government and the people.

III. Conclusion

Let us now see the way in which the new synthetic trend is making itself manifest in each field of Japanese culture. In the first place, there is noticeable a tendency to revert to the "classic" culture. The underlying motive of this is not "classicism", nor yet, by any means, iconoclasm. People are going back to the classics so that whatever is essential in Japanese culture proper may be better comprehended, preserved and reinterpreted in the light of the needs and wants of contemporary and future Japan. *Koten Shingan Undo* or "Movement for the Reinterpretation of the Classics in a New Light," proposed by Mr. Gaku Matsumoto is an illustration of this new tendency of contemporary Japan.

The general movement is making progress along three directions at present. First, there is the tendency to find out the essential truth in the conventional and traditional culture of Japan, and then to purge it of its ephemeral attachments to the purposes it was once meant to fill. The adoption of the methods of natural science is contributing greatly to the achievement of the goal in view. Secondly, there is a tendency advocating the subjection of all modern civilization—which Japan has been so far absorbing indiscriminately—to an impartial test in the light of the truth immanent in the traditional national culture. And thirdly, there is a tendency in favour of synthesizing the essential features of modern civilization with the revitalized and reinterpreted truth contained in the classical Japanese culture. In a word, the whole cultural movement of contemporary Japan is playing the role of a melting pot, wherein are fused the classic and the modern, the Oriental and the Occidental, the scientific and the religious, the material and the spiritual, etc.

This fact is clearly revealed in the field of the cultural sciences, wherein through the co-operative efforts of the Government and various academic groups all possibilities are being explored for the establishment of "New Japanese Sciences." The outstanding characteristic of these "New Japanese Sciences" lies in their departure from the stress hitherto placed upon the welfare of the "individual" as the basic aim, and favour in its stead primarily the welfare of the "nation."

In the field of sports this movement is clearly being seen. Until lately Japan was content to import Western athletic method as, for instance, Swedish Drill, or the Danish Method, etc. Now she has begun to subject all these foreign athletic methods to proper examination with a view to amalgamating the essential features of each of them, thus tending to create a unique athletic method, which would be the most applicable to the physique of the modern Japanese, conditioned as that physique is by the special environment obtaining in Japan. And she is meeting with success along this line, as the outstanding achievements of the Japanese athletes participating in the various Olympic tournaments show. The key to the understanding of these achievements lies in the fact that the methods employed by Japanese coaches are based upon their marvellous combination of Western ways and their knowledge of the special Japanese characteristics, both physical and psychological. The most important point about the modern athletic movements of Japan is their trend to depart from the "championship" system and their inclination to support the idea of "mass physical training," this being in other words the replacement of the "record-breaking" tendency with that of promoting national health in general.

After the Meiji Restoration there were introduced various kinds of Western sports. After a time, however, there was detected in them a lack of qualities tending to cultivate the spiritual virtues : as a result of this, general encouragement is now offered to the preservation and development of the national martial arts such as jūdo (Jiu-jitsu), kendo (Japanese fencing), etc. This is one of the conspicuous features of the sports movement in Japan. The speciality of the Japanese martial arts is in the twofold stress upon cultivating spiritual power through proper exercise and manipulation of the body and upon making spiritual reality guide and regulate the use of physical energy. In order to maintain and promote this speciality of Japanese martial arts and in order also to popularize them an organization called the "Nippon Ko-Budo Shinko Kai", or "Association for the Promotion of Japanese Classical Martial Arts", has recently come into existence and is doing good work along its chosen lines. The organization mainly emphasizes the inculcation of a spirit of balancing the physical energies and spiritual virtues, instead of mere victory in the combat, and thus culminates in beautiful forms of martial arts.

Entering the field of music also we see that the two sections in which the Japanese nation was hitherto divided, namely the one favouring

Western music and the other preferring the national classical music, are now showing increasing signs of some day being able to meet on a common ground. While the national classical music, in the past, was for the most part the legacy of mere conventionalists of a comparatively low degree of education it is now being appreciated also by the modern generation, among whom not a few individuals of a high degree of education are actually taking pains to modify it so as to make it fit in with the march of times. It is also significant that of late the group which was known for its over-appreciation of Western music has now taken it upon itself to feel the special need of developing Japanese themes and motives for Western music.

The field of journalism also is not free from the influence of this new synthetic tendency. Besides translations from Western literature, which is a popular vogue even at present, the study and creation of Oriental fiction are being ardently promoted. This apparently marks the beginning of a new era in Japanese journalism and literature.

In the field of religion, the new tendency makes itself vividly manifest in connection with Christianity. The days of foreign missionary groups managing and controlling Christian movements in Japan seem to be nearing their end, as can be seen from the recent movements for the secession of the Japanese branch of the Anglican Church and of the Salvation Army from their respective parent organizations. The motive underlying the inception of this secession movement transcends, as a matter of fact, mere political and economic expediencies. Not that there are no political or economic implications in the movement, but it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that its principal aim is to grasp the essential truth in the Christian Faith and to assimilate it into the spiritual constitution of the Japanese nation.

WORLD OF BOOKS

Srimad Bhagavad Gita (*Kashmir Recension*) Edited by V. G. Apte and Revised by Srinivasa Narayana Tarptrikara. Published by the Ananda Ashrama Sanskrit Series, No. 112, Poona (1939). Price Rs. 3/- only.

There are thousands of editions of the famous Hindu scripture, Bhagavad Gita and still we welcome this valuable contribution because it embodies the Sarvatobhadra Commentary according to the Kashmirean text. It was critically edited by Prof. Schrader of the German University of Kiel. The manuscript was written on barch leaves in Sarada character and we are thankful to the learned editor as well as to the publisher for giving us this valuable text and commentary which we recommend to all lovers of Indian philosophy. The typography of the book is excellent and quite in keeping with the high traditions of the publishers of the Ananda Ashrama Series.

Hindu Law and Custom by Prof. Julius Jolly. Authorised translation by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh. Published by the Greater India Society, Calcutta. PP. viii+341 with the Sanskrit Index. Price Rs. 10/8/- (Indian). Sh. 21/- (Foreign).

This valuable treatise on Hindu Law was published in 1896 in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research under its original German title *Recht und Sitte*. Prof. Jolly was invited to lecture on the subject in India as the Tagore Law Lecturer to the Calcutta University for 1883. When the Greater India Society offered to publish the first English translation of this valuable book the venerable old Professor generously revised the present edition which, therefore, may be called the Authorised translation. Dr. Jolly was pleased to observe in his foreword: "The translator has spared no pains to make his translation as accurate as possible."

Of all the books on the history of Hindu Law, this is undoubtedly the most reliable and exhaustive. Discussing the sources in the preliminary chapters, the author proceeds to the analysis of (a) the Family Law and the Law of Inheritance (b) Law of Property and Contract (c) Crime, Penance and Punishment (d) Judicial Procedure (e) Customs & Usages. We recommend the book not only to those

who study law from the professional standpoint but also to those who are interested in the social history of the ancient Hindus and their contribution to Sociology and Ethics. The book is available at the office of the Greater India Society, 21, Badurbagan Row, Calcutta.

India and Java by Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti. Published by the Greater India Society, 21, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta.

The second edition of this valuable bulletin has been thoroughly revised and enlarged by the incorporation of a special section dealing with the select Sanskrit inscriptions from Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo and Java. The bulk of the epigraphs are from Java and the text of the inscriptions are printed in Devanagiri character with suitable historical introductions, notes and readings. The English translation following the text would enable the general readers to appreciate the value of these Sanskrit documents from the far off Hindu colonies of Indonesia. We recommend the book to the libraries of our Colleges and Universities.

Round the World by J. N. Sinha, Forest Officer, Dhalbhum, Ghatsila, with a Foreword by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. PP. 289 with 25 plates. Price Rs. 3/- only.

The author, as explained by Dr. Sinha in his Foreword, is an officer in the Forest Service of the Bihar Government which permitted him to go abroad for a year on ordinary leave. He worked for a while at the Imperial Institute of Forestry, Oxford, and also visited several centres of Sylviculture, not forgetting Finland and the Baltic States close to Norway and Sweden. On his return voyage he passed through Canada, the United States of America and Japan. Almost half the book is devoted to his return journey through U. S. A. and Japan and we feel here at every step how he has benefitted by his stay, however short, in Europe. The U. S. A. professes to be a model Republic where democratic ideals may find their last refuge. And yet this cultured Indian traveller felt how the Americans are victims of colour prejudices which contradict all their pretensions of democracy. The strength and weakness of the society of the European countries have also been clearly analysed by the author and when he reaches Japan we find him quite enthusiastic to find this oriental nation harmonizing as it were, the Old and the New, the Orient and the

Oceident in its vigorous national life. The author has produced a book which is eminently readable and informing. Moreover, we get everywhere the personal touch and individual reactions which, we are sure, will prove helpful to his fellow-travellers as well as to future aspirants in globe-trotting from India. The book is beautifully printed and richly illustrated by the photographs taken by the author himself. We recommend the book to our colleges and public libraries.

L'Etang Aux Lotus by Savitri Devi. Published by the Author from 220, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta and Printed in the Katha Press, 14, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

A cultured daughter of historic Greece that she is, Savitri Devi adopted not only an Indian name but the Indian soul. The soulful book in French under review was composed in 1936 and although it was published three years after she felt that she had very little to add or alter. First impression like first love can rarely be changed to our advantage, for the spark of the Eternal and the Changeless hovers over our primordial passions. Savitri Devi's love of India is of that elemental character and hence she did not hesitate to affirm that the "Eternal India was the creation of historical India" and that the test of Indian universalism would be the "transformation of enslaved India into a free and vigorous nation". The elegant and incisive French in which she expresses her impressions testify to her high literary accomplishments as well as to her originality of thought. At every page we feel that she is seeing India and not merely compiling facts relating to India. She is not oblivious of the existence of non-Hindus like the Parsis, the Indian Christians and the Indian Musalmans but she sounded the key note of her improvisation through the characteristic phrase : "The only real India is Hindu India." While visiting Peshawar she appreciated the martial qualities of the Afridi and other Frontier tribes and enquired whether those military virtues could be woven into the texture of the refined sensibilities of Hindu culture. Visiting the sacred city of Mathura she was reminded of the untranslatable smile of the eternal South extending from the Ægian Isles to the Pacific Islands. With a significant brevity she summarises her thesis : "Europe is only powerful ; India is beautiful". Thanks to this revelation and to this conviction, Savitri Devi could discern beauty even in the heart of the dirt, the degradation and chaos of present day India. We are thankful to her for her profound and sincere sympathy and recommend this inspiring book to all lovers of Indian culture.

A Warning to the Hindus by Savitri Devi. Published by the Hindu Mission, 32B, Harris Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1/4/-.

Loving India with a primordial passion Savitri Devi could not stop at mere theorising or poetising on India. She plunged herself heart and soul in helping to reconstruct the ruined fabrics of Hindu society. She felt that like the highly refined Paganism of ancient Greece, Hinduism also is threatened by aggressive enemies strangling her slowly from day to day : "Whether caste-ridden or sect-ridden or compartmented in any other way, never and nowhere in history has a divided society stood competition with an undivided one." Hence her noble crusade against unhealthy schisms in Hindu society, with a view to glorifying India above all sects. Her noble services to the cause of Hindu Renaissance has been so much appreciated that no less a personality than Sri G. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, has recommended the book which would put the Hindus "on the right turn of national thinking." Half the book is devoted to the elucidation of the human value of Hinduism and another half to the plan of the defence of the Hindudom. Entire Hindu India will be grateful to her for this clarion call to self-purification and final emancipation.

Hindus and Musalmans of India by Atulananda Chakravarti. Published by Thacker Spink and Co. Price Rs. 2/8/-.

The author is an ardent champion of cultural unity in India and he has earned golden opinions of eminent thinkers like Dr. Tagore, Prof. Radhakrishnan and others. In this new volume he discusses Hindu-Muslim relations with such a breadth of cultural outlook and spiritual synthesis that Mahatma Gandhi has blessed the book in a special article published in the "Harijan". India is the common motherland of both the Hindus and the Muslims and thinkers from both the groups should come forward to build a stable platform of national reconstruction from which not only India but the whole world will benefit. We congratulate the author on this valuable production and recommend it strongly to all the schools, colleges and libraries of India.

Co-ordination of Transport, League of Nations. Ser. L. o. N. P. 1939. VIII. 5. pages. 57 2/6 \$0.60.

The League of Nations has just published an interesting addendum to the volume recently issued under the title "Co-ordination of Transport".

It contains a highly instructive summary of the particulars supplied by Governments of the ways in which they were proposing or endeavouring to solve a problem which since the rather haphazard development of the motor industry and of road transport had almost everywhere become acute.

The two companion volumes contain an account of the evolution of this vast problem up to the outbreak of the present war.

The interest of this publication is due both to the data it contains and to the fact that it covers forty countries all over the world and so gives a truly international survey of the situation.

The material, which is systematically tabulated, shows the steps taken by the various countries for the co-ordination of the three principal means of transport—railways, roads and inland navigation—with particular reference to the following subjects : the administrative regime of the three means of transport (authorisations, licences or concessions, the obligation to transport, transport monopolies, etc.); the fixing, supervision and publication of tariffs; the fiscal regime (ordinary taxes, special taxes on transport undertakings); the social regime and labour legislation; the action of the public authorities with a view to the rational co-ordination of transport and to promote agreement between the various means of transport; difference of treatment (of any) as between national and foreign means of transport, etc. etc.

It will thus be seen that the League survey is a particularly full and well documented study of what is undoubtedly one of the most important problems of modern transport organisation.

Evolution of the Egyptian Constitution

By **Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L.**

The valley of the Blue Nile has ever been the realm of never-ending political vicissitudes. When Napoleon was asked in St. Helena, what was the most important country in the world, he replied with his characteristic swiftness that it was Egypt. Whoever conquers Egypt conquers the Old World. Once the Pharos ruled over it and ruled the Mediterranean. Then came the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs, who were in their turns, the conquerors of the world. In 639 A.D. an army under Amr-Ibn-el-Ars, sent by the second Caliph Omar I. overran Egypt. From that year to 1517 when Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, the political power gradually passed into the hands of the Mamelukes, who were originally white slaves. As Young says "this institution of what was at first a servile militia, then a military caste, and finally a ruling class, was introduced by the Saracens, when at the height of their power under Saladin, and was afterwards imitated by the Turks in their Jannissaries." [Young—*Egypt, Modern World Series*—pp. 23-24]. With the Turks under Suleiman the Magnificent, Egypt was governed by a Pasha, who was assisted by two Chambers (Divans) in which the Army and the Divines had representation. The country, which became an Ottoman province, was divided into twelve Sandjaks each under a Mameluke Amir. In 1770 A.D., Egypt had a short-lived independence under Ali, a Mameluke Bey, who had revolted against the Sultan of Turkey and driven out the Pasha. But this independence vanished in 1773. In 1798, the land was occupied by the French forces under Napoleon to whom, according to Talleyrand, "L'expédition assure la destruction de la Puissance Britannique dans l'Inde." The two Divans were revived by a proclamation of December 25, 1798, while in the middle of the next year, Egypt was declared a French Protectorate. By August 1801, the French had to wind up their colonial career in Egypt, while a bitter struggle ensued between the Mamelukes and the Turks, which came to an end in 1805, by the appointment of Mehmet Ali, Commander of the Albanian regiment in Egypt, as the Pasha, by the Firman of the Sultan. Mehmet Ali ruled Egypt with an iron hand for forty three years, crushing the Mamelukes, nationalising all lands, trade

and industry. Sudan was conquered and Khartoum was founded in 1820. The Sultan, with the help of the European Powers tried to keep the Pasha within proper limits, and by a Firman, dated February 13, 1841, he made the Pashalie of Egypt hereditary in the family of Mehmet Ali. The two Pasha who ruled Egypt from 1848 to 1854, were unimportant persons, but from July 1854 to 1863 (Jan.), Sayed Pasha did a lot of things which determined the fate of Egypt for ever. In 1856 he gave Ferdinand de Lesseps the concession for the construction of the Suez Canal and to the British the right of establishing the Bank of Egypt and the Eastern Telegraph Company. He and his successor, Ismail Pasha, recklessly went on borrowing loans in foreign markets, and giving various anti-national concessions to Foreign Powers. Ismail, sold 176,602 Suez Canal shares for £ 3,976,582 to the British Government, in 1875, for meeting his debts, while within a very short time foreign Powers established various controlling institutions in the country for the purpose of safeguarding their financial interests. Besides these, they also enjoyed certain capitulatory rights granted by the Sultan of Turkey.

Government of Egypt up to 1882

The Government of Egypt was an autonomous autocracy. By the Firman of 1866, Ismail Pasha got the title of the Khedive of Egypt. By the same Firman the Khedive was not to increase his army to more than 30,000 men, and was bound to pay to the Sultan an annual tribute of £ 675,000. By another Firman of 1872, all military restrictions were removed, and the Khedive was given "every substantial attribute of sovereignty, except only the *jus legationis*." Externally, the Khedive was under the suzerainty of the Sultan. As an authority remarked : "Le vice-roi recoit à son avènement, l'investiture du Sultan ; il paye à la Porte un tribut annuel ; il perçoit les impôts et rend la justice au nom du Sultan ; il a le droit de battre monnaie, mais seulement à l'effigie du Sultan ; enfin la nom de l'Empereur des Ottomans, et c'est là dans tous les Etats musulmans ce qui constitue la souveraineté supreme." In internal matters the Khedive could say, "L'Etat c'est moi". By the firmans of 1841 and 1866, the throne was made heriditable by the eldest male descendant in the family of Ismail. The Khedive looked after and controlled every important affair of the state. His sovereignty was personal. The Great Council, set up by Mahomet Ali, and composed of the "dignitaires et de princes de la famille vice-royale, et qui reunissait les attributions d'un conseil d'Etat et d'une cour de cassation,"

like the Turkish Divan, was suppressed by Sayed Pasha in 1860. In its place was set up a Privy Council composed of the ministers, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and three other notable functionaries of the state who accompanied the Khedive. Its function was simply to examine and report to the Khedive on the work of the several departments. There were in Sayed's time only three ministers, that is, of Foreign Affairs, War and Finance, but Ismail increased their number to eight, the five additional ministers being (1) Interior, (2) Marine, (3) Commerce, (4) Public Works and Agriculture and (5) Public Instruction. Beside these, there were two sub-departments of Customs and Post Office.

Before we proceed to further constitutional developments in Egypt it is necessary that we should know something of the various foreign institutions and rights which henceforth began to restrict the freedom of action of the Khedive. All of them were due to the borrowings of Ismail. In 1876 he issued a decree repudiating his personal debts of eleven million sterling, apart from a floating debt of the country amounting to 26 million sterling. This repudiation was set aside by the International Courts "which had replaced some of the former consular jurisdictions" in Egypt [See—E. Sanderson, *Great Britain in Modern Africa* (1907), p. 277]. Great Britain and France intervened with the result that a dual control was set up to secure the interests of the European bondholders. An English official began to superintend the revenue of Egypt, while a French official the expenditure of the country. In quick successions four institutions were established with the same end in view, viz, (1) The Commission of Public Debt, controlled by six Commissioners, all of different nationalities, setting limits to administrative expenditure of Egypt under the Law of Liquidation, promulgated by the Khedive, after having received the sanction of the six great Powers (See A. Milner—*England in Egypt*—p. 52). (2) The Railway Board—controlled by three members of different nationalities. The railways were internationalised, and their revenues charged to the payment of the debts. (3) The Daira Administration—i. e., of the vast estates of the Khedive, on which he had borrowed large sums. This was managed by a Board of Directors consisting of an European Director-General and two foreign Controllers representing the bondholders. (4) The Domain Administration—it dealt with the properties given up by Ismail under European pressure in 1878 and on which a loan of £ 8,500,000 was negotiated. (See E. W. Polson-Newman—*Great Britain in Egypt*, (1928), p. 129). Over and above these, there was the "Caisse de la Dette", another *imperium in imperio*, constituted by a Khedival Decree of May 2, 1876, consisting originally of a French-

man, an Austrian and an Italian ; but subsequently an Englishman was added in 1877, a German and a Russian in 1885. Its original power was only to receive certain revenues especially assigned to the service of Foreign Debts, but later on it extended its power "over the execution of the Complicated series of agreements—decrees, conventions, declarations, portocols—which constitute in their totality the international compact regulating the finances in Egypt" [A. Milner—*Ibid*—p. 53]. The Commissioners of the Caisse were technically Egyptian officers, appointed by the Khedive ; but in reality they were the creatures of the Consul-Generals of various powers in Egypt. The Commission, had also some legislative power within its defined jurisdiction.

Apart from these financial institutions, there were in Egypt what are known as the Capitulations, i.e., special rights acquired by the foreign Powers for their nationals under various treaties with the Sultan, e.g. special commercial privileges, immunity from personal taxation without the consent of their governments, inviolability of domicile, protection from arbitrary arrest and exemption from the jurisdiction of the native courts. The Foreign States which possessed such capitulatory rights in Egypt were : France, Italy, England, Germany, Austria, Russia, Holland, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Portugal, Greece, United States, and Brazil. The abuse of these capitulatory rights was extensive. Even the impartiality of the Foreign judges in the Mixed Tribunals and the Consular Courts was not unimpeachable. [For further details, see—Milner—Ibid—Chap. IV, pp. 38-62. See also—*Parliamentary Papers* Vol. C, 1907, Cmd. 3394, p. 637].

In 1878 Ismail Pasha thought it prudent to yield to the pressure of the Foreign Powers in Egypt for a constitutional government with ministerial responsibility. To him, that was the only way for escaping from the Dual Control. For that purpose he issued a Rescript in August 28, 1878 in which he wrote : "Dorénavant, je veux gouverner avec et par mon Conseil de Ministres. Les membres du Conseil de Ministres devront être tous solidaires les uns des autres ; ce point est essentiel." In a letter addressed to Sir Rivers Wilson on August 23, 1878, he had expressed the same idea : "J'ai chargé Nubar Pasha de me former un Ministère. Cette innovation peut paraître de peu d'importance ; mais de cette innovation, sérieusement conçue, vous verrez sortir l'indépendance ministérielle, et ce n'est pas peu ; car cette innovation est le point de départ d'un changement de Système" [Quoted in *Modern Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 62,—by Earl of Cromer]. In the Rescript of August 28, 1878, the Khedive promised to be bound

by the decisions of the majority of his Cabinet. The chief officials of the state were to be named by the Khedive acting on the advice of his Council of Ministers. In the first Egyptian Ministry under this Rescript, Nubar Pasha was Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Justice; Riaz Pasha of the Interior; Sir Rivers Wilson of the Finance; M. de Bligniers of Public Works. This Rescript was called by Cromer the Magna Charta of Egypt. But it was soon violated by Ismail. Since 1867, Ismail had convoked the Assembly of the Notables, only once in a year. This body was constituted of village Sheikhs elected by the Communes. It merely received and discussed the annual administration report submitted to it by the Privy Council. Its power was simply debatory. Thus Ismail was opposed not only to ministerial responsibility but also to a popular and powerful Assembly while his lavish expenditures threatened Egyptian finances. Under these circumstances Great Britain and France requested the Sultan to intervene, as a result whereof, Ismail was deposed and his son Tewfik Pasha was appointed Khedive by the Sultan, on June 26, 1879. The Dual Control was again revived under a Decree of the Khedive Tewfik dated November 15, 1879. Article 1 of the Decree said: "The Controllers-General shall have in financial matters the most complete powers of investigation into all the public services including those whose receipts have a special destination by virtue of decrees and contracts. *Ministers and functionaries of every rank shall be bound to give every information and to furnish every document required by the Controllers and their agents*". These Controllers had full control over the public services, they had the *rank of ministers* at the Council, a seat and a consultative voice as well (Art. 4). They were removable only with the consent of their respective Governments (Art. 6). [For the Text of the Decree, See—Blanchard Jerrold—*The Belgium of the East*, (1882)—pp. 64-66]. Some writers regard the establishment of this Dual Control as "the commencement of administrative regeneration of Egypt" (c.f. Milner—*Ibid*—p. 22), while others regard it as the illegal interference of Anglo-French money-lenders and stock exchanges into the political affairs of another country [See—Jerrold—*Ibid*—p. 44].

In August 1879 Tewfik Pasha charged Sherif Pasha with the formation of a Ministry, but when the latter proposed a constitution, the Khedive disapproved of it, and established a personal Government, retaining for himself the presidency of the Council of Ministers. The British and the French governments also supported Tewfik in his opposition to parliamentary government. Lord Cromer writes: "There can be little

doubt that the Khedive acted wisely in declining the proposals submitted to him by Sherif Pasha. Any Egyptian constitution must of necessity, at that time, have been a mere *decor de theatre*." [See—Cromer—Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 151-152]. The only form of government that Cromer could regard suitable for Egypt was benevolent despotism. But the desire of the people for constitutional government was genuine and every day national agitation was acquiring larger and larger dimensions. A party, known as the "National Party" came into existence in 1875. The Minister of War, Mahmud Barody, supported it; in the army it was represented by Ahmed Araby, in the Azhar by the Sheikhs. A writer in the Pall Mall Gazette, December 20, 1881, remarked that the Party "have for their motto not Islam for the Mussalmans, but Egypt for the Egyptians. This is primarily a national and not a religious movement." The same writer says: "I may say with absolute certainty, that all the leading men, the Sheikhs, the mudirs (if not Turks), the various muffedishes—in fact, all the people who influence the masses—are warm supporters of the National Party" [Quoted in *The Belgium of the East*,—Ibid—p. 122]. In his letter to the Times, dated March 16, 1882, Sir W. H. Gregory, after exhorting the British people to support Egyptian nationalism and demand for parliamentary Government, said: "I believe the leader Arabi Bey to be honest and patriotic; I believe the objects of the party at present to be honest and patriotic."

On 26th December, 1881, the Assembly of Notables, was summoned under Ismail Pasha's Law of 1866, and early in 1882, Sherif Pasha and the Council of Ministers presented to it a project for the constitution of an Egyptian Parliament. This is a very important and rare document, and I propose to give here a summary of it. This draft constitution contained 52 Articles, of which the first and the second declared that all the delegates are to be elected for a term of 5 years. Arts. 3-6 guaranteed the freedom of discussion and inviolability of the persons of the delegates. The Chamber was to be convoked by the Khedive annually, "after the Council of Ministers has consented to its convocation" (Art. 7). The ordinary sittings of the Chamber was to last 3 months, from 1st November to 31st January, and in case of need, a further period of one month might be added. Art. 9 provided for extraordinary session. The Khedive was to nominate the President of the Chamber for 5 years from amongst three members chosen by the Chamber, the two Vice-Presidents being elected by the Chamber from amongst its members. (Arts. 14-15). The Ministers were to have the right to participate in debates, and were bound

to answer questions of the House (Art. 19-20). Art. 21 says: "Members are jointly and severally responsible to the Chamber for every measure taken by them in Council violating existing laws and regulations," while Art. 22 added that "every minister is individually responsible for such acts done in the exercise of his duty, and within the provisions of the preceding Article." In case of a continuance of disagreement between the Ministry and the Chamber, if the Ministry, after an interchange of arguments, does not retire, "the Khedive dissolves the Chamber and issues writs for new elections to be completed within three months, commencing from the date of dissolution" (Art. 23), while by Art. 24 "if the new Chamber confirms the vote of the old Chamber, that vote becomes decisive." By Art. 25 the Government reserved to itself all the initiative of legislation. Articles 26-28 proposed a standing legislative Commission. Art. 30 says: "No new tax, direct or indirect, on realty, on personalty or on persons can be established in Egypt without a law voted by the Chamber." By Arts. 31-37, the Chamber had full rights to discuss and vote the annual budgets, subject only to Art. 34, which says that the Chamber "has no power to discuss, in any case, the service of the tribute due to the Porte, the service of the public debts or any burthen of the State arising out of the debt or out of the Law of Liquidation, or out of the conventions made between Foreign Powers and the Egyptian Government." Art. 38 gave to the Chamber the decisive voice on all contracts, treaties and concessions which involved fresh expenditures. Arts. 39-40 dealt with the rights of petition of the Egyptians. Art. 41 empowered the Government to pass ordinances during the recess of the Chamber, to meet urgencies, but subject to their being presented before the Chamber on its next sitting. Art. 46 fixed the quorum of the House at two-thirds of the members, but "any vote concerning Ministerial responsibility will require a majority of at least three-fourths of the members present." The Constitution provided a novel way for modifying this Organic Law, viz, "by agreement between the Chamber and the Council of Ministers" (Art. 50).

The Assembly of Notables, led by such patriotic leaders as Arabi Pasha, refused to accept this Constitution, unless it included (1) complete ministerial responsibility to the Chamber, (2) the right of discussing and voting the budget with necessary reservations, and (3) the right of initiative in all legislations, belonging to the Chamber. [For the text of the Constitution See—Jerrold—*Ibid*—pp. 231-240, Appendix VI]. The Khedive and the Council of Ministers were almost ready to concede the demands of the Nationalists, but the British and especially the French Government

sent a Joint Note, dated 8th January, 1882 in which they said that they "consider the maintenance of His Highness on the throne, on the terms laid down by the Sultan's Firmans, and officially recognised by the two Governments as *alone able* to guarantee for the present and the future, the good order and development of general prosperity in Egypt in which France and Great Britain are equally interested" [For the text of the Joint Note—see—Cromer—*Ibid*—Vol. I, p. 223]. The Porte protested against the Joint Note, for if there was any trouble in Egypt, he was the legal sovereign to whom these matters should be brought for settlement. The British and the French governments had no right to take the law into their own hands. But as the Nationalist agitation continued unabated the Chamber waited upon the Khedive urging him to sign the Organic Law. The two powers sent another Note to the Khedive on 25th May, 1882 in which they demanded (1) The temporary retirement from Egypt of Arabi Pasha, who had recently become the Minister for War, and of two other leading Nationalists, and (2) the resignation of the Ministry of Mahmud Pasha Sami—another nationalist. The man who did Egypt most harm was Gambetta, but with the fall of his ministry in France, the French Government backed out of the Joint Note. On September 13, 1882, Arabi's army was defeated in the battle of Tel-el-Kabir and from that day began the British occupation of Egypt. Before I go on to describe the constitution set up by the British in 1883, I like to dispell the wrong notion current in all English books, about the great Egyptian national leader Arabi Pasha. I have already given some idea as to his fervent nationalism. I like to add here only this that before he was exiled away from his beloved motherland, he wrote a memorandum on Egyptian reform on November 1882 from within the prison bars. In this memorandum he prayed for a nationalist ruler for Egypt, two houses of the legislative, ministerial responsibility "no act of the ruler was to be valid" unless countersigned by the Cabinet or special Minister whom it may concern—abolition of the foreign capitulations, a thorough reform of Egyptian judiciary, national education and dismissal of unnecessary European officials. [For this interesting and revealing document—See Major E. W. Polson Newman—*Great Britain in Egypt*, Appendix I, pp. 283-291].

The Organic Law of 1883

In November 1882 Lord Dufferin was appointed British High Commissioner for Egypt, and he was immediately invested with the task

of preparing a constitution for this country. He submitted his General Report to Earl Granville on February 14, 1833, in which he wrote the following: "I would press upon Her Majesty's Government a more generous policy—such a policy as is implied by the creation within certain prudent limits, of representative institutions of municipal and communal self-government, and of a political existence untrammelled by external importunity, though aided, as it must be for a time, by sympathetic advice and assistance. Indeed no middle course is possible. The valley of the Nile could not be administered with any prospect of success from London" [See—Egypt, No. 6, *Par. Pap.* 1833, Vol. 83, p. 43].

But almost simultaneously with the sending of Lord Dufferin, the British Government anxious to clear up its position in Egypt *vis-a-vis* the Sultan of Turkey made the announcement that it had no desire to subvert the legal sovereignty of the Porte in Egypt. "It is the wish of Her Majesty's Government to recognise in its full significance the position which is secured to His Majesty the Sultan as Sovereign of Egypt by Treaties and other instruments having a force under international law" [See—*British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol. LXXVII, p. 131].

In accordance with Lord Dufferin's recommendations the Egyptian Organic Law and the Electoral Law were passed and promulgated on May 1, 1883. The former contained 54 articles and the latter 46. The constitution of Egypt was reconstructed on the following basis :

There were provisions for village constituencies, provincial councils, two legislative bodies at the centre, and election by two degrees. In the village constituency every Egyptain, of 20 years of age or more and who had lived in the same village for three years excepting soldiers and those who suffered mental and physical disqualifications, was an elector. (Electoral Law Art. 1-6). Voting by ballot was prescribed ; cumulative voting was introduced on the principle of the English School Board System for the protection of the interest of the Christian minorities. General Commissions were organised for ensuring freedom and purity in elections (E. L. Art. 16). Each village had the right of electing one delegate, who in their turn would elect the Provincial Councillors. The Mudir of each Province would be assisted by Provincial Council composed of 4 to 8 members chosen by the elector-delegates in that Province. The members of the Provincial Councils were to be 30 years or over of age, know reading and writing, pay 5000 *piastres* as tax, and must not be Government servants or military men. The tenure of the Council was 6 years, half of the house being renewable every 3 years. The Mudir had the

right to convoke and dissolve the Provincial Council, and to exercise considerable influence over its deliberations. The real power of these Councils lay in purely non-political local matters (Art. 2-17, Organic Law).

For the Central Government, there was, first, the Legislative Council consisting of 30 members, 14 of whom were nominated by the Khedive for life. Of these 14, the President of the Council was directly nominated by the Khedive, while one of the two Vice-presidents and 12 Councillors were nominated by him on the proposal of the Council of Ministers. All of them were removable by a Decree "issued on the proposal of our Council of Ministers or by virtue of a resolution taken by the Legislative Council" Art. 31. The rest i. e. 16 members, were elected by the Provincial Councils, from amongst the members thereof, their tenure being 6 years. They were re-eligible and served gratuitously. This Council was a smaller body than the other one, and hence more highly organised and active. The nominated element was supported by Lord Dufferin as he thought that it would ensure the co-operation of experienced men and members belonging to non-Muslim communities. The powers of the Council were, however, merely debatory and consultative. It had no power of absolute veto. The service of the Tribute, Public Debt, and generally all changes and obligations resulting from the Law of Liquidation or from International Conventions, were not allowed to be the object of any discussion or even any expression of opinion in the Council (Art. 23). But under Article 18, no law or Decree relative to the Public Administration could be issued without having been previously laid before the Council for its advice. The budget and all money measures, subject to Art. 23, were to be annually placed before the Council. The latter was also empowered to invite the Ministers to submit "projets de loi" on any subject (Art. 19).

The Legislative Council not being a popular body, the General Assembly supplied that need. This House was a bigger body containing 30 Councillors (i. e. members returned by the Provincial Councils), 46 members elected by the village delegates, with a mandate for 6 years, and the ministers, whose number varied from 6 to 8. The President of the Legislative Council was the President of the Assembly. Under Art. 34, "no new tax, whether a direct tax or on land or on personalty can be established in Egypt without having been discussed and voted in the General Assembly." The Assembly had the same liberty of discussion, criticism, and suggestion as the Council. But it had the additional rights

to be consulted on all matters of general interest, among which public loans, large schemes of canalization or railways, the application of the "Cadaastre," the imposition of fresh taxes, etc., were most important. The Assembly must be convoked at least once in two years (Art. 39). The Khedive had the power of summoning, proroguing and dissolving the Legislature.

The Organic Law contained two other articles of great importance, one establishing ministerial responsibility, and the other providing for settlement of constitutional disputes. Art. 52 says: "Aucune Loi, aucun Decret ne sera promulgué, sans avoir été contresigné par le President du conseil du Ministres et les Ministres Competents", while Art. 52 provided that all questions as to the proper interpretation of an article of the constitution would be finally decided by a Commission composed of two ministers, of whom one will be that of Justice; two members of the Legislative Council; and three Judges of the Court of Appeal in Cairo, under the presidency of the Minister of Justice. [For the texts of the Organic and Electoral Laws of May, 1883 see—*Par. Pap.*—Egypt no. 19 (1883).]

The Constitution also provided for a Council of state, whose organisation and functions were to be explained in a subsequent Decree. This institution was borrowed from France. Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), who became Consul-General of Egypt in January, 1884, regarded it as useless and expensive and "a cover for international interference in every branch of the Egyptian Government." Hence it was not established [See—Cromer—*Modern Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 273]. The Constitution as a whole was simply a reproduction of Sherif Pasha's project before the British occupation, with, of course, minor alterations. Neither the demand of the Egyptian Chamber of 1881 nor the hopes of Arabi as expressed in his memorandum were fulfilled. The Organic Law, as Lord Dufferin pointed out in his General Report for 1883, did not "really embody the Parliamentary principle in the true acceptance of the term," but as he added, "the arrangements proposed for Egypt are a far more bold and generous move in the direction of self-government than anything the most revolutionary Indian statesman has hitherto dared to suggest for that country" [*Par. Pap.*—Egypt, no. 6 (1883), p. 49].

From 1883 to 1913, this Organic Law continued to be the basis of the Egyptian Government. But it tells us nothing about the powers of the Khedive, the British Consul-General, the European officials or

the Egyptian Judiciary. Light on these matters is thrown by other sources. The Sultan continued to be the sovereign of Egypt.

On October 24, 1885, the position of the Sultan was clarified by an Anglo-Turkish convention. The Sultan recognised the British intervention but not sovereignty in Egypt. Art. 4 of the convention laid down that all proposals initiated by the Khedive or by the British for modification of the administrative system were to be bound "by the limits of the Imperial Firmans." Art. 5 stipulated that "the international engagements contracted by His Highness the Khedive will be approved by the other Government in so far as they shall not be contrary to the privileges granted by Imperial Firmans." Art. 6 provided for the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt, the proper time for such withdrawal to be determined jointly by Turkey and England [For this important convention—see *Brit. and For. St. Papers*—Vol. LXXVI, p. 442-4]. Another Anglo-Turkish convention was really signed, though not ratified, in 1887, by which the Government of Egypt was to be surprised by two Commissioners, one English, another Ottoman, for a period of three years, after which the British military occupation was to come to an end, subject to the condition that Great Britain would reoccupy Egypt if there was in that country any internal or external danger threatening British interests. [See *Brit. and For. St. Pap.* Vol. LXXVIII, 1080, 1096]. Turkey refused to ratify this convention ; and Great Britain refused to evacuate, quite contrary to her earlier declaration of January 3, 1883.

Nevertheless the British Government continued to recognise the Sultan as the legal sovereign of Egypt. The powers of the Sultan were restated in the Firman of 1892. All Egyptians were Ottoman subjects ; the taxes were levied in the name of the Sultan. The Khedive had no right to make political treaties or to represent Egypt in international conferences ; but he could sign commercial conventions with foreign states. The Khedive could not abandon to a third party any of the territorial rights of the Sultan in Egypt. The Egyptian army was not to exceed a force of 18,000 men. The Ottoman flag was the Egyptian flag. All military ranks above the Colonel could be conferred only by the Sultan. The coinage was to be in the name of the Sultan, while the Khedive was to pay him an annual tribute of £ 682,000.

So far as regards the constitutional position of the Khedive is concerned, he continued to be the chief *de jure* executive of the state, having power of summoning, proroguing and dissolving the Legislature. The ministers were nominally appointed by him, but in reality in accordance with the

wishes of the British Consul-General. As early as January 3, 1883, Lord Granville, in his despatch to Great Powers, explaining the British position in Egypt, had said: "... the position in which Her Majesty's Government are placed towards His Highness imposes upon them *the duty of giving advice with the object of securing* that the order of things to be established shall be of a satisfactory character, and possess the elements of stability and progress" [See—A. Milner—*Ibid*—p. 26-27]. Hence, with British occupation, personal government of the Khedive vanished. There were seven Departments, viz., Foreign Affairs, Finance, Justice, War, Public Works, Education and the Interior, each with a Minister who was not always an Egyptian. The Post Office, the Customs and the Light Houses were under the Department of Finance, while the Interior included the Sanitary Dept. and the Prisons. There was a separate Director-General for the administration of the Wakf, taking his orders directly from the Khedive. The proceedings of the Council of Ministers were held in Arabic and French. The ministers were assisted by subordinate European officials whose opinion they could not easily ignore. But as Lord Lloyd remarks "the Council of Ministers was the Khedive's advisory council, and the Khedive was the Government fulfilling *de jure* all the functions of Governmental authority" [Lord Lloyd—*Egypt Since Cromer*, Vol. I, p. 17]. Therefore, it is quite clear that real power lay not in the hands of the Khedive or of the ministers, but in the British Consul-General. This concentration of power was absolutely illegal as there was no written law which could support it; rather it was contrary to the Anglo-Turkish conventions of 1885 and 1887 and the open declarations of Lord Granville. Hence, the British Government felt it necessary to strengthen their positions in Egypt, not simply by armed force, but also by international treaties perpetuating their occupation in Egypt. The Anglo-French declaration, which was signed on 8th April 1904, contained the following: "His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have *no intention of altering the political Status of Egypt*. The Government of the French Republic for their part, declare that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that *a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other manner*". (Art.1). The next article contained similar British obligation with regard to French Morocco, while the last Article (Art. IX) contained the following: "The two Governments agree to afford one another their *diplomatic support* in order to obtain the execution of the clauses of the present Declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco" [See—*Par. Pap.* Vol. 103 of 1905, p. 264-284; Cmd. 2384]. This declaration was subsequently approved by Germany, Italy and Austria.

Of the European officials in the service of the Khedive something must be said. In the Egyptian Army, the Commander-in-chief and most of the superior officers, whether departmental or regimental, were British. In the civil service, a large number of Europeans were employed with considerable powers and salaries. There was the British Financial Adviser, appointed after the Arabi revolt, and had the power to be present at all the cabinet meetings. He was to advise on all important financial matters, and often guided the ministers on non-financial matters as well. He used to keep the British Consul-General informed of all that was going in the Ministerial circle. There was again the British Judicial Adviser, invested with power to promote the administration of Justice. The posts of the Under-Secretary in the Public Works Department, the Financial Secretary, the Director-General of Post-Office, the Inspector-General of Police (subsequently, the Adviser to the Inspector), were also held by Englishmen. In the Railway Administration, Egyptian had little voice, before 1906.

From 1883 to 1913, Egypt had very few political events. In the Sudan, there was a general rising under Mohammed Ahmed, whom people called the Mahdi, and this resulted in the massacre of the British forces under Genral Gordon in 1885. But the Sudan was re-conquered in 1898 by a combined Egyptian and British force. On January 19, 1899, the Anglo-Egyptian convention was signed, and this established the claim of Great Britain, "by right of conquest" to share with Egypt in the administration of the Sudan. Though both British and Egyptian flags were to fly on Sudanese territory, yet the supreme civil and military command in the Sudan was to be vested in a "Governor-General of the Sudan" to be appointed by the Khedive "on the recommendation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and shall be removed only by Khedival Decree, with the consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government" (Art. 3). The Governor-General was empowered to govern the Sudan with Proclamations. Egyptian laws were to have henceforth, no application in the Sudan (Art. 5), and Mixed Tribunals were not allowed to extend ther jurisdiction in any part of the Sudan (Art. 8) [For the text of this Convention—see *Brit. and For. St. Pap.*, Vol. XCI, p. 19] On January 1892, Khedive Tewfik was succeeded by his son Abbas Hilmi. On April 8, 1904, was signed the Anglo-French Declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco, to which we have already made a reference. In 1905, Egypt gained financial autonomy in so far as the powers of the *Caisse de la Debt* decreased. On October 1, 1906, the Turco-Egyptian frontiers were settled by a Joint Commission, and Egypt got the Sinai

Peninsula near the Gulf of Akaba [See Cmd. 3394 of 1907 ; *Par. Pap.* Vol. C. p. 617]. In 1907 Cromer resigned and Gorst became the new Agent and Consul-General in Egypt. Lord Cromer in his last Report 1906, foresaw the growth of a strong nationalist movement, but he tried to discourage it. He said : "Egyptian nationalism is a plant of exotic rather than of indigenous growth" [Cmd. 3394 of 1907, p. 627, 631]. The Egyptian National Assembly passed the following resolution in 1906 : "That the Egyptians be granted a constitution and as a temporary measure, that the powers of the Provincial Councils, the Legislative Council and the General Assembly be increased" [See Cmd. 3451 of 1907, p. 4]. The Nationalist Party went further and demanded (1) Parliamentary Government with Ministerial responsibility, (2) Complete control of the finances of the country and (3) employment of Egyptians in the higher administrative posts hitherto held by the Europeans. To the first demand Cromer replied that it would lead to chaos, to the second that it would lead to national bankruptcy, and to the third, bribery and corruption. Sir Eldon Gorst gave some powers to the Provincial Councils in June, 1908, to control and promote education and discuss local affairs. In that same year the Legislative Council passed a resolution demanding "effective participation with the Government in the internal administration of the country" and national control on finance [See Cmd. 4580 of 1909, p. 343]. In 1910, the pro-British Prime Minister was assassinated. The Government took strong measures and did not convoke the Assembly. Inspired by the Turkish Revolution of 1911 the students in thousands and the press, agitated for Self-government. In 1911 Lord Kitchener became the Consul-General. He prevented Egypt from helping her suzerain in the Turco-Italian war of 1911. This created anti-Christian feelings in the country. Discontent was deep-seated, and to placate the public, the government passed the Organic Law of 1913, repealing that of 1883.

The Organic Law of 1913

The new Constitutional Law of July 21, 1913, combined the two Houses, the Legislative Council and the General Assembly into one, viz. the Legislative Assembly, composed of 89 members of whom six were ministers, and ex-officio members, 66 were elected in the second degree and 17 nominated, thus assuring a higher proportion of elected to nominated members. Of the 17 nominated members, 4 were to be Copts, 3 Arab Bedouins, 2 business men, 2 medical men, 1 engineer, 1 representative

of general or religious education, 1 municipal representative, 1 President of the Assembly and 1 its Vice-President. This system of functional and religious representation was regarded by Lord Kitchener as definite improvement upon the previous system. Under Art. 4, the tenure of all the members was fixed at 6 years, one-third renewable every two years, thus introducing fresh elements and establishing a closer contact with the people. Under Art. 8, the dissolution of the Assembly was to be effected by a Khedival Decree issued "at the instance of our Council of Ministers." The Assembly possessed the right of discussing *thrice* all laws that referred to the internal affairs of Egypt and all Decrees regulating matters of public administration, subject to Art. 20. Over new taxes the Assembly had absolute power. Art. 17 declared: "No new direct tax, land tax or personal tax shall be imposed in Egypt without having been *discussed and voted* by the Legislative Assembly." The other subjects over which the Assembly had the right of discussion were the same as in Art. 35 of the old law. To the subjects which the Assembly could not discuss and vote under the old law, viz., Tributes, Public Debts, etc., was added the Khedive's Civil List (Art. 20). The Assembly was to meet annually on 1st of November, the session lasting till the end of May. The Khedive could summon it at any time for special reasons. Under Art. 25 every Egyptian had the right of addressing petition to the Khedive. The Articles dealing with Provincial Councils (Art. 35-50) were a mere repetition of the provision of Articles 2-17 of the old Law, as amended by Law No. 22 of 1909. Only the following changes were introduced: Each of the Provincial Councils would be composed of two representatives from each Markaz of the Mudira, elected by the elector-delegates of the villages in the Markaz, of which one representative would retire every two years. The life of the Provincial Council was fixed at four, instead of six years, while its powers were as of old. The Commission of Interpretation remained the same as under Art. 52 of the old law. Only, it was specified that the minister to be nominated by the Cabinet must be other than that of Justice; the two members of the former Legislative Council would be those of the new Assembly, and the three judges would be the President, the Vice-President and the Senior Judge of the Native Court of Appeal.

The franchise qualifications were the same as before. The Electoral Law provided for one elector-delegate for every 50 electors in a village. Art. 13 of the Electoral Law made the delegate more responsible to the electors than before, by providing for his recall at any time by a

majority vote of the 50 electors. An elector-delegate must be 30 years of age and in the list of electors, while a member of the Assembly must be 35 years of age and have certain educational and property qualifications. The country was to be divided into single member constituencies, while the election of the members of the Assembly was to be held by absolute majority of votes (thus necessitating second ballot) instead of relative majority as of old (Art. 40). [For the texts of the Organic Law and the Electoral Law of 1913—see Cmd. 6875 and Cmd. 6878 of 1913]. It will be found that though the powers of the Assembly were increased to a certain extent in the matter of new taxation and general discussion, yet it was far from being a sovereign body. There was no ministerial responsibility, no parliamentary sovereignty in Egypt under this Law of 1913. The Khedive continued to be as irresponsible as before. The Prime Minister Mohamed Pasha, who was responsible for this Law, incurred the displeasure of the Khedive (who disliked this constitution thoroughly) and had to resign. The British Consul-General remained as powerful as ever.

The War and the Protectorate

The new Legislative Assembly of Egypt, under the Organic Law of July 21, 1913, met only once in 1914, but with the outbreak of the war, it was prorogued on October 8, for two months, and after that period was over, it was adjourned *sine die*. Lord Kitchner went to England where he became the Secretary of State for War, while the Khedive sailed for Constantinople and tried to put Egypt on the side of the Sultan. The Egyptian Cabinet led by Rushdi Pasha, and induced by the British Consul-General Sir Henry McMahon took a decision on August 5, 1914 to defend Egypt against "the government at war with His Britannic Majesty." The Martial Law was declared on November 2, 1914. Turkey entered the War on the side of Germany on November 7, 1914. On the same day, John Maxwell, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Egypt, extended the application of the decision of August 5, 1914 to Turkey. The British Government, in order to avoid the issue of divided allegiance, declared Egypt to be a Protectorate of Great Britain by the following proclamation of December 18, 1914: "His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs gives notice that in view of the state of war arising out of the action of Turkey, Egypt is placed under the protection of His Majesty and will henceforth constitute a British Protectorate. The suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt

is thus terminated, and His Majesty's Government will adopt all measures for the defence of Egypt and protect its inhabitants and interests" [See—*Br. and For. St. Pap.*, Vol. CIX (1915), p. 437]. On the next day, the British Government made another proclamation in which they deposed the Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha for "adhering to the King's enemies", and made Prince Hussein Kamel Pasha, the eldest living prince in the family of Mahomet Ali and second son of Ismail Pasha, the Sultan of Egypt. Simultaneously a letter was addressed by the British representative at Cairo to the new Sultan informing him that Great Britain had accepted full responsibility for the defence and protection of His Highness's territories and subjects, that all restrictions upon the numbers and organisation of the Egyptian Army had been removed; but it added that Egyptian foreign relations would be henceforth conducted by His Majesty's representative at Cairo. The letter also indicated that capitulations would be revised after the end of the War. [For the texts of the Proclamation and the letter, 19th December, 1914, See—Lord LLOYD—*Ibid*, Vol. I, Appendix B, pp. 376-379; also *Br. and For. St. Pap.*—Vol. CIX (1915), p. 437]. The explanatory Note addressed to Sultan Hussein also contained these lines: "From the facts set out it results that the rights over the Egyptian Executive, whether of the Sultan or of the Khedive, are forfeited to His Majesty." Commenting on this Lord LLOYD remarked: "Possessing now both the rights of the suzerain power and the rights of the *de jure* ruler, we had a basis from which we might legally proceed to make any change we pleased in the constitution". Both the British Government and Lord LLOYD completely forgot the Anglo-French Declaration of 8th April, 1904. Even the Earl of Cromer had, as early as 1906, regarded the Declaration of Egypt as a British Protectorate, impossible. [See Cmd. 3394 of 1907, p. 12].

However, after placing Sultan Hussein,—a loyal and Anglo-phile Sultan who actually suggested the British annexation of Egypt [See LLOYD—*Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 257], the British Government proceeded to make Egypt the base of their military operations in the East. In 1916 Sir Reginald Wingate, who was for the last seventeen years Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan, was appointed High Commissioner for Egypt. On October 9, 1917, Sultan Hussein died, but a day before his death, his son, Prince Kemal-ed-Din had, by a letter addressed to his father, renounced his claim to the throne. Ahmed Fuad, Ismail Pasha's third son, "was hastily chosen by the British Government to succeed" Sultan Hussein, for, the right "to decide questions affecting the Succession to the Egyptian throne belonged to the British Government by virtue of their

assumption of rights previously exercised by Turkey" [See-Valentine Chirol—*The Egyptian Problem* (1920), p. 133]. Throughout, 1917, there were violent agitations everywhere in Egypt for national self-determination. The people had suffered much through (1) recruiting for the Egyptian Labour and Camel Transport Corps, (2) the requisition of domestic animals and cereals for war use, and (3) the forced collections for the Red Cross Fund. The hopes raised by the public announcements of President Wilson and the Anglo-French Declaration of November, 1918, which promised "Complete and definitive enfranchisement of the peoples liberated from Turkish oppression" in Syria and Mesopotamia, emboldened Rushdi Pasha, the Egyptian premier to attempt a solution of the Anglo-Egyptian constitutional problem. A special Commission to report on constitutional reform in Egypt was appointed at the beginning of 1918. Sir William Brunyate, the Acting Judicial Adviser, was requested by this Commission to draw up a confidential note to serve as a basis for their discussion. The contents of the Note leaked out. There was to be a bicameral legislature, in which the Upper Chamber was to contain Egyptian Ministers, British Advisers and representatives of foreign communities, elected by special electorates. The Lower Chamber was to be elected on a popular basis as before. But the Upper Chamber was to be given a preponderating voice, while a certification power was kept reserved in the hands of the Government to be exercised only with the approval of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. [For details of Brunyate Note—see—Lloyd—*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 277]. This Note was shown to Rushdi Pasha, and as the Milner Commission's Report says, "a storm of protest was aroused by a project which was interpreted as assigning only consultative functions to an Egyptian Legislative Assembly, while bestowing all legislative power on a Senate in which the officially-nominated members and a group of elected foreigners would constitute the majority" [*Par. Pap.*, Vol. 42 (.921), p. 611].

After the Armistice the British Government refused permission to the Egyptian Prime Minister, as well as to the Egyptian Nationalist Committee led by Zaghlul Pasha, to proceed to London to place their case before them, while Egypt's claim to be present in the Peace Conference was also turned down. As a result violent disturbances and open rebellion broke out in the country. Rushdi Pasha resigned. Lord Allenby succeeded Sir R. Wingate and tried to restore peace by both strong and conciliatory measures. The ban on Zaghlul who was deported to Malta was removed. The British Government sent a Mission in Egypt, known as the Milner Mission "to enquire into the causes of the late

disorders in Egypt and to report on the existing situation in the country and form of the constitution which *under the Protectorate*, will be best calculated to promote its peace and prosperity, the progressive development of self-governing institution and the protection of foreign interests." (*The Milner Report*—Cmd. 1131 of 1921). The Commission arrived at Cairo on 7th December, 1919, was thoroughly boycotted and left the country in March 1920. However, it came to the following conclusions: (1) "no settlement could be satisfactory which was simply imposed by Great Britain upon Egypt, but that it would be wiser to seek a solution by means of a bilateral agreement—a Treaty—between the two countries"; (2). "The Treaty should not be allowed to come into force unless it had been approved by a genuinely representative Egyptian Assembly .. a popularly elected body, deliberating with perfect freedom and taking its decision without official or other pressure of any kind."; (3) "Egypt, in return for Great Britain's undertaking to defend her integrity and independence, would agree to be guided by Great Britain in her foreign relations"; (4) "in order to protect her special interest in Egypt—the safety of her Imperial communications—Great Britain was to have the right to maintain a military force on Egyptian soil"; (5) "for the protection of all legitimate foreign interests, she was to have a certain measure of control over Egyptian legislation and administration, as far as they affected foreigners"; (6) Great Britain would try to "confine the special privileges enjoyed by foreigners under the capitulations within more reasonable limits and by so doing to make Egypt much more the mistress in her own house than she is to-day"; (7) "It should be the aim of British policy to relieve Egypt from any financial responsibility for the Sudan and to establish the relations of the two countries for the future upon a basis which will secure the independent development of the Sudan while safeguarding the vital interests of Egypt in the waters of the Nile" [Cmd. 1131 of 1921, pp. 19, 21, 34].

While in London Lord Milner met Zaglul Pasha who was invited there to place his views before the Mission. The conversations ended in what is known as the Milner-Zaglul Agreement (an outline, on the basis of which an agreement was thought possible). The document was handed over to Adli Pasha, the Egyptian premier, by Lord Milner, to elicit an expression of Egyptian public opinion. It consisted of eleven articles of which Article 3 (i) declared that Great Britain would recognise "the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with representative institutions and Egypt will confer upon Great Britain such rights as are necessary to safeguard her special interests and to enable her to

furnish the guarantees which must be given to foreign powers to secure the relinquishment of their Capitulatory rights." Art. 3 (ii) laid down that by the same Treaty an alliance would be concluded between Great Britain and Egypt, the former undertaking to support Egypt in defending the integrity of her territory, while Egypt "will undertake, in case of war, *even when the integrity of Egypt is not affected*, to render to Great Britain all the assistance in her power, within her own borders, including the use of her harbours, aerodromes, and means of communication for military purposes." The fourth article contained the following provisions : (1) Egypt would not adopt any attitude or "enter into any agreement with a Foreign Power which is prejudicial to British interests"; (2) Great Britain would have "a right to maintain a military force on Egyptian soil for the protection of her Imperial communications"; (3 & 4) Egypt would appoint a British Financial Adviser, and "an official in the Ministry of Justice", having the right of access to Ministers, "in concurrence with His Majesty's Government"; (5) Great Britain was to have additional powers to "prevent the application to foreigners of any Egyptian law, now requiring foreign consent"; (6) The British representative at Cairo would be "accorded an exceptional position in Egypt and will be entitled to precedence over all other representatives"; (7) Egyptian Government was empowered to terminate the service of British and other foreign officers and administrative officials "within two years after the coming into force of this Treaty". Art. 5 required that the Treaty must be approved by an Egyptian Constituent Assembly, but "it will not come into force until after the agreement with foreign powers for the closing of their Consular Courts and the decrees for the reorganisation of the Mixed Tribunals have come into force." Art. 6 contained this important provision : "This Constituent Assembly will also be charged with the duty of framing a new Organic Statute, in accordance with the provisions of which the Government of Egypt will in future be conducted. *This Statute will embody provisions for the Ministers being responsible to the Legislature*". Arts. 7, 8 and 10, dealt with the necessary reorganisations for modifying the capitulatory regime. Art. 8 (b) provided that "Egyptian nationality law will be founded on the *jus Sanguinis* so that the children born in Egypt of a foreigner will enjoy the nationality of their fathers and will not be claimed as Egyptian subjects". By article 11, Great Britain was to "support an application by Egypt for admission as a member of the League of Nations" [Cmd. 1131 of 1921, pp. 39-41].

Zaghlul, after discussing the memorandum with the leaders of the

country, informed Lord Milner in October 1920 that his party would not accept the memorandum, if (1) the functions of the Financial and Judicial Advisers were not strictly limited, (2) if the coming into force of the Treaty be made dependent upon the previous conclusion of agreements with capitulatory powers, as provided in Art. 5, (3) if the Protectorate was not formally abolished; (4) if the number of British troops was not limited and the plan for their location was not confined only to the Suez canal zone; and lastly, (5) if Egypt was not allowed an equal share with Great Britain in the administration of the Sudan. Lord Milner saw no way to accept these modifications, the negotiations failed, and he submitted his Report to the Secretary of State on December, 9, 1920.

In November 1921 Adly Pasha, went to England. The British Government agreed to regard the Milner Report as the basis of all discussions. Lord Curzon issued a Memorandum containing the terms of the draft treaty which he had discussed with Adly. Its major provisions are these: The Protectorate was formally abolished; but while maintaining the *status quo* of the condominium in the Sudan, it was laid down that the Egyptian army in the Sudan should be under the Governor-General. Adly, however, strongly urged the "incontestable right of Egypt to sovereignty over the Sudan," and he wanted a definite location of British troops in Egypt [See—Cmd. 1617 of 1921, for details]. The British Government sent a Note to the Sultan, on December 3, 1921 warning him, that after the rejection of the draft proposals they could not "hold out any prospect of reconsideration of the principle on which they were framed." Adly resigned the same day. On December 11, 1921, Lord Allenby (High Commissioner from 1919 to 1925), relying on a memorandum submitted to him by British Advisers to the Egyptian Government, telegraphed to Lord Curzon, the following: "I must ask your Lordship and His Majesty's Government to believe me when I state the fact that no Egyptian, no matter what his personal opinions may be, can sign any instrument which in his view is *incompatible with complete independence*. Consequently it is necessary to abandon definitely the idea that the Egyptian question can be settled by means of a treaty. His Majesty's Government, therefore, *must renounce the hope of obtaining the advantages* to be derived from a treaty in return for concessions which they may make to Egyptians." [See—Cmd. 1592; *Par. Pap.*, Vol. 23, of 1922, p. 33].

The British Government hesitated. Political agitation took violent forms in Egypt. The High Commissioner prohibited Zaglul from partici-

pating in politics, and when the latter violated the order, he was arrested and deported to Secheylles. For two months various telegraphic communications passed between Lord Allenby and Lord Curzon, as to the best method for the solution of the Egyptian problem. At last, on February 21, 1922, Lord Curzon sent the following two documents to Lord Allenby: (1) "A Declaration which His Majesty's Government will invite Parliament to approve terminating Protectorate over Egypt" and (2) "A Letter which Your Lordship should address to the Sultan when communicating to His Highness the above declaration." On February 28, 1922, the Declaration was made public. It ran thus: "Whereas His Majesty's Government, in accordance with their declared intentions, desire forthwith to recognise Egypt as an independent Sovereign State; and

Whereas relations between His Majesty's Government and Egypt are of vital interest to the British Empire :

The following principles are hereby declared :—

1. The British Protectorate over Egypt is terminated, and Egypt is declared to be an independent Sovereign State.

2. So soon as the Government of His Highness shall pass an Act of Indemnity with application to all inhabitants of Egypt, martial law as proclaimed on November 2, 1914, shall be withdrawn.

3. The following matters are *absolutely reserved* to the discretion of His Majesty's Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accomodation, on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Egypt :—

- (a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt.
- (b) The defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect.
- (c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities.
- (d) The Sudan.

Pending the conclusion of such agreements, the *status quo* in all these matters shall remain intact [Cmd. 1592 of 1922].

The letter to the Sultan, which accompanied the Declaration explained the reservations. They were claimed by Great Britain "out of consideration for her own security in face of a situation which demands great prudence on her part, particularly in the matter of disposition of her troops". The ninth paragraph of the letter allowed Egypt the right of re-establishing forthwith a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while the tenth contained the following: "The creation of a Parliament with a right to control the policy and administration of a constitutionally responsible Government is a matter for your Highness and the Egyptian people to determine" [Cmd. 1592 of 1922].

The next day, March 1, Egypt was declared an independent sovereign state and Sultan Fuad took the title of King.

SPINOZA

By **Prof. Peter Krieger, M.A.**

Baruch de Spinoza was the son of a Hispano-Jewish family, one of those many thousands of Jewish families who left Spain and Portugal at the end of the 16th century fleeing before the Inquisition-tribunals of the Catholic Church¹ and taking refuge in the countries of freedom, as Holland, Belgium etc. His life was singularly simple and uneventful. He was born in 1632 in Amsterdam. He received the traditional Jewish education based on the Bible and the Talmud.

At the age of 24 he was excommunicated by the Jewish community for his heretical views and this ban has not been lifted up to this day. He has never even attempted to bridge or minimize the gulf between his own thoughts and official Judaism. His was the fate of a son of an Eastern people's first generation who came in close contact with the culture and learning of the West. Europe of that time seemed to him much superior to his own Jewish world and, full of admiration for Western thought, he left willingly his own people and plunged himself into the philosophical problems and discussions which occupied then the noblest minds in Paris and Firenze, Heidelberg and Vienna. Spinoza's place is doubtlessly in the pantheon of European and not Jewish philosophy and yet the inner dynamics of his system are profoundly Jewish.

His Hebrew name Baruch was consequently latinized into Benedictus but a witty critic called him later Maledictus. All his life Spinoza liked to live in quiet quarters of certain small Dutch towns. He made his living from the grinding of optical lenses and it was the fine dust of glass which ultimately ruined his lungs and caused his early death in 1677. In the seclusion of his scholarly life Spinoza had nevertheless contact with the most prominent men of his time. There was Christian Huygens, the famous physicist, there was Robert Boyle in England. The German philosopher Leibniz always tried to borrow the manuscripts of Spinoza's

¹These Jews who were forcibly baptized into Catholic faith but adhered to their Judaism in secret were called "marranos". Spinoza was the descendant of such a family.

unpublished works. Louis XIV invited him to receive a pension, the University of Heidelberg wanted to appoint him for the chair of philosophy.

Spinoza's most important work, the "Ethics" or with its full name "Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata" was published not under the author's full name but under the initials B.D.S. only. Apparently he did not wish his doctrine to be called after him. He wanted to be forgotten in his work. Truth itself had to speak out of the book, the way it was said and by whom it was said seemed to him of no importance. The "Ethics" contains the full expression of his thoughts as prepared in his earlier works. It is interesting and instructive to have a glance at the division of this book. The first part is called "On God"; the second "On the Nature and Origin of Mind"; the third "On the Origin and Nature of the Emotions"; the fourth "On Human Servitude or the Strength of Emotions"; the fifth and last "On the Power of the Intellect or Human Freedom".

The idea of this division is clear. Spinoza is moralist, his problem is the problem of ethics, i. e. of conduct. But man is only a part of nature, human conduct only one case of universal conduct. Nature in a narrow sense is the subject-matter of science, in a wider sense it is the subject-matter of metaphysics. Therefore his ethics are based on his metaphysics, more than that, they are a mere application of his metaphysical conception to the individual, are a logical outcome of his metaphysical position.

One word has to be said about the method of the "Ethics". The book is "ordine geometrico demonstrata", i. e. arranged like a mathematical theorem with propositions, axioms and demonstrations. This method of putting forward a philosophical thesis which had been used already before Spinoza is applied by him with admirable skill and consequence. It seems that it suited well his ideal of impersonality, it was the most adequate style for the expression of his philosophy.

The totality of all existing is called by Spinoza "Deus sive Natura" God or Nature, the word "or" expressing here absolute identity. The universe in its totality is nature=God. That is the reverse of God's relationship to the world as conceived in Judaism. There God, the creator, is opposed to the world as his creation. Here God is immanent in nature but not like the soul in the body. God is the universe. "Everything which exists, exists in God and without God nothing could either exist or be conceived". "God" perfect, absolute and infinite

equals "nature". Later on Spinoza makes it clear that for him God=Nature=Substance. "Substance" is according to the usual definition of mediaeval philosophy something that is independent and self-contained. There can be only one such substance in Spinoza's conception, i.e. God=Nature. Apart from God there is no other substance.

It follows from the above that the more we know of nature we know of God. He is the free cause. All other things depend on him, cannot be without him. God's will, i.e. the Law of Nature follows from his own absolute nature. There is no arbitrariness in God's will, he is acting from the necessity of his own nature.

Nature is of course wider than our experience. Thought is limited, being unlimited. God is infinite, hence unapproachable by the finite. God=Nature=Substance can therefore not be adequately conceived by us. That, however, which our intellect perceives as constituting the essence of Substance is called "Attribute". Or in other words, attribute is substance as revealed to our knowledge. Of these attributes we know only two: Thought and Extension. The universe is totally expressed in each of them. They are like two different languages expressing the same thing, everyone in its own way. The universe can be expressed mentally or physically.

From God, Nature, Substance and Attributes Spinoza goes on specifying the universe through infinite modes, finite modes etc, until every individual finds its place in the system. For as we have said, man is only one case of the whole universe and his moral conduct only one consequence of his metaphysical position.

It is impossible to go more into details in the course of an article. I would have reached my purpose, if even one of the readers of these lines would feel inclined to read himself the works of this interesting Eastern philosopher transplanted to the soil of the West.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE PROGRAMME AND POLICY OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA

The Programme and Policy of the National Government, now that it has returned to its capital, Nanking, have been fully set out in the decisions of the Central Political Conference and a number of official proclamations and statements issued over the period of the Government's formal assumption of office. A study of these reveals that the fundamental principle of the Government is Peace, peace in China, peace in the Far East, peace in the World, as the necessary antecedent to China's reconstruction and rehabilitation, and the creation of a New Order based on friendship, justice, equality, reciprocity and mutual respect.

The foreign policy of the Government, therefore, will be primarily directed towards the establishment and maintenance of peaceful and friendly relations with all Powers. Not, however, on the present basis, which reduces China to a subservient position, and compels her to grant to others privileges which those others are not prepared to grant her. There can be no stability in Far Eastern or even in World politics, no permanent assurance of peace and friendship so long as China is relegated to a position of inferiority. Only as a free and independent sovereign State can she play her proper part in the world, and in particular, assume her due share of responsibility for the well-being of the Far East and its peoples.

One of the main items in the National Government's programme is the abolition of the restraints imposed on China's sovereignty by the system of extraterritoriality and the encroachments on her territorial and administrative integrity involved in the existence of foreign Settlements and Concessions. All methods of peaceful diplomacy—of Peace Diplomacy—will be employed to achieve this, and thus bring about an adjustment of Sino-Foreign relations on the only true basis of friendship, namely, equality, reciprocity, and mutual respect. Legitimate foreign rights and interests will be respected, but there must be a clear understanding of their nature and extent. Unauthorized extensions of foreign privileges and alleged rights which have been established only as a result of encroachments on Treaty provisions will necessarily be denounced.

Thereafter they will only exist as the result of *force majeure*, and will definitely take on the appearance of unfriendly actions.

Peace in the Far East and the future progress and prosperity of its peoples depend primarily on the establishment of true friendship between China and Japan. "The realization of peace", says President Wang Ching-Wei's Proclamation to the Nation on the occasion of the Government's return to Nanking, "aims, in concerted effort with Japan and in accordance with the principles of good-neighbourliness, and with a common anti-Comintern front and economic co-operation as a basis, at weeding out past controversies and establishing future amicable relationships between the two countries. All policies adopted, and all laws and decrees enforced in the past that run counter to these declared policies will be abolished or amended in order that our sovereign independence and territorial and administrative integrity may be safeguarded, and that a reciprocal and equal economic system may be realized, so as to lay the foundations of future co-existence and co-prosperity. With this readjustment made, China and Japan, like two brothers reconciled after an unfortunate resort to arms, will be in everlasting peace, and will jointly stabilize East Asia." The Proclamation goes on, "The same policy of peace-diplomacy will also be applied to all friendly Powers in order to promote amicable relationships through faith and sincerity.

The corner-stone, indeed, of the Government's foreign policy is friendship with Japan that has recognised China as an equal, has guaranteed respect for her sovereign independence and administrative and territorial integrity, and further has promised China sympathetic aid and support in the task of bringing to an end the system of extraterritoriality and foreign concessions. The greatest threat to the future well-being of China and the stability of the Far East comes from the communists. The conclusion of an anti-Comintern pact with Japan to overcome that threat, and joint action with friendly Powers to counteract the subversive activities of the Communist International, is therefore an essential part of the Government's programme.

Peace at home is as integral a part of the Government's policy as Peace abroad. Internally, its first business will be to bring about a speedy cessation of hostilities and to establish a regime of law and order. To this end a National Defence Army will be organized in which will be incorporated, after a period of rehabilitation, the troops now in the service of Chungking, as they transfer their allegiance to the National Government. *Pari passu* the guerrilla

areas will be pacified, and the former guerrillas assisted to return their homes and pursue productive ends.

In the organization of the National Defence Army the respective spheres of military administration and military command will be strictly delimited, and by the proper subordination of the military to the civil authorities any possibility of a recurrence of military dictatorship prevented.

This is an essential feature of any form of Constitutional Government and the enforcement of such government is the second of the Government's two main policies. The National Government is to be a Constitutional Government, one broadly based on the will of the people and public opinion. While the Kuo-Min Tang, as the major political force in the creation of modern China, must remain to provide direction and inspiration, there will be no party exclusiveness or dictatorship. The Kuo-Min Tang will act rather as the nucleus to which will cohere representatives of all parties, and all men of ability, who in so doing will give the State the benefit of their services and advice. In the Central Political Council political energy will be co-ordinated, and public opinion consolidated.

In pursuance of this policy a National Assembly will be convoked, and a Constitution promulgated at the earliest possible moment. Various grades of representative organs will be set up, and measures taken for the establishment of local self-government.

The establishment of peace is but the preliminary to the work of rehabilitation and reconstruction which must be the main business in the immediate future of any government of China worthy of the name. "The National Government," says the Proclamation to the Nation, "takes as its duty the rehabilitation of the people's livelihood by the legal protection of their lives, properties and liberties, in order that they may, by peaceful pursuit of their professions and trades, devote themselves to the economic and industrial recovery and cultural development of the country."

Here financial reform will be one of the first steps. A trustworthy currency system, which will suit both the needs of the Chinese people and the requirements of foreign trade, will be devised by the unification, within the shortest possible period, of the various currencies now circulating. Foreign trade will be promoted and controlled to secure a balance of International Payments, and a Central Bank set up to supervise the task.

National credit will be maintained by the acknowledgement of existing loans and their eventual redemption.

The co-operation of Japan in the work of industrial and commercial reconstruction has already been assured, but assistance will also be sought in the form of capital and of technical co-operation from all friendly Powers. These will be given ample opportunity to share on equitable terms in this work, and in its legitimate profits.

The rehabilitation of the rural population will be more than half accomplished by the establishment of law and order and the elimination of the guerrilla menace. The process will be completed by lightening the burden of taxation, even, in those areas which have suffered most severely, to the extent of exemption, while measures of positive relief will be adopted to assist the farmers to increase their production and facilitate the distribution of their products.

The work of reconstruction and the reorganization of China into a modern State demands not only material but psychological and moral rehabilitation. Educational work will reinforce political measures. China's educational system and policy will be thoroughly overhauled and re-established in accordance with the principles of good-neighbourliness and anti-communism. In particular, teachings of mutual friendship and respect will replace in China, as they will in Japan, the former antagonism inculcated under the old system.

Education in the past has tended to divide the people by establishing an educated class as distinct from the masses. Now it will be made to accord more with the general need. There will be education to give the people a livelihood. Technical and professional schools will be organized and vocational training given in connection with the industrial concerns. Less stress will be laid on imported foreign ideas, which have not always had too happy an influence on Chinese national life. Foreign culture and thought will not be rejected, but they will not be absorbed as they accord with the preservation and development of China's national culture.

The programme of the National Government, then, aims at lifting China from her quasi-colonial status to the position of a free sovereign and independent member of the comity of nations. It aims at the creation of a Constitutional Government truly representative of the nation. It aims at peace in the Far East and the eradication of the communist elements which would turn China into another Soviet appendage. To this end it has sought and achieved friendship with

Japan on a basis of equality, reciprocity and mutual respect and invites other Powers to accept these same principles in their relations with her. It aims at the rehabilitation of the Chinese people and the reconstruction and modernization of the State on lines which, while accepting the best things that the West has to offer, still preserves for China her national identity. China, has, in fact, once again a National Government, friendly to friendly Powers, but subservient to none.

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY AT SARNATH

At the Second All-Asia Conference, Mr. Darrell Peiris paid a glowing tribute to the Founder of the Maha Bodhi Society and his able successor Anagarika Devapriya Walisingha, who is silently, efficiently and faithfully carrying on the noble work of his predecessor. Mr. Peiris read the following messages from his friend Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of the Department of Economics, Calcutta University, a constant and devoted friend of the Maha Bodhi Society.

“Dharmapala gave concrete evidence of his right observation or proper understanding of the realities of the world when he discovered the truths, first that Ceylon is today a part of Greater India, and secondly, that India, Ceylon and Burma are integrally associated with the rest of Buddhist Asia. He discovered that Japanese Buddhism had preserved the spirit of ancient Indian Buddhism, which, India, Burma and Ceylon needed today to restore living Buddhism, namely the system of devotion to life in the now and the here, the pursuit of appamada (energism) as well as indifference to anagata (the future) and atitana (the past combined with genuine appreciation of the life beyond), Dharmapala functioned as a Maker and exponent of Young Asia.

Today a part of this Young Asia movement is seen to be realised in the Maha Bodhi Society of Calcutta, which established as it was by the Ceylonese, goes ahead under the inspiration of Dharmapala himself, has been serving to bring under one roof the Chinese, the Japanese, the Burmese, the Tibetans, the Ceylonese, the Bengalis and other Indians several times a year. Then the foundations have been laid (1935) at Sarnath, Benares, the International Buddhist University which, again, is growing into a Centre of Co-operative Cultural Creations of the Buddhist of all Asia, nay, Eur-American as well.

Young Asia is today Self-Conscious enough, thanks to the activities of men like Vivekananda and Dharmapala at home and abroad, to lead

Eur-America to acquire some of the Sammadditthi and to feel that, after all, a New Age has made its appearance. It is an age in which domination of one race by another is to be a thing of the past but in which diverse races, cults, faiths and cultures, are to meet on a platform of equality, freedom and mutual respect. Dharmapala has then, like Vivekananda, to be appraised as one of the Apostles of International Peace and World-wide Brotherhood."

"I have already interested many thinkers in India, Burma, Siam, Japan, America, Europe and other lands in the early establishment of this, much needed, International Buddhist University at Sarnath. Professor T. L. Atreya of the Department of Philosophy of Benares University, Professor Nolen Ganguli, former Principal of Viswabharati University at Shantiniketan and many other distinguished scholars of the East and the West have volunteered their service. In my lecture tours in Europe, America and Asia, I have done a fair amount of propaganda and the response received is very heartening.

The spirit of Peace, Self-Denial, Self-Control and Meditation still prevails in India and Buddhist Asia. Swami Vivekananda appealed to the Hindus and Buddhists to unite in creating a New Spiritual Dynamic competent to master and reform the world. The divorce of Buddhism from Hinduism, according to Vivekananda, led to the downfall of India. "Once more," said the Swami, "the world must be conquered by India's Spirituality as in the days of Asoka."

Therefore I appeal to Asia the mother of religions to help the Maha Bodhi Society to establish the I. B. U. at Sarnath. I appeal to all lovers of Peace and Culture in Europe, America, Africa and Australia to back the Maha Bodhi Society in its epoch-making endeavour to revive the "Golden Age of the Mauryas when no Indian man was known to tell a lie and no Indian woman was unchaste (Megasthenes)". The New World Order will be the result of the Union of the Renaissance of the spirit of Ahimsa (non-violence) in Modern India and the spirit of Maitri (Universal Love) in Buddhist Asia. The New University will produce dynamic World Leaders who will spread the Gospel of Ahimsa and Maitri all over the world and lead the nations into a Satya-Yuga when the Dharma-Rajya will be firmly established in the hearts of men. Many of us are ready to devote the rest of our lives to make the vision of Dharmapala and Devapriya a living Reality in Holi Isipatana. With a heart full of gratitude to the bold Scion of the Lion race who was

instrumental in pioneering this movement for the regeneration of the **Lion** race I humbly propose the following resolution :—

“This Conference appeals to all lovers of Asiatic Culture in the world to help the Maha Bodhi Society to establish an International Buddhist University at Sarnath.”

Miss Sakuntala Sastry, Fellow of Calcutta University, M. A., B. Litt. (Oxon) Secretary of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Principal of South Calcutta Girls' College, strongly advocated the establishment of the I. B. U. at Anuradhapura. “The memory of Sanghamitta and Mahinda, the Sacred Bo-tree and the Sacred ruins bear witness to what man has done for Religion. Anuradhapura and not Sarnath is still the capital of Buddhist Asia.”

Dr. Laxmipathi emphatically declared that the I. B. U. should be at Sarnath and nowhere else. We in India need the Message and Culture of Buddha very badly. Buddhism represents the culture of India at its highest and as such should be re-established in the land of its birth. Buddhism is still the most powerful force in India. Mahatma Gandhi's spirit of Ahimsa is a revival of the pure spirit of Buddhism. We in India are Buddhists in spirit though we do not call ourselves as such. We are repenting for having driven Buddhism out of India.

Every religion of Indian origin has its headquarters on Indian soil. Why should not Buddhism, the finest flower of Indian thought, also have its World Headquarters at Sarnath ?

Mr. Henry Amarasuriya, Member of the State Council, ex-President of the Ceylon National Congress and the All-Ceylon Congress of Buddhist Associations, heartily seconded the resolution. In doing so he declared that the more the International Institutes are established in India and Ceylon, the quicker will the Dharma spread. The world's culture is at a low ebb. France's great International Centre of Culture has received a crushing blow through its unconditional surrender. Let Sarnath take its place as the Capital of the New Empire of World Culture. Sarnath's name is fascinating. Let nobody grudge his moral support to this venture.”

After the discussion the Resolution was unanimously passed amidst applause.

THE FOUNDER OF THE FIRST OPEN AIR SCHOOL

By the courtesy of the Information Service of the International Bureau of Education, Geneva

In 1940, Spain will celebrate, at the same time as the 4th centenary of the Spanish educationist Luis Vives, the 50th anniversary of the founding of the first open air school by Don Andr  s Manjon. Professor of Law at the University of Granada and Canon of the Church, Manjon was stirred by the physical, and even more by the spiritual distress of the children of gypsies living in the gypsy quarter of the town. He tells as follows the story of the birth of the first of the "Ave Maria" open air schools, one day in October 1888.

Riding an ass, he passed in front of one of the grottoes of the Sacro Monte of Granada and heard the catechism being sung within. Dismounting, he entered this grotto and found within some little gypsy girls shepherded by an old woman of whom he asked: "What is all this ?

—Don't you see that it is a school...

—What rent do you pay ?

—Four *pesetas* a month.

—Which I will pay you, if you wish.

—How could I do otherwise than wish it !

Thus did Don Andr  s Manjon become a teacher of little gypsies, while he went on being the teacher of future theologians and lawyers. Little by little he bought several country houses ("carmenes") around Granada which he turned into schools for the children who came in crowds from the town.

Manjon wished that all schools could be situated in the open air like those of the "Ave Maria". "I am", he says in one of his books, "a believer in country life—especially from the point of view of physical education—and I would like seminaries, colleges, normal schools and universities to be situated, as much as possible, outside the towns, in the open country. As to the elementary schools of towns of some importance, I would endeavour to place them round about the towns, near the gates and the gardens that usually surround them.

"The country is the best environment for developing life. Air, sunshine and soil are better there than in town. There is more space, living is cheaper, as well as more natural and healthy. From the point of view of

physical training, everything in the towns is poor and ugly, unless you can see beauty in the high walls surrounding schools, in the cloisters which allow the pupils to walk two and two, in the rooms where the children eat, study, play and sleep in common, breathing close and stuffy air.

"The school should be a sanatorium, and sanatoria are not built in towns. The school should have ground for agricultural experiments, as well as playing field, and in towns you cannot have them because the cost would be too high...

"Away then to the country, for health, for games, for education, for work ! All our "Ave Maria" foundations at Granada are situated near the town but not in it, at the gates of the city not in its midst ; they look out on to the country...

"The seven country-houses ("Carmenes") are separate so that there should be more order, but near one another so that they can be supervised and directed by one brain. In them, everything is spacious, joyful and healthy. There is room to play and to work ; there are beautiful gardens, pleasing to the eye and fragrant to the nostrils. There are plenty of crystal-clear fountains for watering, for drinking, for bathing, while arbours of vine, honey-suckle, climbing roses and passion-flowers afford shelter from the sun's rays."

But Manjon must not be looked upon only as the founder of the first open air school, he was also a wholehearted advocate, not merely in theory but in practice, of the principle of learning through play which was to find such favour among educationists of the present century.

"Remember", wrote Manjon, "your passion for playing and, in teaching, you will use "the play way"; remember how cross you were when you felt shut up in the house, and you will choose the country for teaching and playing ; remember how tedious you found the rules of academic grammar and you will teach the language the other way round from the usual method ; remember how you loved to play shop, to make carts with wheels, windmills with sails, houses with stones and kitchen-gardens with plants, and you will learn to teach agriculture, industry and commerce not in extracts summarising the works of experts (the only use of which is to be memorised by those who study them), but with facts and with play, using playthings when the real things fail, accepting figures and pictures when one has to do even without playthings."

Manjon went further than just applying in his teaching the method of educational play. He saw and applied the principle of the "activity

school" and the work-school "*Arbeitsschule*". "It is wise", he said, "to make use of the craving for doing things which is so strong in the child, and to instruct and educate him through this characteristic of his. However, there must be no exaggeration: it will not do to fancy that ethics, science and the art of education can be acquired by using one's hands, for history, language and other educational means, which cannot be "manipulated", teach and educate as much as, and more than, the scissors and the awl."

This brief description of Manjon's work would be incomplete if it did not draw attention to another aspect of his personality: he was, through his "Ave Maria" schools, an apostle of popular education inspired by the Christian ideal. His great preoccupation was to educate the poor and lowly. Had he not begun his work by teaching little gypsies and was it not his boast that he gave the underprivileged a better—we should to-day a "more modern"—education than the children of the well-to-do were given in the public or private schools of his day?

The personality of the professor-schoolmaster deserves to be studied and understood. He published many books, in particular the one entitled "*El maestro mirando hacia fuera*" (the schoolmaster looks out of doors). A whole issue of the Madrid educational review "*Atenas*", that of April 1939, was devoted to him. For readers who prefer French, we can mention an article by Professor Dévaud, of the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), entitled "*Pédagogie à ciel ouvert*" (Education under the Open Sky), published in the "*Revue belge pédagogie*", of April and May, 1939.

THE SECOND ALL-ASIA CONFERENCE

Thanks to our esteemed friend and colleague S. J. Baij Nath Khanna, M. A., Editor of *The New World Order*, Delhi, we publish the following report for the benefit of our readers:

In the middle of June at the holy city of Anuradhapura, Ceylon, the Conference met to discuss the future of the human race again faced with the tragic crisis. Dr. Laxmipathy, the President observed:—

"We meet here at a time when dark clouds are threatening to embroil the whole world in a most devastating war, when the forces of Rajas and Tamoguna appear to supplant all Sattwa, when Rosha and Moha (wrath and ignorance) are having their unbridled sway.

If a New World Order is to come out of the present World Chaos we must work positively in co-operation to counteract the negative forces. With an ancient civilization India and her daughter Lanka have together a message of Good-will and Courage to deliver to the world.

Our conception of Life is different from that of the West. Life is defined by some as the sacred pilgrimage to the shrine of the Spirit. Other regard it as a battle-field, where each one of us has to do his duty, to battle against wrong and to fight injustice ; while still others hold that life is a voyage of discovery, where we learn from every experience. It is also defined as the harmonious realisation of Dharma, Artha and Sukha.

Even the development of our sciences is fundamentally different from that of the West. The great reserves of knowledge we possess have not been understood by the Westerners who took most of them as mere superstition.

Similarly, there are other sciences such as Yoga, which are learnt only through the personal initiation by the Guru and in which mere books alone will not help us. This unseen world of the Supersenses, which now belongs to the Yogi, should be explored in the light of modern Science.

To-day, we require in our young men a harmonious development of the manifold qualities necessary for humanitarian Service. Service is based on Renunciation of self and pure Love for all. Love hath no barriers of rich and poor or caste and creed. It is the best bond of Followship. It has malice towards none. It is the most invincible force in the world. It is Love alone that can build up great Nations. Destructive forces of war and violence may succeed only for the time being.

Asoka the Great is still alive amongst the nations of the East and it is his influence that has brought us together to-day. The weapon with which he conquered continents was Ahimsa and Maitri. (Non-violence and Universal Love).

Mahatma Gandhi's teaching is to correct the opponent by your own merit, to answer violence by non-violence and his hate by your love. It requires great Self-Control to apply these principles.

Greed is the cause of wars. It is therefore necessary to root out this evil of greed at its very start by developing Self-Denial and Self-Control.

Let us all practise Self-Denial, Self-Control and Self-Realization with a view to creating a vibrant, vital Spiritual Dynamic competent to inspire the Nations to achieve the goal of World Peace and International Fellowship."

After the discussion that followed the Presidential speech, the following Resolution was passed :—

"This conference appeals to all nations to send periodical embassies to establish World Peace and International Fellowship."

We wholeheartedly endorse the idea, emanating from the Conference, of holding a World Peace Conference at New Delhi in 1943. Circumstances are far from being favourable. But we know that it is in the age of destruction that a majority of men and women think of constructive peace. The Maha Bodhi Society has already decided to invite a World Peace Conference on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary in 1941. So the Ramakrishna Vivekananda Mission is thinking of convening in 1943 another Parliament of Religion in commemoration of the Fiftieth Jubilee of the memorable address of Swami Vivekananda in Chicago (1893). We appeal to all lovers of peace, therefore, to co-operate with India enabling her to apply effectively the technique of Peace and Brotherhood so as to save mankind from the ravaging disease of recurring war.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON THE ESSENTIALS OF A STABLE PEACE

President Roosevelt at a press conference gave a list of five essentials which, he said, must be realised before permanent peace can result.

Firstly, freedom from fear so that people will not be afraid of being bombed from the air or attacked by another nation. This would require disarmament.

Secondly, freedom of information. President Roosevelt said that this was important because the whole country must be able to get news of what was going on in every part of the country and the world. He said that there could be no stable world unless there was freedom of every means of distribution of information.

Thirdly, freedom of religion. President Roosevelt observed that this was maintained fairly well under the democracies, but not in countries under other systems of Government.

Fourthly, freedom of expression. President Roosevelt declared that every person should be free to voice his opinion so long as he does not advocate the overthrow of his Government.

Fifthly, freedom from want. President Roosevelt said that this must be accomplished by the removal of cultural and commercial barriers between nations.

President Roosevelt said that an outline of these objectives raised the question whether the United States was going to seek the five "freedoms" or encourage by lack of opposition those nations which had removed them in order to achieve somewhat more efficient government.

He frankly admitted that what he termed Corporate State or Government as maintained in Italy, Germany and Russia was more efficient than a democracy. Delays were inherent in the American system, he said, because of its system of checks and balances in legislative, executive and juridical branches.

The President revealed the reason behind his remarks when he said that he was sorry to say that a large number of Americans were willing, because of the greater efficiency of Corporate States, to adopt that form of Government. He pointed out, however, that this part of the population was not large in relation to the entire population though it represented a good many.—Reuter, July, 5.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In spite of the complete dislocation in the Overseas mail delivery we are thankful to receive now and then valuable books and periodicals enabling us to form some idea of the world crisis. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, are sending us their publications with admirable regularity and, under most trying conditions, several other individuals and organisations are sending us their reports, bulletins, etc. We beg to express our gratitude to them hoping as ever that the curse of War will soon be lifted and that Humanity will breathe again the atmosphere of Peace and Freedom.

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IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON EDUCATION

By H. I. M. Emperor Meiji

"Know ye, Our Subjects !

Our Imperial Ancestors have found our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue ; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters ; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true ; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation ; extend your benevolence to all ; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your moral powers ; furthermore, advance your public good and promote common interests ; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws ; should any emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State ; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne, coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and subjects, infallible through all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

30th October, 1890.

EDUCATION AND ITS PLACE IN THE PROGRAMME FOR PEACE

By **Count Hirotaro Hayashi**, D. Litt.,

Member of the House of Peers, Tokyo

Individuality itself is nothing but an abstract conception. The number twenty cannot be thought of apart from nineteen or twenty one. We consider both family and State as a community. We think of father only in relation to mother, as we think of right and left. Under normal conditions everyone is born and brought up in a family, where of necessity his education begins. The parental education accumulates, at the same time children grow more self-conscious and their individualities become increasingly concrete and vivid. Only under these reciprocal inter-relations will peace be kept in the family.

The same inference can be made about the reciprocal relations between a State and the nation. The nation exists in the strong environment of the State. In course of time it accumulates its own history; this historical development means the progress of the national ideal. A State without an ideal may be likened to a ship without a compass or rudder, unable to pursue a forward course. National education assists the people to realize an ideal of the State and to teach them to participate in the task of raising the level of the present national civilization in which they are living. The State moulds the nation; State and nation reciprocally influence and educate each other. Still, the ideal of the State is always in advance of the nation. Only on this aspect of co-operation can peace be glimpsed.

Perhaps millions of years elapsed before the present civilization was reached. Flourishing and dark ages have preceded and followed each other. Shakespeare, Newton and Darwin were born when England was flourishing. In the dark ages of the 11th and 12th centuries, Europe had no national education; the education of that age was under the direction of the Church, which pursued the ideal of Greek and Roman culture, having no connection with national needs. However, though it was a chaotic age, the people may have had peaceful lives, through a *dead* peace

and without cultural significance. What we mean by peace today is in quite a different category. We need a civilized peace which is, at the same time, living and developing.

A community as such is very different from a temporary group, as for instance, a social assemblage or business company. The latter may be established by mutual agreements of the members or at any time dissolved, also with their consent. A family, however, is a unit divided, into members which cannot be separated at their will, being a natural, immutable organic whole. The same can also be said of a State which is working out its long historical development; its natural relation with the nation is strong and unbreakable. Only under these conditions can peace be attained.

In the beginning, individuality is chaotic and abstract, but as the community develops it becomes gradually more concrete, intelligent and distinct. As long as the community has a close mutual connection with its members in a moral sense, a peaceful existence can be expected.

In ancient times certain groups of families such as clans or tribes, led very peaceful lives in their own groups and often the natural order of existence was harmonious. But as history shows, there was always fighting and strife between these clans or tribes. Even at the present time the aborigines in Formosa, Australia, the Philippines and in other parts of the globe are constantly at war with each other. And we also have the present-day phenomena of armed peace!

Communities are growing and developing towards their goal—their administrations tend to keep internal peace. We are obliged to keep harmony within our States, but externally the nations are always competing with one another. If the balance of power is not sustained, war may break out at any time. How does this occur?

Men as individuals have many instincts or original tendencies which are innate, such as less seeking food, anger and fear as protective instincts, fighting, imitation, acquisition and possession (also stealing) and the social instincts such as gregariousness, mastery and submission, and others too numerous to mention.

The survival of the fittest, race-preservation and the struggle for existence are inevitable laws of the animal kingdom, and it is quite natural to see that ego-centric acts prevail in the primitive stages of culture. Even nowadays our lives are still dominated by these fundamental instincts. The philosophy of Hobbes (1588-1679) was one of naturalism. In a

selection entitled "State of Nature" found in his well-known work "Leviathan", he says that "men lived in a state of universal war" in primitive times. Human life was utterly isolated, beast-like and bigoted. Men are all born in equality and everyone has equal liberty (*jus naturale*). In order to avoid struggle, a law of nature (*lex naturalis*) appeared in society. The principle of this law of nature is to prohibit actions, injurious to natural existence. The spirit of the law is to seek for the way of peace.

John Locke (1632-1704) has just the opposite opinion; he maintains that men in their primitive natural existence lived not in a state of universal war, but peacefully, according to a law of nature. Both of these points of view are rather eccentric. In a land where plenty of food can be obtained, there lives should be easy, and under these favourable circumstances war is not necessary for the preservation of life. Where the land is restricted and over-populated, the struggle for existence will naturally take place. Almost the same thing is happening in the world today. Some years after the Great War, everyone hated war. But once more we are feeling the same menace.

The egoistic instinct is very strong and tends to express itself, if it has a good opportunity. The individual must adapt himself to his environment for his existence and almost the same thing applies to the State. A State desires to survive and it is quite natural for it to endeavour to keep the strongest, fittest type of existence.

Still a growing State becomes more and more organic and gradually more civilized and enlightened. An organic whole is the goal of the State and nations grow towards a closer mutual connection. On the other hand, a declining State tends to decompose and its organic unity becomes more easily destroyed. In flourishing times peace can promote the level of national morality. If patriotism develop in a normal way, we can transmute this sympathetic feeling into international philanthropism.

As long as the egoistic instincts prevail, the individual is egoistic and self-seeking, and it is then natural that a State composed of such inhabitants has grasping and self-seeking tendencies. While States exist in this world with different interests, they will probably come into collision with each other. Consequently, we see that the problem of international peace depends on the promotion of individuality developed by sound national education. Education must start in the family; then through national education a sound, moderate patriotic feeling should be cherished. We can transfer this sympathetic feeling to the broader field of philanthropism.

Herbert Spencer (born 1820) dreamed of a Utopia. He thought that if civilization progressed, the interests of the people would gradually coincide with each other and then in the highest stage, an absolute peace could be reached—in other words, a state of equilibrium. We cannot agree with him. Most of the instincts of mankind are self-seeking and self-preserving. Therefore, when our moral sense develops, the opposing ego-centric forces come into collision with it. Shall we crush down these egoistic instincts before we lead children to a higher grade of morality? No! The inborn human energies are precious. We must preserve the psychic forces in their entirety. The whole secret is to change or transmute the direction to higher and nobler tendencies. How is it possible? For instance, the fighting instinct can be transmuted to a more abstract moral struggle. In the school, for instance, it can be changed to emulation, the desire to secure a prize or attain a higher standing in examinations or sports. In such a way we should promote the egoistic motives to loftier ones and so by dialectic means we shall elevate these forces to the level of better qualities. As long as we keep our natural faculties and do not allow them to escape, we can utilize them.

From the above we can come to our conclusion. We do not aim at the goal of eternal peace, such as the Utopia of Spencer. Absolute tranquility is just like the stagnant waters of a pool—it is simply a dead peace. Because we work during the day, we can better enjoy ourselves in the evening. When we grow accustomed to day after day of pleasure, it ceases to please and becomes a great weariness and torment. As long as we are competing, we are developing our culture. No rivalry, no progress! The same thing can also be said of international relations. So will world civilization progress. *Absolute* peace will never come. We need an active, unfolding living peace.

We start with family education. National education leads its pupils to participate in the task of promoting their national culture to a higher level. Patriotic education should not be too one-sided and exclusive, for then it is likely to grow into narrow fanaticism and Chauvinism. Even a strong State cannot survive alone—"give and take" must be the golden rule. National culture cannot reach the stage of world culture without inter-communication.

Besides the egoistic instincts there are social instincts in the better sense. Of course, the former are the stronger of the two; therefore, the sympathetic altruistic tendencies must be guided and encouraged from childhood. "Making character" means principally the fostering of good habits. Usually children dislike snakes but if we teach them that these

creatures are most useful to the farmer because they are very clever in catching field mice and other vermin, then gradually an altruistic feeling in the child is fostered. Also sports and games in schools are very important to cultivate and engender this feeling of sympathy and fair play.

Sportsmanship embraces many of these altruistic traits. From every point of view national education should endeavour to suggest to its pupils that they must contribute something to world civilization through such channels as science, education, industry, trade, etc. Besides this national education, religious teaching will be of great help in causing the growth of sympathetic motives.

International relations have as their objects the formation of an organic whole, but such a realization is in the distant future. The first thing to avoid is war. Such temporary formal means as the International Congress of Disarmament and The League of Nations, etc., are of course important things but the fundamental work lies in the education of the individual. We should not look for the effect only, we must investigate the true cause. Education is slow, but we can steadfastly plant it in the minds of the coming generations. We agree with Professor Wundt that higher motives conquer the lower ones in the moral field and to so endeavour is worth while. By means of education we hope the time will soon come to abolish war.

By courtesy of the World Conference Committee of the Japanese Education Association, Tokyo, Japan.

Özutsu no Hibiki taete Yomo no umi
Yorokobi no koe Itsu ka kikoën.

O, when will the boom of guns
Have an end,
And shouts of jubilation everywhere
From the four seas ascend ?

Emperor Meiji.

EDITORIAL

The year 1940 is famous in Japanese history marking, as it does, the 50th anniversary of two memorable events in the life of the Japanese nation : On the 11th of February, 1889, Emperor Meiji set his sign-manual to the Preamble of the famous Japanese Constitution which came to function from the 29th November, 1890 with the opening of Japan's first Parliament. Commentaries to that Constitution were written by no less a person than Prince Hirobumi Ito who was one of the real makers of modern Japan. The ship of the Constitution had to weather many storms; the first Sino-Japanese War, the fateful Russo-Japanese War (costing Russia alone £ 187,000,000), the World War of 1914, the Manchurian incident of 1931-32 and the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937, each coming to test the Constitution. It may appear to have survived the shocks at this year of its 50th Jubilee and the Japanese people are looking ahead of these abnormal days of War and destruction towards a New Order in eastern Asia through Sino-Japanese collaboration. That would be the acid test of the constitutional stability of Japan and the pointer to her political sagacity as a great nation of New Asia, harmonizing her claims with those of her sister nations.

The benign Emperor Meiji will also be remembered thankfully this year for the famous Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyoiku Chokugo) issued on the 30th of October, 1890. Through it the Emperor attempted to impart the teaching bequeathed by his Imperial Ancestors to be observed alike by their descendants and subjects. It breathed a rare spirit of Asokan Buddhism when it ordained : "Bear yourselves in modesty and moderation ; extend your benevolence to all." Along with this prophetic voice of antiquity we listen to the remarkable modern note in Emperor Meiji's admonitions : "Pursue learning and cultivate arts and thereby develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your moral powers ; furthermore, advance your public good and promote common interest ; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws ; should any emergency arise offer yourselves courageously to the State and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial throne, coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good faithful subjects but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers."

Emperor Meiji was a real Father to his people and, as we know, he was also a real poet. Like a father he addressed his people : "Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters ; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true," almost echoing the words of Emperor Asoka. To be blessed with such a message and by such a ruler is as much a privilege as a responsibility and the Japanese people are realizing it specially this year in which, by a striking coincidence, fall the 26th Centennial of the Japanese Empire and the 50th Jubilee of two of the noblest events of its political and cultural life. As early as February, 1889 Emperor Meiji in his Preamble to the Constitution referred in unmistakable terms to his desire "to promote the welfare of and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our Ancestors." We hope these expectations will be fulfilled as we offer our congratulations to the nation on these happy commemorations.

Hisakata no Sora wa hedatemo Nakarikeri
Tsuchi naru kuni wa Sakai aredomo.

The wide blue sky no barriers has,
Nor any bound,
Although on earth the countries all
Make frontiers to divide the ground.

Emperor Meiji.

CULTURE AND LIFE OF THE JAPANESE NATION

By **Hasegawa-Nyozekan**, Tokyo.

I. Culture in Actual Life

That every nation has a specific culture of its own can hardly be gainsaid. Yet, there are nations sharing a common cultural tradition on account of their common cultural origin. Naturally these present a striking cultural resemblance among them. The nations of present-day Europe constitute the best example of this. Sharing as they do the same Greco-Roman origin for their respective cultures, they cannot but trace all the outstanding characteristics of these to that common source, irrespective of such secondary cultural traits as the Latin or Teuton, Continental or Insular. The case of Japan, however, stands by itself. Historically, it is true, the culture of Japan is a part and parcel of the culture of the Oriental continent, so much so that the present-day Japanese culture would not have been what it is but for its strong connections with the sources of continental culture.

Still, Japan assimilated the continental culture, after it was introduced here, to such an extent that it would hardly any more resemble its continental counterpart. Moreover, Japan had already an indigenous culture of her own, which had no need to look to the continent for its origin. Both these cultures, the indigenous and the continental, were developed side by side on the Japanese soil, equally freely and without external constraint.

The success of the Japanese nation in this respect can be attributed to the persistent working of a fundamental principle which does not permit of estrangement between culture and actual life, and to which also goes the credit for the creation, modification and development of the Japanese culture. Consequently, culture in Japan, although flowing from the upper strata of society to the lower, has invariably been based on the common sentiment and consciousness of the entire nation, whereas in China or the European countries, it has been the exclusive property of the upper classes only. In other words, culture to the Japanese means the perfection and advancement of a man's mind and character with a

full accord between the external form of conduct and its internal motive. This is attainable only when culture is rooted in the actual life of the people. To whatever high degree of refinement, therefore, a specific culture may have attained, the Japanese find it hard to regard it essential, if it transcends the actual life, or is estranged from it, as were the cultures of India, China and ancient Europe.

The Japanese culture, however, as mentioned before, has ever been rooted in the actual life of the people, particularly in the common consciousness of the whole nation. And the chief credit for this goes to the fact that, over a long period—since pre-historic ages right up to the introduction of the Chinese ideographs—spoken language instead of written documents was the repository of culture in Japan. Owing to the ease and universality associated with the spoken language, the Japanese culture, under whatever form it assumed according to the age, (there have been various forms such as the culture of the nobles, the culture of the samurai, or the culture of the merchant class), could never be estranged from the actual life of the nation at large, being firmly rooted as it was in the common consciousness of the whole nation. Then there were also forms of foreign cultures which refused to be acclimatized, and which were exclusively patronized by certain particular sections of the Japanese society. These had of course their moorings, not in the common sentiment and common consciousness of the Japanese nation, but in foreign climates and foreign soils. As such these were never identified with the Japanese national culture, and were known as “cultures from abroad.”

II. Culture in Spoken Language

Before the importation of the Chinese script, Japan had highly developed an art, that of oral narration, through which knowledge of history, literature, etc., was transmitted from mouth to mouth among the people. At the Imperial Court there were the *Kataribe*, official narrators, who did the oral narration, in a common family the house mistress usually did it, which tradition maintained itself until quite recently. This tradition of ancient days attained to the height of national literature during the Heian period, which produced an unfailingly fine specimen in the form of the wellknown *Genji-Monogatari*. Later in the feudal period of the middle ages the *Heike-Monogatari*, *Taiheiki*, etc., evinced a tendency to combine the Chinese literary style but without giving up the original emphasis to keep to the native oral style. As a result they were written

so that their contents could be sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments even by the blind who made this their profession as street singers. The style known as "*Shichi-go-cho*" (7-5 syllabic metres) also was evolved during the same age, and under the same circumstances. In this way the contents of the national literature acquired a tradition among the common people.

Thus knowledge of history and literature was diffused among the Japanese people through the medium of oral narration. But later, with the introduction of Chinese ideographs, records came to be kept of these by some upper class people who used the ideographs by way of mere phonetic script to express the orally established ancient language. However, these documents became oblivious with the permeation of the Chinese literature among the upper classes, with the result that very few could tell the original phonetic pronunciation of the early ideographs. Therefore, at the time of compilation of the *Kojiki*, the oldest record of events in Japanese history, the Imperial Court had to invite a lower-class female court official, who was well-versed in the histories orally transmitted among the noble families, and make her learn to read the historical documents already transcribed with the help of Chinese ideographs, according to their originally intended pronunciation, after which the actual work on the compilation of the book was said to be undertaken. Again, very few could read the original text of the *Manyōshū* or the *Genji-Monogatari*, and yet, thanks to the highly developed art of oral narration, even the lower classes of people were well acquainted with their verses and contents. This art of oral narration, or broadly speaking, culture in the spoken language, which had flourished in Japan since pre-historic ages, was not only a medium through which a culture of a high order could be transmitted to the lowest classes, but it also served as a means to unify the whole nation integrating its mode of life in both political and economic fields, which in turn contributed to the creation and development of a homogeneous national culture.

III. Four Culture Traits

Four specific traits characterize the Japanese culture. They are : 1. To simplify what is complicated and subtle ; 2. To change the unnatural into natural ; 3. To transform the quantitative into the qualitative and 4. To change the abstract into the concrete. These can be better illustrated by reviewing the process of importation of Chinese culture into Japan and how she subjected it to a further process of adaptation and modification.

(1) The first Chinese paintings that came to Japan were characterised by their gaudiness of colour and subtlety of lines. But these were later developed into the *Yamatoye* paintings, which are noted for their lightness of colour and simplicity of lines, which lent them a touch of delicacy and warmth. This was essentially due to the first trait of the Japanese culture, i. e. the tendency to simplify what is complicated, or to replace subtlety with purity.

(2) According to the Western concept, culture must be the antithesis of nature; and the more it inclines to transcend nature, the higher is its order. China also shares this tendency of the West, although the Chinese masses have a culture of their own which may be said to be compatible with nature. For instance, the tea ceremony, which best symbolizes the Japanese culture, was regarded in China as an elaborate ritual practised only among the nobles and persons of high dignity, in the gorgeous halls of lordly mansions and temples, but which on coming to Japan in the Ashikaga period (1336—1573) at once underwent a change in every respect, and the highly complicated ceremonial of the Chinese tea ceremony became pleasingly artistic in Japan. It no more remained confined to a select few as in China, but became a practice among all classes of the nation. Even the gorgeous mansions and temples were dispensed with in favour of plain and utterly simplified tea ceremony houses. These houses, again, were usually surrounded by a beautiful garden as if an extension of the external nature, while inside the garden itself was projected into the simplest form of flower arrangement, displayed on the *tokonoma* or alcove, to the accompaniment of a scroll of painting or calligraphy on the wall, fittingly in accord with the prevailing season. Accordingly, this could not but enable the host and the guests to enter into perfect harmony with the surrounding nature. However, this is not to justify the wholesale incorporation of culture in nature or *vice versa*. This only means to assert that the Way of Culture and the Way of Nature are nothing but harmoniously one, and that out of this harmony, the true universal life comes to circulate and function, in the simplest but most refined manner.

Ikebana, Japanese flower arrangement, also illustrates the same truth. The view that the true beauty of *Ikebana* lies in its technique is not correct. It lies in the master's skill in bringing the Way of Flower perfectly to accord with the Way of Nature, of which he is supposed to have made an exhaustive study.

This trait of Japanese culture, i. e. to assert the oneness of culture and nature, has an important bearing upon the socialization of culture in

Japan. *Ikebana* which, like the tea ceremony, was a study associated with complicated ceremonial intricacies in China, to be appreciated only by the few, came to this country only to become natural and practised by all classes of the nation, finally becoming an integral part of Japan's national culture. Again, it was owing to this trait that culture of a high order like the *Genji-Monogatari* or *Manyōshū*, tea ceremony or *Ikebana*, has been completely socialized so as to appeal even to the keen sense of modern people. In this sense the terms, culturalization, naturalization, socialization, nationalization or humanization are synonymous to the Japanese. And this is due to the fact that in Japan culture is inseparable from the practical life of the people.

Accordingly, as culture in Japan flowed from the upper classes to the lower, so also at times it radiated from the lower classes to the higher. In ancient times it was the court nobles from whom the national culture started to permeate the whole nation including even the lowest classes, but since the beginning of the middle ages it took an upward turn, from the lower to reach the aristocracy. For example, the composition of *renga*, "link-poem", in ancient days, was a pastime exclusively for the court nobles. At the beginning of the middle ages members of the merchant class grasped only the upper portion of the *renga*, and turned it into that exquisite poetic form known as *haiku*, the five-seven-five syllabic metres, which later on came to be composed by all classes, including the samurai and court nobles, and even made its entry at the Imperial Court where Emperor Gomino (1596-1680) is recorded to have composed some perfect ones.

(3) An important trait of Japanese culture is its emphasis on the qualitative rather than the quantitative. The Chinese, Indian, Egyptian and modern European or American cultures tend, as they develop, to be dominated by the quantitative. But the Japanese culture, like the ancient Greek, inclines to the refinement of the qualitative even at the cost of the quantitative.

Chinese architecture has a grandeur of its own, but their handling of its material lacks a certain refinement. On coming to Japan the architecture of China lost some of its grandeur, but it developed fresh artistic values and attained to high degree of refinement, as can be proved from the delicate lines of the Horyūji Temple. This trait of Japanese culture, viz. to prefer the qualitative to the quantitative, should be regarded as a fundamental characteristic of the whole Japanese nation.

(4) Another trait of Japanese culture is to change the abstract into the concrete. With the advent of Confucianism the Confucian

Analects also came to this country and were very much appreciated. The reason is to be associated with the fact that, instead of dealing with conceptual or abstract theories, they dealt with morals and ethics as revealed through conduct. In China itself the original Confucianism lost its hold on the actual life of the people during the Sung dynasty, and became more and more abstract, ultimately transformed into a scholastic philosophy. But in Japan the Analects not only retained their practical hold on the life of the nation, but also contributed, together with the learning of the Sung period which came to Japan with the Zen sect during the Kamakura period, to the formation of a practical code for the samurai class. Thus they were shorn of all their scholasticism.

The same may be said regarding Japanese religion. When Buddhism came to Japan about the end of the 6th century, it was a monopoly of the upper class, and naturally very scholastic, which it remained until the end of the Heian period. But so far as it continued to develop along scholastic lines, it could not become the religion of the common people. Only when religious geniuses like Honen Shinran, Nichiren, etc., arose during the Kamakura period, and purified Buddhism of its superfluous scholasticism, restoring it to its pristine glory, so intuitively appreciable, could Buddhism truly become the religion of the common people.

Thus, whatever culture might come from foreign lands, it had to be modified and refashioned into the genuine Japanese culture under the influence of these characteristic traits, before it could permeate all the higher and lower classes of the nation.

The nation-wide diffusion of culture in Japan seems to be primarily due to the homogeneity of the Japanese language since pre-historic days, as mentioned above. But it is also due to the simplicity of the *kana*-writing. While the development of the Sanskrit and Roman alphabets extends over a long period, the *kana*-writing is said to have been invented and developed by Kobo Daishi and a few others during a short period, with Sanskrit pronunciation for its model, transforming Chinese ideographs into the 48 phonetic alphabets. Accordingly, the tenth century saw literature in Japan in *kana* characters, the *Genji-Monogatari* being entirely written in that script. Thus, owing to the uniformity of language and the simplicity of script, culture could be diffused in all classes of this country. Kobo-Daishi's invention of the *kana* writing, and his great culture activities as a religious leader as well as a mass educator, bear evidence to the fact that Japanese cultural leaders did not allow foreign cultures promiscuously to infiltrate the land, but took great pains to

adapt and modify them to suit the national and social aptitudes of the Japanese people in their concrete life.

IV. Culture in Self-Restraint

The consummation of a process of necessary acclimatization of foreign cultures and the development of a native culture have been due to an important trait of the Japanese mind prompting them to restrain the impulsive side of their nature in order to sublimate it to the ideal form. On this point the culture of Japan differs from that of China, Egypt or the West, the development of which has been dependent primarily upon the unrestricted play of instincts and impulses. Accordingly, the Japanese may excel in the use of technique, but it would be out of place to expect them to produce some gigantic work comparable to the Pyramids of Egypt, the Great Wall of China or the American sky-scrapers. Instead, one may quite naturally expect the Japanese to turn out exquisite forms of art, such as are found in the purely Japanese architecture like the Shinto shrines, Japanese paintings, swords, etc., in which one may note the transformation of quantity into quality, through the subjection of natural instincts and impulses to the achievement of the ideal form.

The trait of self-restraint in the Japanese culture is best manifested in the rules associated with the tea ceremony, which became popular among the samurai and merchant classes from the Ashikaga period. The Japanese tea ceremony is not a mere hobby of a personal character through the exercise of self-restraint. For this reason the samurai class who encouraged tea ceremony regarded its practice equally indispensable with that of the martial arts. In a tea ceremony house a samurai had to treat the members of the merchant class as socially his equals, although outside the social disparity between them was appalling, the samurai being so far superior to the merchant. The rules of tea ceremony, moreover, forbade a samurai to carry arms inside the tea ceremony room. That a samurai who regarded the sword as his very soul and would, therefore, not part with it on any account, should leave it outside before entering the room and participate with members of the merchant class, otherwise socially inferior to him, in performing the tea ceremony, speaks eloquently for the stress placed on the cultivation of self-restraint in Japanese culture.

The system of national education in Japan, incidentally, is fundamentally rooted in this stress upon the cultivation of self-restraint. On

the one hand, self-restraint has given rise in the Japanese mentality to such traits as conventionalism, mediocrity or reservedness. But on the other hand it is to this very self-restraint that the characteristic Japanese sense of loyalty, obedience to authority or social decorum owe their origin. Consequently, cultural refinement in Japan means the consummation of mind and character through self-restraint over natural instincts and impulses.

V. Compatibility of Motive and Form

The Japanese culture aims at the compatibility of the motive and its external form, and emphasis upon the one at the expense of the other is regarded as inconsistent with its spirit. It conforms neither to the principle of "Art for art's sake", nor to that of "Righteousness for righteousness' sake." The expression of an ethical motive according to the rules of propriety is considered good ; manifestation of physical might through artistic form as strong. The lack of appropriate form is considered vulgar, and the absence of right inner motive as false. These two phases have ever been mutually sustaining, and the Japanese culture has been able to develop itself through their mutual sustenance. Thus, tea ceremony, *Ikebana*, the No play, etc., have been diffused among the people as so many means to cultivate the mind and these in their turn have been developed by highly cultivated minds.

In China, Confucianism also did not fail to lay emphasis on the compatibility of motive and its expression, as is evident from the importance given to *Li* (decorum), but there it remained confined only to the higher classes of society, leaving the masses quite untouched. In Japan however, Confucianism obtained a stronghold mainly because it was allowed to permeate all classes of the nation, who, accordingly to their characteristic trait of achieving compatibility of motive and form of conduct assimilated it into the native Japanese culture, to the development of which it has contributed quite considerably.

This compatibility was especially stressed in the education of the samurai, which included side by side with the vigorous training in the martial arts such subject as Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, tea ceremony, the No play, etc., for the cultivation of right mind and right form of conduct. Even the martial arts were not designed merely to develop the physique, but served also at the same time as a means for character

building. This fact is borne out as much by the artistic quality of the samurai's weapons as by the basic forms of the martial arts. These basic forms of martial arts have been awarded the same aesthetic value as a No play or a dance performance. The weapons themselves such as swords, armour, helmets, etc., were valued as much for their artistic value as for their sound utility. Thus, great care was taken, in the education of samurai, to produce a man of character, culture and enlightenment rather than a mere strong fighter. In this sense, the education of the samurai offers the best example to indicate the guiding principle of Japanese education at large.

VI. Inseparability of the Whole and Its Parts

If one is to be acquainted with the culture of Japan, let him seek it in the life of the Japanese nation itself. It is not confined to the field of fine arts, such as music, drama, painting, literature, etc. Nor is it the property of an exclusive group of *élites* : but it is there right in the midst of the common people.

Let him who will, attend the performance of *rakugo*, *kodan* or dramatic plays, all institutions for popular amusement, and there he will find that these are not merely forms of popular diversion, but so many social agencies for the education and character building of the people.

Every detail of Japanese life is calculated, so to speak, to carry some value for the cultivation of personality, and yet a detail is never praised for itself, its value being always determined in relation to the whole. This view of appreciating the details in their relation to the whole is one of the greatest characteristics of the Japanese culture. Taking for example a picture, which in the West is considered good once it is fitted into an appropriate frame and valued only from an aesthetic view point. In Japan, however, a picture is considered good only when it accords perfectly with the spirit of the garden around that room and even with the prevailing season, and the mood of the spectators and surroundings, besides its aesthetic value.

Consequently, this stress on the harmonization of the parts with the whole they comprise only proves that every form of culture has permeated the daily life of all classes of the nation. Further, that it has been retained by them and developed among them. And it is in this sense, therefore, that the Japanese culture can truly be called a national culture.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

By **Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. (Cal.) D.Litt. (Paris).**

Historical and Archaeological Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

"When I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long desired to visit, I found one evening, on inspecting the observations of the day, that India lay before us, and Persia on our left, whilst a breeze from Arabia blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking, how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved; and when I considered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that if in any country or community, such an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in Bengal, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted."

—SIR WILLIAM JONES

In October 1783 a distinguished English Scholar, Sir William Jones (1746-1794), landed in Calcutta to act as a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal. A worthy contemporary of Goethe, Rousseau and the French Encyclopædists Sir William brought an encyclopædic mind to bear upon the problem of intellectual co-operation between the East and the West. In sharp contrast to the pathetic pretension to omniscience about things Oriental displayed by our Western visitors of to-day, Sir William Jones showed an eagerness to learn and a

humility that a genius such as he alone is capable of. 'Within the short span of ten years from his landing in Calcutta, he laid the foundation of the new science of *Indology* ; and yet he ever sighed, with divine discontent, because of "the fluctuating, imperfect and limited erudition of life". Through his exertions a meeting was held on the 15th of January 1784, attended by the *elite* of the European community of Calcutta : Sir Robert Chambers, the Chief Justice, as Chairman, Henry Vansittart ; Sir John Shore ; Sir Charles Wilkins and others, who became the founders of the *Asiatick Society* and principal contributors to the pages of the Society's *Transactions*. On that occasion Sir William Jones had the honour of opening the proceedings with a learned "Discourse on the Institution of a Society for enquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia."

You will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature ; will correct the geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries ; will trace the annals and even traditions of those nations who, from time to time, have peopled or desolated it ; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions, civil and religious ; you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetic and geometry ; in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanics, optics, astronomy and general physics ; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic ; their skill in chirurgery and medicine ; and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade ; and whilst you enquire into their music, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior arts, by which comforts, and even elegances of social life are supplied or improved.

An *Encyclopædia Asiatica* of Asiatic Arts and Sciences has not yet been undertaken but if it should ever be attempted it should carry as its emblem the noble words quoted above from the prophetic inaugural address of Sir William Jones.

At the second meeting of the Society, Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General, was requested to accept the office of President which honour he promptly refused with shrewd observations, agreeing, however, to be the patron of the Society, yielding his "pretensions to the gentleman whose genius planned the Institution and is most capable of conducting it to the attainment of the great and splendid purposes of its formation". Thus Sir William Jones was elected the First President of the Society on the 5th of February, 1784, and held that office till his death on the 27th April, 1794.* That was a decade of unique achievements followed by

*Sir William Jones—(1746-1794), d. 1794, April 27. Buried in the "whitewashed pyramid" in the old South Park Street Cemetery. It bears the following noble epitaph written by himself : "Here was deposited the mortal part of a man who feared God, but not death, who thought none below him but the base and the unjust, none above him but the wise and virtuous."

the development of a truly international study,—that of Indo-European linguistics and antiquities. Three centuries ago Vasco da Gama discovered the new geographical route to India and, on the celebration of the tricentenary as it were of that great discovery, the cultural route to the soul of India and the Orient was discovered by Sir William Jones and his learned colleagues.

The Sanskrit *Panchatantra* had already reached Europe through Pehlavi, Hebrew, Arabic, Latin and German translations. Two of the *Satakas of Bhartṛihari* had also been translated into the Dutch language by the Dutch missionary Abraham Roger who worked in Paliakatta (North of Madras) in 1630 and published a voluminous work : “Open door to the Hidden Paganism.” In the early eighteenth century there were literary forgeries and aberrations like the so-called “Ezour-Veda” ; but an intrepid explorer like the French Anquetil Duperron had already discovered *Avestan Texts*, which he started translating in 1772, and further published in 1805 a translation of the *Upanishads* from the Persian version of Prince Dara Shuko, the great grandson of Akbar. Sir Charles Wilkins (1750-1833) was the first Englishman to acquire proficiency in Sanskrit and to publish a grammar of that language in 1779 ; he completed a translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* and published it in 1785 under the patronage of Warren Hastings. Sir William Jones had illustrious predecessors and successors. His translation of the ordinances of *Munu*, of the *Gita Govinda* and above all of *Sakuntala* marked an epoch in the history of Oriental studies. The second President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was Sir John Shore, the real author of the Permanent Settlement. The next great scholar was H. T. Colebrooke (1765-1837) who by his many-sided genius enriched the science of Indology as a President of the Society, writing on Sanskrit grammar, Hindu law and philosophy, on the Vedas and on mathematical subjects, finally emerging as the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1823).

A new turn to the activities of the Society was given by its illustrious Secretary Dr. H. H. Wilson (1784-1860). He reached Calcutta in 1808 as a Medical Officer of the East India Company and served the Asiatic Society for over twenty years (1811-1833) as the Secretary. He became famous by his beautiful translation of the *Megha-duta* (1813) followed by his *Theatre of the Hindus* and his Sanskrit-English Dictionary. About a century ago (1833) he was offered the newly founded Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford and consequently left the Asiatic Society in the charge of another great antiquarian, James Prinsep (1799-1840), and his first time *Native Secretary*, Babu Ramkamal Sen, the grandfather of the

great reformer and orator, Keshab Chandra Sen. In January 1829 Dr. Wilson proposed the name of some native scholars who were elected members without opposition and within fifty years of the foundation of the Society, with the election of Dewan Ramkamal Sen, the principle came to be accepted that persons of all nations shall be eligible as members of the Society; and very soon, two eminent scholars, Sir Radhakant Deb Bahadur and Professor Bapudeva Sastri were elected Honorary members along with other distinguished European savants.

Starting its career in 1784 as the "Asiatick Society" it was offered in 1829 the privilege of being affiliated to the newly founded Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; and in that connection the name "Asiatick Society of Bengal" was first used, although the Society did not accept the change. When Mr. James Prinsep started the Journal in 1832 on his own account, he was not authorised either to use the title "Asiatick Society of Bengal," which came to be accepted only when the journal became the property of the Society in 1843.

That brings to our mind one of the most important services rendered by the Society through its publications which may be classified into: (1) Periodicals embodying the researches of the scholars; (2) original Hindu or Muhammadan texts; (3) translations of texts; and (4) separate research memoirs or monographs. Sir William Jones contemplated the publications of a volume every year entitled *Asiatick Miscellany* but, owing to unforeseen difficulties, regular publications of the Annual could not be guaranteed and the first volume appeared only in 1788 with the title *Asiatick Researches*.

In the very first volume we find papers by Charles Wilkins on the Mongyr Copperplate grant and on the Buddal Pillar with the remarks of Sir William Jones. There was also an account of the sculptures and ruins of the Pallava capital, *Mahavalipuram*, as well as translations of inscriptions on the Pillars of Firoz Shah, by Radhakant Sarman. Thus the scholars of the East and the West started the career of a most fruitful and friendly collaboration. Between 1788 to 1839 twenty volumes of *Asiatick Researches* were published and the popularity of some of the earlier volumes was so great that a "Pirated Edition" was published in England in 1798, and the demand for the volume from the Continent being very urgent a French translation with the necessary corrections was published in two volumes under the title of *Recherches Asiaticques* (Paris, 1805). The French editor characterised the volume as "*La plus riche collection de faits qui existe sur l'Inde, ce pays qui attire les premiers regards de ceux qui veulent étudier l'histoire des hommes.*"

That shows the great enthusiasm about things Indian prevailing in Paris at that epoch, and we remember that Mr. Alexander Hamilton, an English officer from India and a Sanskritist, was detained as a prisoner of war and was giving lessons in Sanskrit to cultured circles in Paris amongst whom we find the remarkable German writer F. Schlegel. The French people have always been deeply interested in the Orient; Anquetil Duperron published his translation of the *Upanishads* of Dara Sheko in 1805 and ten years after, in 1815, the first Chairs for Sanskrit and Chinese languages were established in the Collège de France. Chézy was the first incumbent of the Chair of Sanskrit to whom Goethe, shortly before his death, communicated his prose rhapsody on *Sakuntala*. It was in Paris again that Bopp studied Sanskrit (1828) just as Max Müller did (1843) under Burnouf, completing the magic circle of Indo-European studies, starting from Calcutta with Sir William Jones, passing through Paris and Berlin back to Oxford where Dr. Wilson was welcomed as the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit in 1833 and where Max Müller would complete his monumental edition of the *Rig Veda Samhita*.

From 1829 Captain Herbert was publishing a Monthly under the name of *Gleanings of Science*, in his individual capacity, for the Society lost all its little savings by the failure in 1828 of Messrs. Palmer & Co., who were its agents. The King of Oudh made a munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 which was deposited with Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., but they in their turn failed in 1833, depriving the Society of its entire cash balance! Luckily in 1834 an old member of the Society, Mr. Bruce, left a bequest of £2,000 to the Society which was invested in Government Securities to which was added, in 1875, a big sum received as compensation from the Government in lieu of claims the Society had for accommodation in the Indian Museum Buildings.

On the retirement of Dr. Wilson (1833), Mr. James Prinsep came to pilot the Society during its most difficult days. He came to India at the age of twenty as the assistant Assay-Master at the Calcutta Mint under Dr. Wilson, and after serving a few years in Benares returned to Calcutta in 1830. In March, 1832, he changed the *Gleanings of Science* into the monthly *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. In that journal he was on the one hand publishing scientific papers on the Transit of Mercury, on the expansion of Gold, Silver and Copper, and on a compensation barometer invented by him. On the other hand he was not only publishing valuable papers on Indology but soon gained immortality by deciphering the *Asokan Inscriptions* of the third century B. C. A new generation of workers came to co-operate with Mr. Prinsep to open

new fields of Asiatic research : Dr. Buchanan writing on the statistical survey of Dinajpur, Mr. B. H. Hodgson communicating valuable papers on Nepal and on the hill tribes of the Himalayas and of the Burmese jungles, and lastly the great Hungarian explorer and linguist Mr. Csoma de Kőrös who was supported with an allowance of fifty rupees per month from 1830 to 1843 for the publication of his Tibetan Grammar and Dictionary. From this time the Society began to collect Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts (xylographs) of which the former numbered 256 and the latter 350 volumes. Moreover, the miscellaneous collection of about 125 Burmese, Siamese, Javanese and Singalese manuscripts testify, if not to a constructive research programme for Asiatic Culture, at least to an attempt to prepare the ground for the same, with an intuitive appreciation of the value of the study of Indian antiquities with reference to the documents of GREATER INDIA and other cultural zones of the Orient. Every one must admire the Society's scheme of *Bibliotheca Asiatica*, *Bibliotheca Indica*, the collection of epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological documents with a view to build up a great Asiatic Museum, no less than the valuable researches in the domain of history, literature, palæography, art and archæology, as well as in the domain of mathematical, physical and natural science : astronomy, geology, zoology, botany, geography, ethnology etc. Those varied and learned contributions were classified and presented to us by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, by Dr. A. F. Hoernle and Baboo P. N. Bose, three distinguished savants of the East and the West, happily collaborating to produce a magnificent survey of the activities of the Society (1784-1883) as the best memento of its *first century*. This work was nobly carried further afield by great scholars of the next generation like MM. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, Prof. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan and others, continuing the glorious tradition.

The half a century just completed, from 1883-1933, shows, however, a record not so much of bold excursions into "fresh fields and pastures new," as of an ordered march along the path of conservation and stock-taking of things already explored. While the Society had the privilege of publishing the valuable archaeological reports and articles of General Alexander Cunningham, that work of recording and publishing the latest archaeological finds was taken up by the Central Government through a separate *Department of Archaeology*. So, while the Society published the earlier papers of Mr. George A. Grierson on *Maithili* and early *Bengali* texts, his main contributions came to be published in the *Linguistic Survey of India*.

The Society was offered in the early nineteenth century, a few original stones from Java and even a few Javanese manuscripts, but its interest did not grow that way and it was left far behind in *Indonesian studies* by the Dutch savants who had the honour of starting (April, 1778) the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, another Oriental Society in Batavia, a few years earlier than the Society in Bengal. The Dutch scholars opened a new chapter of Asiatic history through the publications of the Batavian Society and of the Royal Institute of The Hague, of the great Dutch pioneers like Kern Brandes, Krom, Juynboll, Vogel, Bosch and others.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal had the privilege of aiding the publication of *Dictionarium Annamettico-Latinum* by A. G. L. Tabara and to collect also a few Siamese manuscripts; but it could not push farther afield, into the *Indo-Chinese* peninsula, the researches of one of its brilliant members Mr. B. H. Hodgson. So the *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, founded in 1900, opened a new chapter in the study of ancient Hindu Colonial culture of Champa and Cambodge and in the history of Asiatic antiquities in general under eminent French savants like MM. Finot, Coedès, Huber, Peri, Cabaton Parmentier and others. The wonderfully comprehensive collection of manuscripts, documents, printed books etc., in the famous collection of Hanoi (French Indo-China) is a veritable epitome of Asiatic culture which few universities of India or any other Asiatic country except Japan can rival.

Lastly, to the credit of the Japanese people it must be said that they have explored thoroughly Asia and her problems from a practical point of view. Thanks to Buddhism connecting India, China, Japan and the Far East, and thanks to the exemplary devotion of great Japanese scholars like Count Otani, Prof. Nanjio, Dr. Takakusu, Prof. Anesaki and others, there are regular lectures on Sanskrit, Pali and Indian history and culture in about a dozen universities of Japan. Moreover, there have developed great collections of books and manuscripts on Buddhism in particular and Indology in general, under the auspices of the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto. India owes an immense debt of gratitude to the Japanese Buddhists, for the publications of the monumental *Taisho* edition of the *Tripitaka*. It is a veritable encyclopædia of Buddhology and Asiatic Culture, comprising 2633 books bound in 55 thick volumes, all collected, edited and financed by our Japanese friends. It has reproduced not only the principal ancient Chinese editions of the *Sung* and *Yuan* dynasties but has incorporated over 700 new texts and commentaries found in course of the exploration of Central Asia, the Tun-Huang and Tempyo collections as well as those of the temple libraries of Japan.

Students of anthropology will feel indebted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for its valuable contribution to the science. The importance of collecting data on the habits and customs of the people was appreciated by the members of the Society as we find from their publication of many interesting articles and papers in the Journal and in the Memoirs of the Society. As early as 1871 Dalton published his researches under the title of *The Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. The Society formed the first nucleus of an ethnographical museum transferred later on to the Indian Museum and, as the result of the lead given by the Asiatic Society, interest in anthropology developed in other parts of India and the Anthropological Society of Bombay was founded in 1886. In 1891 Risley published his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*; in 1901 he was made the Commissioner of the Census of India and in 1905 Risley was appointed the Director of the Ethnographic Survey of India and the various provincial governments began to publish reports and monographs on the tribes and castes living within their jurisdictions, on the lines indicated by Risley. The Society published, among other things, *The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs* by J. Hornell; *Studies in Santal Medicine and connected Folklore* by P. O. Boddington and various papers on the tribes of Assam by eminent anthropologists like J. H. Hutton and J. P. Mills (*Vide*: Dr. B. S. Guha: *Progress of Science in India during the past twentyfive years*: Anthropology, pp. 300—335.)

The services rendered by the Society to the cause of the preservation and publication of rare manuscripts are unique. Its collection of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic manuscripts (over 32,000) is famous throughout the world. For lack of funds only a few of them could be published in its Memoirs and in the Bibliotheca Indica, the latter started by the eminent Bengali savant Dr. Rajendralala Mitra. His mantle fell on his friend and junior colleague MM. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri (1853—1931). He served the cause of Indology for nearly half a century, publishing his notices of Sanskrit manuscripts (since 1890) and his Descriptive catalogue of manuscripts (since 1905), surveying 14, 686 manuscripts altogether.*

Thus in the second half of the second century of its existence we find the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal as a great National Institution of International renown and we may confidently hope that with adequate financial backing and intellectual co-operation, the Society will continue to thrive, following its glorious tradition of service to Truth and Humanity.

* *Vide*: MM. Haraprasad Sastri Memorial Volume, Edited by Dr. N. N. Iyer and Aryan Path, Bombay, October, 1933.

WORLD OF BOOKS

Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry –Ancient and Modern. Translated and annotated by Maruzuri Asataro in two volumes. Published by Maruzen Company Ltd., Tokyo.

The learned author of this valuable anthology has earned his reputation as an expert teacher and interpreter of English language and literature at Keio, Toyo, Chuo and Meiji universities of Japan. Among his important publications may be mentioned "Masterpieces of Chikamatsu, the Japanese Shakespeare" (Kegan Paul), "An Anthology of Haiku, Ancient and Modern" (Maruzen Co.). He visited the U. S. A., England, France and Switzerland on cultural mission (1911-15) and delivered a series of lectures (1930) on "Several important English words mistranslated in Japan."

In the anthology under review he has placed under obligation the entire English speaking world interested in Japanese literature. His introduction is almost a monograph by itself. Its first part is devoted to the analysis of the characteristics of Japanese poetry and the second part gives a brief history of Japanese poetry. Most of the 1,000 and odd lyrics belong to the *Tanka* variety (or short poems of 31 syllables) which has got a history of over 20 centuries, proving thereby that the historical background of Japan is fairly old although the Japanese are generally considered to be a mere "modern" nation. The method followed by the author is admirable: every poem is printed in the Japanese script followed by its romanised text and the author's English version accompanied by previous translations mostly by foreign writers like Aston, Satow, Waley and Chamberlain. Moreover, he gives wherever necessary a short yet very useful historical note to each poem, specially to help foreigners to enter into the spirit of the composition. Because of their phenomenal brevity the Chinese and the Japanese poems prove extremely difficult to be translated into western languages and, remembering that, we cannot help offering our warmest congratulations to the author on his signal success as a translator.

The book has an additional charm of a rare character. It contains coloured and monochrome reproductions of a large number of pictures and autographs of great Japanese painters and authors, ancient and

modern. They add considerably to the documentary no less than the aesthetic value of the book. Among the ancient painters we find great names like those of Tannyu, Sansetsu, Buson etc. and amongst the modern we find those of Taikwan and other artists of the Imperial Household and Mr. K. Kokei and others of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. The printing and general get up of the book deserve the highest praise.

Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations, Tokyo, in five volumes.

These beautifully printed volumes published by the World Conference Committee of the Japanese Education Association appeared to us as an encyclopaedic survey of recent educational tendencies. Its cosmopolitan character is guaranteed by the fact that, over and above a large number of Japanese educators, there were 869 delegates from 42 different countries of the World : U. S. A. sending the largest number 479, Canada 84, the Philippine Islands 62, Hawaii 56, India 50, Great Britain 23, Manchukuo 21, China 10, Ceylon 8, Germany 8, France 1, Siam 4, Turkey 2, Afghanistan 2, Iran 2, Egypt 1 and the rest from diverse countries. The enrolment and attendance did not follow, as we see, an even course. Owing to the unfortunate Sino-Japanese hostilities breaking out a little before the Conference (August, 1937), the number of the Chinese participants was very poor but several other Asiatic countries were represented, India leading with the figure 50. The veteran Japanese educationist Mr. M. Osima, the Secretary-General reported that there were "over 200,000 teachers in the empire of Japan who wanted to attend but could not", and also that the business people of Japan have contributed "400,000 Yen to defray the expenses." The President of the Tokyo Imperial University (where the conference meetings were held) wished that the Federation might continue "to contribute towards human welfare, cultural progress and international amity." Mr. H. Nagata, President of the Japanese Education Association observed : "the noblest work of mankind is to forward the progress of God's creation in accordance with His will.....This is a special privilege of the teacher." Dr. Paul Monroe, the general President, in course of an eloquent address remarked : "we want the teachers of various countries to become acquainted with each other. I believe in no other way can we develop international understanding."

The first volume of the Report gives the summary of general addresses, proceedings and index of delegates. The fourth and the fifth volumes give

summaries of the papers and addresses of the Japanese delegates only. The second and the third volumes combine to present the various papers according to the following subjects: Adult Education; Broadcasting; Colleges and Universities; Educational Legislation; Commercial Education; Elementary Education; Secondary Education; Rural Education; Teachers' Organization; Home and School; Pre-School and Kindergarten; Visual Education; Geography; Health; Teacher's Training; Educational Crafts; Science Teaching etc. We congratulate our colleagues of the Japanese Education Association on the publication of this highly useful and instructive Report and we remind our readers that the present position of Japan in the world is not due merely to military adventures and political successes but that it rests on the solid foundation of a thorough and universal National Education without which no country can hope to stand in these days of dire competition. The cornerstone of this grand edifice of National Education in Japan was laid by that great Emperor Meiji who just about half a century ago, in his historic Rescript on Education, made education free, compulsory and open to all citizens of the empire, irrespective of class or creed.

Italian Economy and Culture. By Dr. Monindra Mohan Maulik. Published by Chakravarty Chatterjee and Co. Ltd.

The author has devoted several years to the study of economy and cultural life of Italy. The volume under review admirably demonstrates the thoroughness of his method. Taking his Doctorate in Political Science in the University of Rome he discussed most of the elements and movements which went to the making of modern Italy. In the first two chapters he gave a brief review of the Resorgimento and Romantic Movement of Italy. In the two following chapters he discussed National Economy, Work and Leisure in Factories, as exemplified by the Labour Charter of Fascist Italy. The chapter on the agricultural remaking of Italy would interest our leaders of rural uplift. The rest of the book is devoted to the appreciative surveys of the works of D'Annunzio, Pirandello, Grazia Deledda and others. The interest of Italian scholars in the religion and culture of India and of Tibet had been demonstrated in the chapter on Professor Tucci. The book is furnished with a helpful bibliography and we are sure it would be consulted with profit by all students of Modern Europe and its literature and thought.

A Study of Shinto, The Religion of the Japanese Nation. By Dr. Genchi Kato, D. Litt. Published by the Meiji Japan Society, Tokyo.

This treatise endeavours to make a genetical or historical study of Shinto from a scientific point of view, illustrating the higher aspects of Shintoism to a degree hitherto left unattempted by Occidental students of the Orient. According to the author, "Shinto is, in truth, like Christianity, Buddhism, or Islam, one of the world's living religions. It has passed through a lengthy meandering course of development parallel with the national life of Japan. Starting as a nature religion, it has evolved itself into a peculiar form of ethico-intellectualistic religion. While intrinsically national in itself, it has, at different times, assimilated spiritualistic nourishment in the form of Confucian ethics and Buddhist philosophy, and today it stands, stronger perhaps than ever before, inseparably interwoven in the national life of the Japanese race." There are thirteen Shinto sects officially recognised in Japan, on the same footing as Buddhism and Christianity. The author in twenty chapters discusses the following important topics: Fetishism and Phallicism; Anthropology and Ancestor Worship in the stage of Nature Religion; Totemism and primitive Monotheism in original Shinto; from Polytheism to Pantheism with some phases of Henotheism and Monotheism; Germs of Moral Ideas in Shinto; Appearance of Change in the Idea of Sacrifice and the unique position of Shinto among the World's Religions. The author, at the end of the book, gives a very systematic Bibliography, Index and Appendix with the help of which the book is complete in itself. We congratulate the author on the production of this valuable book and the publisher, the Meiji Japan Society, for their keen interest in studying things Japanese specially Shinto, Confucianism, Buddhism, Bushido, Japanese laws, fine arts etc., in the light of modern research. Such books help us to understand Japan and bring the Japanese and the foreigners to a better mutual understanding.

Indian Lac Research Institute, Namkum, Ranchi. Annual Report 1939-40.

Under the able direction of Dr. H. K. Sen, the Institute is making valuable contribution to industrial economy of India. An important section of the work done at the Indian Lac Research Institute, Namkum, was devoted to make the manufacture of shellac moulding powder as much independent of imported materials as possible. Of the several heads of research under which progress has been recorded plastic moulding takes the place of foremost importance.

The Institute has developed or adapted methods for the manufacture of urea and formalin in quantities sufficient for moderate-sized factories,

and work has been done with a new chemical which has the property of further improving the quality of shellac-moulded articles.

This substance, melamine, is easily prepared from calcium cyanide which, though not manufactured in India, is available in large quantities, being one of the basic fertilisers.

It is with the same idea of developing a moulding industry entirely based on indigenous raw materials that two other powders have been formulated ; a shellac-casein and a shellac-coaltar powder.

Researches have also been carried out at the Institute on the application of new shellac varnishes and lacquers. In a country which does not yet possess a solvent-manufacturing industry, the practically exclusive use of alcohol for the formulation of lacquers must undoubtedly have great economic significance. By the use of ten percent nitrocellulose and 90 percent shellac compounded in siprit, and a small proportion of esters, quick drying lacquers have been prepared which show good resistance to weather and mechanical wear. These have also been successfully used for preparing film surfaces over which sound grooves could be recorded and reproduced by playing on the gramophone.

In the field of entomological research the most important development during the year has been the initiation of a large-scale field experiment to test the practicability of biological control, which may be defined as the controlling of enemies of lac by their own insect enemies. Such control has in previous years been shown to be practicable under laboratory conditions.

The Institute plantation has been fully utilised during the year and results obtained as regards the mortality and fertility of various strains of the lac insect have been recorded. Work has also been concentrated on two egg parasites of the major lac predators. These insects are being bred in the laboratory and indications so far are that they are of great potential importance, in the control of these enemies of lac.

The German Primer for Science Students By Haragopal Biswas, M. Sc. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1938.

The author of this book has been guided in his work by the excellent idea of providing a German Grammar for those students who wish to acquaint themselves with the scientific literature published on their respective subjects in German without, however, specialising in the study of this language. This is indeed an interesting feature which deserves every encouragement. Such special grammar-books for the various

groups of studies will naturally enrich the spiritual horizon of the student immensely.

Happy as the idea is its realization in this book, the arrangement of the lessons, their graduation, the material chosen for exemplification.....all these are apt to make or mar the effect. There is only one unfortunate thing about the book. It is full of printing mistakes and needs a very careful revision. The long list of errata attached at the end of the book could easily be doubled.

A Lay on Mount Fuji

Extending over Suruga and Kai
Mount Fuji lifts its summit high.
Even the clouds of heaven, struck with awe,
Dare not pass over that steep peak ;
Even the birds attempt in vain
Over its giddy heights to soar.
Upon its top, the falling snow essays
To quench the fire burning deep within ;
Again, the burning fire tries
To melt the falling snow.
It is a deity unnamable,
Beyond expression marvellous.
The great lake called Se-no-umi
Lies in the mountain's bosom ;
The mighty Fujigawa, which wayfarers cross,
Comes from the water flowing down its flank.
It is a God that watches o'er Japan—
O'er Yamato, the Land of the Sunrise—
It is her sacred treasure and her glory.
Upon the peak of Fuji in Suruga
Long may we gaze and gaze and never weary.

(Manyô Shô, Vol. III, A. D. 710—793)

THE ART OF TAIKWAN YOKOYAMA

By **Kiroku Hirose**, Tokyo

It may be truly said that in form of expression there is not a single artist throughout all the schools of painting in present-day Japan who has not undergone the influence of European art, especially that of France. It is wellknown, of course, that Japan, during the Meiji era, absorbed much that was introduced from European civilization. Japanese art also departed from its original tradition and followed examples set by European artists.

The art of present-day Japan, extending over the Meiji, Taisho, and Shōwa eras, has made considerable progress under European influence. But there were people who vigorously opposed the introduction of foreign art education and insisted that it was necessary for Japan to preserve the characteristics of its own culture.

Eikyu Matsuoka, an artist who was well aware of the trend of the times, endeavoured to express the spirit of Western painting by means of the traditional art of Japan. In later years Matsuoka's style of painting underwent a change, but at the time it was very popular and was considered a new style of Japanese painting.

Japan did not have access to that classical art which form the main stream in the development of European art. Some European style artists in Japan insisted that it was necessary to create a European style of painting that was suitable to Japan. Although it is true that the influence of European art, which was introduced during the Meiji era, forms the motive power that has induced the great development of Japanese art today, yet we find that the more we study European art the more different it appears from that of Japan.

Tenshin Okakura, an art critic of the Meiji era at a time when most artists strove to absorb the art of Europe, early insisted upon encouraging and inspiring Japanese art. He claimed that if Japanese artists did not give more consideration to their native art there was the possibility that it would be completely lost. From among his disciples three famous painters should be mentioned: Shunso Hishida, Kwanzan Shimomura and Taikwan Yokoyama.

Okakura founded the Nippon Bijutsu-in (Japan Art Institute) and taught his students there. He occasionally held art exhibitions and invited the public to see the results of his work.

After Okakura's death his student, Shunso Hishida was to carry on the work of his master. But he died at an early age and it was feared that there would be no successor. However, Taikwan Yokoyama re-established the Nippon Bijutsu-in and throughout his artistic life of fifty years he has adhered to his master's wishes in striving to display the true Japanese artistic spirit. It is true the art of Japan has undergone various changes under the influence of European art, but Taikwan Yokoyama's work has remained consistent and has never changed.

Under the able guidance of his teacher, Tenshin Okakura, Taikwan Yokoyama, when young, in an extremely grave manner facsimiled famous old Japanese masters. Some of these facsimiles are preserved in the Imperial Museum. Observing them, one can note that they are quite different from his own paintings. A particularly noteworthy example of Yokoyama's early work is a painting called "Mushin," or Innocence. This was painted before he graduated from school but his art is smooth and clam. This painting represents some children of the pre-Kamakura Period.

On looking at this work one is strongly impressed with the grand scale on which it is produced, and that is probably the reason for Taikwan's greatness as an artist today. His style in this particular case, is clearly influenced by Gaho Hashimoto.

There were many artists who employed this particular style of painting, but few of them have become as distinguished as Taikwan.

As stated before, during the Meiji era European art was brought to Japan and adopted to such an extent that it looked as if the traditional art of this country might vanish. As a result, there arose a group of nationalistic painters who lacked artistic conscience and devotion and who merely endeavoured to imitate the traditional methods of Japanese painting. Taikwan likewise advocated the preservation of the national characteristics of Japanese painting, but he was truly an artist and his technique seemed to improve with his advanced age. Each new work became a subject for consideration in the field of art and the centre of controversies among critics. On minutely scrutinizing his "Chikur in Yen-u" (Bamboo Jungle in Hazy Rain), the bamboo jungle alone does not appear the work of a great master. The human figures and partial scenes, too, seem to lack harmony. There is something in the proportions of

the figures that makes us feel their unnaturalness. In spite of all this, the atmosphere emerging from the painting brings a feeling of mness. The painting, as a whole, seems to represent the essence of Oriental art and is powerful enough to make the student wish to look at it again and again.

Taikwan, who studied the paintings of the North School of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties, often paints India-ink pictures. Although these pictures do not have such matured simplicity as is found in the old Chinese masters, they are full of life and juvenescence. Into this work the artist seems to impart his own perpetual youthfulness.

He occasionally produces coloured pictures after the style of the Kano and Tosa schools. His art in this field cannot be said to be always masterly, but it does possess such dignity and sublimity as none but Taikwan can express. His colours never wither. They always display fresh beauty.

Taikwan believes in idealism, but is not one of those artists who stand aloof from realism. A close observation of his work will lead us to believe that his mountains, trees, rivers, flowers, and birds are based upon drawings from life and nature. The main factors of his work are elegance and refinement. His realism yields one step to his idealism and hence his ideals are vividly perceivable.

Taikwan's idealism is derived from Tenshin Okakura's principles and the Mito school of Japanese philosophy, in which he is deeply read. His daily life is one to which Oriental art itself is concentrated. In his house there is a Japanese-style fireplace where he burns faggot and makes tea, as our forebears have done and as it is still one in farm houses in remoter parts of the country.

He is always attired with *haori* and *hakama*, as the Japanese wore down to the middle of the Meiji era and do even today on solemn occasions.

Visitors who hear water running in his garden and birds singing around his house forget that they are in a city of hurry and bustle. To prevent the slightest vibration, however, the foundation of his studio is of heavy concrete, which means that he is perfectly ready to marshal science in to his use when profitable.

The Tokyo Fine Art School, from which Taikwan graduated, has endeavoured to introduce European art education in Japan, and due credit must be given to what good it has done. But the time has changed and the lack of ideology in art education has naturally tended to bring about a hopeless condition. Thus the Education Ministry Art

Exhibition, which has undergone many changes, has today lost its leaders and has no definite principles. The Japan Art Institute, over which Taikwan presides, however, is prospering, having as members such illustrious names as Yukihiro Yasuda, Kokei Kobayashi, and Seison Mayeda. Taikwan is now at the height of his career, not only as a great artist, but also as an outstanding figure in the history of Japan's last three eras.

Recently Taikwan held a memorial exhibition displaying twenty of his masterpieces. These works of art sold for 500,000 yen. This being the 2600th anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese Empire, he donated the entire sum to the Government. Hitherto this great artist has frequently used for his subject the mountains, but now for the first time he has produced many marine paintings. Although Taikwan is now seventy years old, his paintings portray the joy and rapture with which he looks upon the sea and mountains just as he did when he was a young man. In his masterly style he brings to life on his canvas the roaring surges, calm seas, and waves dashing against the shore. He pictures these objects exactly as they echo to his soul, so much so that he often does not find it necessary to attend to the artistic trivialities in the use of the brush.

Most Japanese artists today are unable to paint the unique nature of Japan in the style of Taikwan. His favourite subjects are mainly cherry blossoms, pines, Mount Fuji, and the rising sun. These popular subjects, when they become paintings through his brush, seem to possess a mystic power and create a dignified and imposing atmosphere. His great work is symbolic of the true beauty of Japanese nature.

All artists, whether painting in Japanese or European style, have been stimulated by the work of this master. In recognition of his unique contribution in preserving the classical traditions of Japanese art while at the same time drawing fresh inspiration from the art of Europe, Taikwan Yokoyama was decorated with the Order of Culture. With his usually high spirit and boundless energy he has recently produced the greatest masterpieces of his life, which no doubt, will be admired and criticized by artists of future generations.

THE ARAB WORLD AND PALESTINE PROBLEMS

By **Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L.**

Arabia, the cradle of Islamic religion and civilization, had always been divided into a number of little states, each under an independent chieftain, owing nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey. This independence was well-marked in the south but in the north, Syria and Palestine passed into the hands of Mahomet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, in 1831. In 1840, the Sultan with the help of his European allies got back these vilayets. During the reign of Abdul Hamid II Palestine and Syria enjoyed peace and prosperity. But with the outbreak of the Great War of 1914-18, Turkey allied herself with Germany and thus became the enemy of Great Britain. The Allied Powers tried to create a revolt in the Arabian States against Turkey and various negotiations were started between the Arabs and Sir Percy Cox, the Chief Political Officer of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, and Sir Henry Macmahon, the British High Commissioner in Cairo [See Philby—*Arabia* pp. 231-60]. The correspondence (ten letters) between Sir Henry Macmahon and Sherief Hussein of Mecca was kept a close secret by the British Colonial Office and was published only in March 1939 (Cmd. 5957 of 1939) after much of its contents had already leaked out. In the first letter of the Sherief to Sir Henry, the Sherief, on the belief that Great Britain would help the Arabs "without any ulterior motives whatsoever," to "realise their firm and lawful intentions of making their country free from Turkish misrule, requested Great Britain to acknowledge the independence of Arab countries bounded on the north by Mersina and Adana up to 37° of latitude, on the east by Persia, on the south by the Indian Ocean and on the West by the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea up to Mersina." The letter also required "England to approve of the proclamation of an Arab Khalifate of Islam." In reply, Sir H. Macmahon declared: "Arab interests are English interests and English Arab." He reiterated his "desire for the independence of Arabia and its inhabitants" and his approval for an Arab Khalifate. But as the Sherief pointed out, in his letter dated September 9, 1915, the High Commissioner's letter showed "ambiguity and tone of coldness and hesitation with regard to our essential point", i. e. the questions of limits and boundaries

of independent Arabia. On October 24, 1915, Sir Henry, with the approval of the British Government, laid down the limits and boundaries of independent Arabia, in a letter to the Sherief. He wrote ; "The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the West of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded. With the above modification, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept those limits. Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in *all the regions* within the limits demanded by the Sherief of Mecca."

But with regard to the Vilayets of Bagdad and Basra, the letter declared that "the Arabs will recognise that the established position and interests of Great Britain necessitate special administrative arrangements in order to secure these territories from foreign aggression, to promote the welfare of the local population and to safeguard our mutual economic interests." The letter also pointed out that as Great Britain will "advise" the Arabs as to the "most suitable forms of Government in those various territories," the European officials "as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British." The Sherief in his letter dated November 15, 1915, renounced his "insistence on the inclusion of the Vilayets of Mersina and Adana in the Arab kingdom." But his letter of this date contained the following momentous words : "But the two Vilayets of Aleppo and Beirut and their sea coasts are purely Arab Vilayets and there is no difference between a Moslem and Christian Arab : they are both descendants of one forefather." Sir Henry in reply (December 14, 1915) refused to pronounce final decision on this matter, "as the interests of our ally, France, are involved in them both," and required time for further consideration. On January 1, 1916, the Sherief, however, clearly pointed out that "the citizens of Beirut will decidedly never accept such dismemberment" ; that there is "reciprocity and indeed the identity of our interests" ; that this "may oblige us to undertake new measures which may exercise Great Britain" and that "it is impossible to allow any derogation that gives France or any other power a span of land in those regions." To this the British High Commissioner, in his reply dated January 25, 1916, while extolling Anglo-French unity, remained deliberately silent.

Sherief Hussein, then, on this vague understanding with the British raised the banner of revolt against the Turks in 1916. The other Arab rulers, Sheikh Mubarak of Kivweit, Idrisi Seyed of Sabya, Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd, etc., assisted by British subsidies, sided with Great Britain. The

independence of Ibn Sa'ud was recognised by Great Britain in a treaty signed on December 26, 1915 and ratified on the 18th July, 1916. [See—Toynbee—*Survey of International Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 272 (1925)]

But in May, 1916, England and France entered into a secret pact, known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement by which they divided the tableland between the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf, between themselves, as spheres of influence. This treaty was exposed to the world by the Bolsheviks in November 1917. At this time the British Government felt necessary to purchase the support of the Jewish world in their war against Germany and Turkey by promising to the Jews the establishment of a National Home in Palestine, in direct contravention of the wishes of the Arabs. The negotiation between Mr. Balfour and Dr. Weizmann, the leader of the Zionist organisation resulted in what is known as the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917. The Declaration reads as follows: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country." The Jews had settled in Palestine long before the Christian era; they are of the same blood as the Arab Moslems. They used to speak the same Arab language. But they were decidedly in a minority in Palestine, which formed an integral part of the Arab world. The Balfour Declaration led the Jews to believe in the ultimate formation of a Jewish State in Palestine. On December 9, 1917, Jerusalem surrendered and General Allenby read his proclamation in seven languages, placing Palestine "under martial law under which form of administration it will remain so long as military considerations make it necessary" [For the Proclamation, see *The Hand book of Palestine and Transjordan*—by Luke and Keith-Roach, 1930, p. 28]. The Armistice was signed on 30th October, 1918, and under its terms the Turks evacuated from Medina and Yaman. On November 7, 1918, France and England published a joint note, supplementing the message of the British High Commissioner to the seven Arab leaders, resident in Cairo, on June 16, 1918. In the Joint Declaration, the two powers declared: "The intentions of France and Great Britain are at one in encouraging and assisting the establishment of indigenous Governments and Administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, now liberated by the Allies, and in the territories the liberation of which they are engaged in securing and reorganising as

soon as they are actually established. Far from wishing to impose on the populations of these regions any particular institutions, they are only concerned to ensure by their support and by adequate assistance the regular working of Governments and Administrations *freely chosen by the populations themselves*" [See Cmd. 5974 of 1939, Annex 1, pp. 50—51]. It is really interesting to note that this Declaration does not say anything about Palestine or the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Prudently the Allied Powers kept silent on these points. Indeed as Hans Kohn says: "For two years the military administration there did not dare, out of regard for Arab population, to proclaim the Balfour Declaration in Palestine. It was not till 1920 that it was mentioned publicly in a speech by the British representative there" [*Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, p. 129].

In the middle of 1919, the allocation of the Mandate over Palestine became an acute problem. The Versailles Treaty was signed on June 18, 1919. The problem for the administration of the conquered territories was thrashed out in the Peace Conference, and there the idealism of Woodrow Wilson and the imperialism of the British and the French were synthesised in the new conception of "Mandated territories," invented by General Smuts. Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provided for the Mandate System with regard to the former Turkish possessions in these words: "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. *The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.*" The Mandatory was to be appointed by the League of Nations, was to administer on "the principle that the well-being and development of such people form a sacred trust of civilization" and under terms which shall, "if not provisionally agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council," and to submit annually a report of administration for examination by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

In Conformity to Article 22 of the Covenant, President Wilson sent the King-Crane Commission to find out the feelings of the Arabs of Palestine on the mandate and the would-be Mandatory. The Commission found "strong sentiment favourable to complete independence for a united Syria (including Palestine), but if supervision was necessary, the United States was preferred to Great Britain. Strong opposition to the

Zionist proposal was also indicated" [see Stannard Baker—*Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, Vol. II, pp. 205—22]

But the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement got the better of Woodrow Wilson. France agreed to hand over the Mandate over Palestine and Iraq to Great Britain, while she was given the Mandate over Syria. As U.S.A. was not a member of the League, her voice was brushed aside. Italy objected against the Anglo-French Settlement. At last on April 25, 1920 the Supreme Council of the League, sitting at San Remo, invested Great Britain with the Mandate over Palestine and charged her at the same time to fulfil the Balfour Declaration.

PALESTINE

From 1919 to May 1921, Palestine was under a British military administration. During this period four Arab Congresses were held in Damascus, Haifa and Jerusalem, all demanding the revocation of the Balfour Declaration, the immediate grant of self-Government and the union of Palestine with Syria. On July 1, 1920 the military administration was replaced by a civil one, with Sir Herbert Samuel as the first British High Commissioner. In October 1920, Sir Samuel set up the first machinery for introducing self-government in Palestine by gradual stages. He established a nominated Advisory Council consisting of 10 British officials and Palestinians, of whom seven were Arabs (four Moslems and three Christians) and three were Jews. This Council worked for two years. But from July 1920, there were numerous clashes between the Jews and the Moslems. Anti-Jewish riots took a serious turn and Jewish immigration was stopped for the first time in May 1921. The causes of the riot were found out by a Commission whose report (Cmd. 1540 of 1921) pointed to the Arab fears against a Jewish state in Palestine as the main cause. After the subside of these riots, Mr. Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, published a Statement of Policy on June 3, 1922, explaining the Balfour Declaration and the British Policy in Palestine. This memorandum drew attention to the fact (1) "that the terms of the Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine," (2) That the Jewish National Home did not mean "the imposition of a Jewish Nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a

centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion or race, an interest and pride." For this purpose, the Balfour Declaration was to be incorporated in the Mandate, and Jewish immigration allowed in Palestine in accordance with the "economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals." Arab culture, religion or language was not to be allowed to be submerged. Palestinians were to be given self-government by "gradual stages and not suddenly." A special committee consisting entirely of the elected members of the new Legislative Council was to be set up "to confer with the Administration upon matters relating to the regulation of immigration" (Cmd. 1700 of 1922, pp. 17-21). The Arabs replied that the claim that the Jewish National Home, was to be established "as of right and not of sufferance" was a preposterous one. They demanded the fulfilment of the pledges given by Sir Macmahon to the Sherief of Mecca, and included Palestine within the independent zone. They protested against Jewish immigration and expressed their fear of being swamped by an artificially created Jewish majority. They demanded an immediate grant of self-government. See (*Ibid*, pp. 22-28).

On August 10, 1922, a new Constitution was imposed on Palestine. There was to be a High Commissioner and Commander-in-chief invested with the highest executive powers to be exercised for giving effect to the provisions of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration. He was empowered to divide the country into provinces for administration. All rights in relation to public lands was to vest in him. He could make grants or leases of public lands, mines or minerals. Subject to the direction of the Secretary of State, he could appoint such public officers of the Government as he might think fit, and all such officers would hold office during his pleasure. There was to be an Executive Council to assist the High Commissioner, composed in such manner as may be directed from time to time by His Majesty's Government. There was to be a Legislative Council consisting of 22 members, besides the High Commissioner, of whom 10 were to be official and 12 unofficial members, the latter being elected by primary and secondary elections, from communal electoral colleges. Every male Palestinian citizen over 25 years of age would be entitled to vote at the primary elections, and every 200 primary electors returning one secondary elector. English, Arabic and Hebrew were to be the three official languages. The Legislative Council might pass ordinances for the peace, order and good Government of Palestine, subject to the limitations imposed by instructions issued by his Majesty's Government. But it could not pass any ordinance suppressing freedom of conscience, free worship of all forms. No ordinance was to be valid which had not been assented to by the High

Commissioner, or by an Order-in-Council of this Majesty or by the Secretary of State. The High Commissioner could reserve any Ordinance for His Majesty's significance, while His Majesty could disallow within one year any ordinance to which the High Commissioner might have given his assent. Any dissatisfied community was empowered to present a Memorandum of grievances to the Council of the League, through the Secretary of State. The High Commissioner was also to confer upon all matters relating to the regulation of immigration with a committee consisting of not less than one-half of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council.

The Judiciary was to consist of Magistrate's Courts; District Courts with jurisdiction in both Civil and Criminal matters which are not within the jurisdiction of the Magistrates' Court and with an appellate jurisdiction; a Court of Criminal Assize with exclusive jurisdiction in capital offences; Land Courts; a Supreme Court acting as a Court of Appeal from the District and other Courts; and Tribal Courts for cases involving the application of local customs. There was also to be Moslem, Jewish and Christian Religious Courts with exclusive jurisdiction in matters of personal status, i. e., suits regarding marriage, divorce, alimony, guardianship, succession, wills, wakf or religious endowments, etc. The judgments of the Religious Courts were to be carried out by the process and offices of the Civil Courts. [See *British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol. CXVI. pp. 204, 224; Also J. De. V. Loder—*The truth about Mesopotamia*, etc. (1923), pp. 179-183]. The elections held under this constitution in March, 1923, were boycotted by the Arabs, and the Arab members who were at first elected gradually dropped out one by one. On 29th May, 1923, the High Commissioner announced that "His Majesty's Government have decided to suspend, for the time being, such part of the proposed constitution as relates to the establishment of a Legislative Council" (see Cmd. 1989 of 1923). The Advisory Council was reinstituted, but this time composed of all British officials. Legislation was made henceforth by the High Commissioner's Ordinances. On September 29, 1923, after the settlement of the Franco-Italian differences with regard to Syria, the French Mandate over Syria and the British Mandate over Palestine came into operation simultaneously. Both of them became 'A' mandates. The Palestine Mandate included the Balfour Declaration (Art. 2); the Mandatory was given "full powers of legislation and administration save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate" (Art. 1). A Jewish Agency was recognised to help the administration which was bound to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine "but ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced"

(Art. 6). The Mandatory was empowered to maintain its force in Palestine, whose cost would be borne by Palestine Administration (Art. 17). By Art. 25 the Mandatory could withhold the application of any clauses of the Mandate to Transjordan, and was bound to submit an annual report of administration to the League Council. (See Cmd. 1785 of 1922).

The Arabs immediately challenged the moral and legal validity of the Mandate. Moreover, as Hans Kohn points out, though it was an 'A' mandate, "it resembled a 'B' mandate in the provision that all powers of legislation and administration were to be invested in the mandatory Power. It differed from the mandates for Syria and Iraq in placing Palestine on the level of a British Colony" (*Ibid*, pp. 141, 295). All the high posts were reserved for British officials; the supreme executive and legislative powers were vested in the High Commissioner; the Civil service took a colonial character, and the language of 90% of the people was not to be the official language.

In October 1923, the High Commissioner tried to create an Arab Agency, like the Jewish Agency, to co-operate with the Administration; but the measure failed. In 1925 Sir Herbert Samuel was succeeded by Lord Plumer who carried on a firm administration against the grumblings of the Arabs. In 1928 Sir John Chancellor succeeded Lord Plumer. In that year the Arab Congress demanded the immediate stoppage of the Jewish immigration and the grant of full self-Government. The Wailing Wall incident occurred on September, 1928, which caused violent outbreaks in many parts of the country. Peace was restored by British troops brought from Egypt and Malta. On September 14, 1929, a Commission of Enquiry was appointed under Sir Walter Shaw. The findings and recommendations of the Shaw commission were published in Cmd. 3530 of 1929. It was found by the Commission that Jewish "immigrants have come into Palestine in excess of the economic absorbing powers of the country" (p. 106), and there were large sales of land between 1921 and 1929, in consequence of which a landless, discontented Arab class had been created (p. 162). "The Arab people of Palestine," the report said, "are united in their demand of a measure of self-government" (p. 162). In the London Conference, which was subsequently held, the Arabs demanded the cessation of all Jewish immigration. But the British Government refused to grant these demands, and in pursuance to a resolution of the Permanent Mandates Commission, dated June, 1930, they increased their military strength in Palestine. In May 1930, a Commission was appointed under Sir John Hope Simpson to report on the problems of immigration and pressure on land. The report, published

on October 20, 1930 (Cmd. 3692 of 1930), contained two important findings. (1) that "if all lands not yet occupied by the Jews had been equally divided amongst the Arabs, still the share of each Arab family will not be enough to enable it to maintain a decent standard of living;" and (2) that if improvements are carried out the maximum number of immigrants that can be settled on Palestine cannot be more than 20,000 families. The Hope-Simpson Report as well as the white Paper accompanying it and endorsing its recommendations were thrown into the waste-paper basket as a result of severe agitation by Mr. Amery, Mr. Baldwin, Sir Austin Chamberlain, Sir John Simon and General Smuts. Mr. Macdonald, for his safety, wrote in the Times, on February 14, 1931, thus: "His Majesty's Government did not prescribe and do not contemplate any stoppage or prohibition of Jewish immigration in any of its categories." From 1930 to 1935 the Arabs organised and agitated for their demands. In December 1935, Sir Arthur Wauchope, the British High Commissioner, offered a Constitution in which the powers of the High Commissioner were retained, and a Legislative Council, composed of 28 members—5 officials, 2 commercial representatives, 8 elected and 3 nominated Moslems, 3 elected and 4 nominated Jews and 1 elected and 2 nominated Christians, 1 President from outside Palestine, who would neither vote nor debate—was proposed. The Arabs rejected the offer summarily. Soon after revolts broke out in the country and British troops, again tried to restore peace. Meanwhile negotiations were going on between the British Government and the Arabs, represented by the King of Iraq, the Emir of Transjordan, the Imam of Yemen, the King of Saudi Arabia, etc. General Nuri Pasha, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, did most to bring about a rapprochement between the British Government and the Arabs. On October 12, 1936, the Arab Higher Committee called off the Strike. On November 5, the Peel Commission was appointed to enquire into the causes of the unrest and to make recommendations. Its report was published in July 1937 (Cmd. 5479 of 1937). The causes of the revolt were the same as in the revolts of 1920, 1921, 1929 and 1933, i. e., the Jewish immigration and purchase of lands; the fear of ultimate political domination by the Jews; the fervent nationalism of the Arabs, accentuated by the independence of Iraq, Transjordan and other Arab States (p. 110-112). But the Commission recommended that Jewish immigration was to go on, regulated by "the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine" and subject to a "political high level" of 12,000 Jews per annum for the next five years. It did not recommend the grant of self-government. It proposed the partition of Palestine into three states, one Arab, one Jewish and one permanently

mandated enclave comprising the Holy Places and the coastal region adjoining thereto. As the Commission itself reported, these proposals meant "that the Arabs must acquiesce in the exclusion from their sovereignty of a piece of territory, long occupied and once ruled by them." The Moslems from every part of the world condemned the partition as a measure of imperialism. In pursuance to the recommendation of the League Council, dated September 29, 1937, the British Government appointed the Woodhead Commission to give effect to the partitioning of Palestine. The Commission was boycotted by the Arabs, like the Peel Commission. It reported in October, 1938 [Cmd. 5854 of 1938]. It rejected the proposals for partition on financial as well as political grounds. Though it was prepared to support plan "C" of the Peel Commission, yet it made various reserving clauses, and emphasised a customs union between the Arab, the Jewish States and the mandated areas in Palestine. The British Government in a White Paper [Cmd. 5893 of 1938] rejected the partition plan and invited the Jews and Arabs to discuss with it measures for peace and agreement. The conference ended in smoke and on May 17, on their own responsibility the British Government made their final proposals through a White Paper [Cmd. 6019 of 1939]. The proposals included the following : partition was impracticable ; the expression National Home did not and would not mean the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine ; that self-government would be developed in Palestine gradually ; "the object of His Majesty's Government is the establishment within ten years of an independent Palestine State in such treaty relations with the United Kingdom as will provide satisfactorily for the commercial and strategic requirements of both countries in the future," as well as under such conditions that "the essential interests of the Jews and the Arabs are secured". After five years from the restoration of peace and order, a committee would be set up to make recommendations about a Palestinian Constitution in which an elective legislature might find a place. Jewish immigration was not to be stopped forthwith. There would be Jewish immigration for the next five years at a rate of 10,000 a year, together with the immigration of 25,000 Jewish refugees "as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem." After this "no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it."

At present the Government of Palestine is constituted of the High Commissioner as the chief executive and legislative authority, under the Crown and the Secretary of State ; the Executive Council composed

of the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Tressurer,—ex-officio members—and such other persons holding office in public service of Palestine, as may be appointed by the High Commissioner, in pursuance of instructions of the British Secretaries of State [See *the Royal Instructions to the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief*, January 1, 1932—Also *Constitutions of All countries* Vol I, British Empire, p. 554]. There is also an Advisory Council, constituted by the High Commissioner, with the approval of the Secretary of State, consisting of the fourteen Heads of departments under his own Presidency. The power of the Council is limited to advising the High Commissioner, who cannot promulgate an ordinance unless he has consulted it. In the matter of immigration, currency, divorce, grant of land, differential duties, discipline or control of the British forces by land, sea or air in Palestine, royal prerogatives etc., the High Commissioner is bound to obtain previous instructions from one of the principal Secretaries of State. The area of Palestine is 10, 429 sq. miles and population in 1939, 1,466,536, of whom 848, 933 are Moslems, 424, 373 Jews, 114, 624 Christians. In 1922 the Jews were 11% of the population ; in 1932 they became 17% and in 1939, they were 30%, while combined with the Christians they are 37% of the population. Palestine has become one of the most important centres of international trade and commerce. Here meet the steamship lines, the airroutes, oil-pipe lines, important rail ways and the East and the West. Haifa has become the third largest harbour in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is the most important point in the British Imperial communications. But ~~Palestine~~ is undisputedly the land of the Arabs. The Arabs of Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, Yemen, Saudi-Arabia, are keenly watching the British policy in Palestine and are frankly in favour of the Palestinian Arabs. Indeed in the future Pan-Arab State, which is almost a reality, Palestine will occupy an integral position. The Native Jews of Palestine had sympathies with the Arab Moslems. But the Zionists from abroad want to deprive the Moslem Arabs of their birth right and establish political domination over them by the sheer weight of numbers. The British policy of May 1939, has, however, clearly explained the nature of the Balfour Declaration, and there is not going to be any Jewish State in Palestine henceforth. The Jews have invested almost £ 20,000, 000 of capital in Palestine and have done much to improve the economic and cultural conditions of the local people. But they must rest content with their religious and cultural home in Palestine. On the other hand, the demand of the Arabs for freedom is just and should be fulfilled by the British Government at the earliest opportunity.

SYRIA.

Syria tells us the same tale as Palestine. Under the Turkish administration she was enjoying considerable local autonomy. The European, and specially the French interests in Syria date from 1860, when, as a result of the intervention of the European powers on behalf of the Christian Maronites against the Druzes, this Catholic seat of Lebanon developed a strong pro-French mentality and began to offer a determined opposition to Pan-Syrian nationalism. During the Great War, the Allied powers, with the assistance of Arab forces under Feisal, son of king Hussein of Mecca, drove away the Turks from Syria. Already in 1916, France and England had signed the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and agreed to create and support an independent Arab State out of the union of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo with the interior of Syria. But in the Peace Conference of Paris France agreed to give Mosul vilyaet and Palestine to Great Britain on condition, that she would obtain a share in the oil; that Britain would support her against Woodrow Wilson in these matters; and that she would have a mandate over Syria and Lebanon—including Damascus, Aleppo, Alexandretta and Beirut. In Syria, however, Feisal assisted by British gold, had set up an Arab administration in October, 1918, with tacit British approval. But the news of the Peace Conference gradually leaked out, that Great Britain had agreed to Syria becoming a French mandate. The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, and Article 22 of the Covenant set up the principle of Mandate administration for territories belonging to the former Turkish and German Empires. The San Reneo Conference of April, 1920, allocated the Mandate over Syria to France and that over Palestine to Great Britain, in direct isolation of the Macmahon pledges, the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the solemn Anglo-French Declaration of November, 7, 1918. In March 11, 1920, Feisal had already become King of independent Syria with the unanimous support of the Syran people. On July 3, 1920, the Syran National Congress adopted a democratic constitution, with considerable local autonomy. But on July 19, 1920, General Gourand, who had arrived on November 22, 1919, at Beirut as French High Commissioner, sent an ultimatum to King Feisal to vacate. King Feisal refused and "pleaded that Britain should not abandon him" [Earnest Main—*Iraq, From Mandate to Independence*(1935)]. But Britain turned a cold shoulder to Feisal, and after the Battle of Khan Meisalun, where the Arab Commander fell at the head of his troops, the French entered Damascus and began an era of persecution and oppression which resulted in the genral insurrection of the Syrian Arabs in 1925. The first act of the French Government to weaken Arab

nationalism was to divide Syria into many parts with separate Governments. On September 1, 1920, General Gouraud proclaimed the creation of the State of Great Lebanon by extending the frontiers of old Lebanon in such a way that the Maronites, together with other Christians became a majority over the Arab Moslems. The Arabs protested against this division to a man, but in vain.

The second notorious achievement of the French was the partition of the rest of Syria into four other States. The territory of Alawis, on the coastal region, north of Lebanon, was proclaimed an independent territory on August 31, 1920, and on July, 1922, it was named, "The State of Alawis, after the "Alawis"—a mountainous people who had religious differences with the Arab Moslems. On September 1, 1920, the High Commissioner by an "arrête" established a personal Government, assisted by a Governing Commission composed of fifteen nominated members and having only advisory functions. On September 12, 1921, the Sanjak of Alexandretta was declared another autonomous division on the ground that there the Turks constituted a considerable portion of the people. Thus the entire coastal area of Syria was cut off from her, and she was "driven to the desert."

Even this did not satisfy the French. Inland Syria was again divided into three States of Damascus, Aleppo and Jebel-ed-Druz. On March 8, 1922, a provisional constitution of Lebanon vested the executive and legislative power in a Governor appointed by the High Commissioner. There was also set up a Representative Council composed of ~~16~~ Christians, 13 Moslems and 1 representative of the minorities at Beirut. The Governor was to be a Frenchman; the members of the Representative Council were to be elected indirectly on democratic franchise, but on the basis of separate electorates with reservation of seats. The powers of the Council were effective over "transferred subjects," including some portions of the budget, public works, social welfare, etc. Over "reserved subjects," it had only debatory powers. The initiative of all legislations was made the prerogative of the Governor. The Arabs strongly criticised the Communal composition and limited powers of the Council. Another "arrêté," instituting a Council of State was signed by the Governor of the Lebanon on 6th September, 1924 and approved by the High Commissioner on September 11, 1924. [See—Toynbee—*Survey of Int. Affs.*, 1925, Vol. I., P.357]

On April 5, 1922, Jebel-ed-Druz was proclaimed an independent state under French Mandate, subject to an agreement signed on March 4, 1921, between the Mandatory Power and the local Druse Chiefs.

Damascus and Aleppo remained separate for some time ; then they were federated together with the State of Alawis on June 28, 1922. Separate Representative Councils were also set up in Damascus, Aleppo and Alawis by a Decree of the High Commissioner, besides a Federal Council for these three States, created under the Statute of Federation of June 28, 1922. The debates in the Federal Council manifested a strong desire for political unification on the part of all the Arabs, excepting the Alawis, as a consequence whereof, General Weygand, the new French High Commissioner, dissolved the Federation and ordered the unification of Damascus with Aleppo in the summer of 1924. Alawis became a separate state again.

The new State of Syria (Damascus and Aleppo combined) was given a Constitution by a Decree of December 5, 1924. There was to be an elected President, a Ministry appointed by him and an elected Council. But the system of administration was thoroughly colonial, as every act of the President and the Ministers required confirmation by the French High Commissioner.

On January, 1925, General Sarrail succeeded General Weygand, and at once tried to introduce a more liberal system of government. He gave the press its freedom, and introduced a national system of education quite in contrast with the sectarian and parochial policy of the previous regime. General Sarrail's able lieutenant, Leon Cayla, Governor of Lebanon, had formed a new electoral law on a national basis, whose first article read as follows : "In future no account shall be taken of the division into various religious communities in assigning seats in the Representative Council to the several sections of the Lebanese population. The members of the Representative Council shall be elected directly and by the List system of proportional representation " But the Jesuits and the anti-national Maronites raised a strong opposition against these liberal measures, which had to be abandoned. The new elections of March, 1925 were held under the old electoral law of 1922.

The French administration in Syria suffered from certain serious defects. The French officers were arrogant ; they knew little of the language and customs of the people. The French judicial system was also defective ; French judges were "unacquainted with the country's laws and ignorant of Arabic." Peace was maintained by a big standing army and espionage. France had deliberately allowed 100,000 Armenians to settle in Syria and Lebanon, and this made the economic problem very acute. Discontent was rife and from 1919 to 1925 Syria had five insurrections, suppressed by force. In 1925, due to the

despotic and insolent behaviour of the French Governor, Captain Carbillot, against the Druzes, a revolt sprang up in Jebel-el-Druze, under the leadership of Sultan Pasha el Atrash, a popular hero who had helped King Feisal to win the independence of Syria. The People's Party, founded in February, 1925, and composed of the best intellectuals of Syria, welcomed the insurgents. The French arrested the leaders of the party though some of them, including the President, Dr. Shahbender, fled to Jebel-el-Druz, where they raised the Arabian national flag and set up a Provisional Government. The latter exhorted the people to fight and win and passed a resolution demanding "the complete independence of Syria, one and indivisible, both the coastal region and the interior, the establishment of a national Government, and the free election of a Constituent Assembly to draft the constitution, the withdrawal of the foreign army of occupation and the creation of a national army to guarantee security and apply the principles of the French Revolution and the rights of man" (Quoted by Hans Kohn — *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hinter East* — p. 192).

General Sarraïl was soon recalled and succeeded by Henri de Jouvenal. The new High Commissioner made a series of promises to the Arabs, but all in equivocal language. Then he tried to keep the Lebanese away from the Arab insurgents by giving them a more liberal Constitution which was actually submitted before the Lebanese Council in May, 1926, and promulgated on May 23, 1926, in the teeth of opposition of the entire Moslem community. Lebanon became a separate and independent state, but not sovereign. The Mandate continued to be an integral part of the Constitution. There was a bicameral legislature, the Senate having 16 members, of whom 9 were elected and 7 nominated by the High Commissioner. The Christians got 8 seats, the Moslems 7, and other minorities 1. The Chamber of Deputies (the old Lebanese Council) continued as before but was elected on the basis of separate electorate with reservation of seats in 1929. The two Houses sitting together, elected the first President of the Lebanese Republic, M. Charles Debbas, a Greek orthodox, on May 26, 1926. The French High Commissioner retained to himself the right "to veto and annul all the decisions of the Lebanese authorities if he holds that they conflict with the requirements of the Mandate, the country's security, the preservation of order or international obligations." The Arabs non-cooperated with this Constitution, and Jouvenal had to carry on administration with the help of French bureaucrats. At long last, the High Commissioner became convinced that there was no way to restore peace in the land but by

entering into a treaty with Syria and thus to terminate the Mandate. This decision he had the courage to express before the Permanent Mandates Commission, and in accordance thereto, he opened negotiations in Paris with the representatives of the Syro-Palestine Congress, Emir Shakib Arslan, Ikhsan el Jabry and Emir Michael Lutfallah. But when Jouvenal was about to find a solution, the French Government turned a *volte face*, broke off all negotiations and sternly refused to concede the Syrian demands. Jouvenal resigned and Henri Ponsot took over the charge in October, 1926.

The war of Syrian independence lasted 18 months, and then it was ended in June 1927, by the suppression of the Syrian Moslems by French arms. The censorship of the press, the restriction of civil liberties, frequent court martialling, etc., went on as before. The Lebanon also showed signs of unrest against the corrupt French administration and the various French methods to widen the gulf between the different communities. On 17th October, the French Government modified the Lebanon Constitution. The power of the Executive were increased; the two Houses of Legislature were combined into one and one-third of its members were appointed by its President. In February, 1928, after the resignation of the Ministry of Ahmed Nami Bey (pro-French), and the formation of the liberal cabinet by Tajed Din, the martial laws were abolished and writs for the election of the National Constituent Assembly for Syria under the not-too-liberal communal electoral law of 1922 were issued. In the April election the nationalists came out victorious with a preponderant majority, in spite of the Government's tampering with the election.

The Syrian National Assembly accepted the Constitution drafted by its Committee on August 2, 1928. Under this Constitution Syria was to become an independent, sovereign, republican, but parliamentary state, with a unicameral legislature, which would elect the President of the Republic for five years, and to which the ministry would be responsible. Every male citizen over 20 years was to have the franchise. The Constitution declared all the Syrian territories, separated from each other since 1921, as one indivisible political unit (Art. 2). It invested the President with the right to grant amnesty, to conclude international treaties, to appoint the Prime Minister and diplomatic representatives, and to declare martial law in emergencies. It made certain provisions for the organisation of the Army. The French High Commissioner demanded the modification of the most radical sections, especially as there was no mention in the constitution about the rights of the

Mandatory power. A tug of war ensued between the Assembly and the High Commissioner, and the latter ordered adjournment of the Assembly on August 11, 1928, for three months, and again on November 5, 1928, for three months, and lastly on February 15, 1929, for an indefinite period. On May 14, 1930, the High Commissioner dissolved the National Constituent Assembly, and on May 22, 1930, promulgated the Constitution as drafted by it, *but with the addition of a clause* in Article 116 securing the due discharge by France of her mandatory obligations in Syria until a treaty had been concluded between the two states to regulate their mutual relations. Art. 2 was also altered slightly. Instead of the expression "the acts of the partition to which they (the Syrian territories) have been subjected since the end of war, shall be ignored," a vague expression was put viz. that Syria was an indivisible political unit (see—*Brit. and For. St. Paps.* 1930, Vol. 132, p. 741).

At the same time the Constitution of the Lebanese Republic (modified on May 8, 1929, as a result whereof the powers of the President were further increased), the autonomous government of Latakia (formerly the State of Alawis), the autonomous government of Jebel-el-Druz, and the autonomous Sanjak of Alexandretta—were promulgated anew. Each of these constitutions is framed on the model of French colonial Administration. There is a Governor at the head with supreme executive and legislative powers, appointed by and responsible to the High Commissioner; a Representative Council with mere advisory powers. In Latakia State, the Council has two-thirds elected members, but in Jebel-el-Druz, there are only nominated members [For the Lebanese Constitution—see *Brit. and for. St. Paps.*, Vol. 127 (1927) p. 831, and Vol. 130 (1929), p. 930. For the Constitution of Jebel-el-Druze—see, *Ibid.*, Vol. 132 (1930), pp. 756-61]. These separate administrations, with their different degrees of responsibility, caused permanent looseness in the internal consolidation of all-Syria, and helped to perpetuate French domination. For all-Syrian interests, the High Commissioner decreed the existence of a "Conference for Common Interests," composed of delegates from the various governments under the Mandate, to advise him in economic and other matters affecting the several States in common.

In November 1931, Dr. Ponsot announced the holding of elections under the new Constitution, which was actually held from December 1931 to March 30th, 1932, as there were a good deal of tampering with the elections by the government, free fighting in the streets, annulling of elections and the holding of re-elections. The Chamber ultimately consisted of 53 Moderates and 17 Nationalists. Suddenly M. Ponsot was recalled and

M. de Martel appointed in his place. On November 14, 1933, the new High Commissioner put before the President of the Republic and the Cabinet of five ministers the text of a treaty which he said was to be signed by them in forty eight hours. Though it was signed by them, yet the moment the news of its conclusion reached the public there was a tremendous agitation. The Syrian Chamber, which was a moderate body, rejected the treaty on November 21, 1933.

By this treaty, the capitulatory regime was to be continued ; any number of French troops are to be stationed at any place. The military zones and the French army were to enjoy extraterritoriality. In the appointment of foreign advisers, magistrates and officials, who must be French, the French Government had an equal right to determine their quality and number as the Syrian Government. By Art. 8 The Syrian Government was to recognise and consecrate the existing partition of the country. It was to be a treaty of alliance and to remain valid for 35 years. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Syrian Chamber rejected it in 45 minutes. (For details see—George Antonius—*"Syria and the French Mandate"* in *"International Affairs"*, July, 1934, pp. 530-534). The High Commissioner suspended the Chamber, by way of punishment.

Things continued in the same way for two and a half years. The Syrians became tired of French promises. A general unrest began to raise its head strongly again. By a decree of January 23, 1936, Count de la Martel ordered a further sub-division of Syria into eight and new independent provinces each with independent financial and administrative organisations. But this project was dropped as a result of the Syrian rising in Jan.—Feb. 1936. Criticising this projected partition Olberg writes : "The division of the country cannot be justified either on economic or administrative grounds.....Political motives dictated the division, namely the desire to weaken the power of the nation as a whole ; the "States," parties, religious denominations, minorities, were played off systematically one against another in the interests of French Colonial policy" [Paul Ollberg—*France in Syria*—in *The Contemporary Review* March, 1937, pp. 306-307].

The Syrian rising of January 1936 started by way of closing of the markets, the boycott of foreigners, and "disorder took place at Damascus, Homs, Aleppo and Deir-ez-Zor in which sixty were killed and hundreds wounded." [*Foreign Affairs*, July, 1940—p. 695—*France and Islam*—by Charles-Andre Julién]. The Egyptian agitations of 1935, that resulted in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, stirred up the minds of the Syrians. Mr. Toynbee says that the educated elements of the town population

played a predominant part in these agitations which were marked by discipline and order, and maintained by para-military formations, especially at Damascus and Aleppo (See—*Survey of International Affairs*, 1936, p. 753). The French failed to suppress the movement by terrorisation and on 25th February 1936, M. de Martel agreed to recognise the "legitimate aspirations of the Syrian nation." On March 1, 1936, the French Government promised to grant Syria rights equal to those accorded by Britain to Iraq. To this end, a conference was convoked by Mr. Vienot, the Under-Secretary of the French Foreign Ministry, which agreed to end the mandate in Syria. On September 3, 1936, the Syrian delegation headed by Hashem Bey el-Attassi signed a portocol with M. Vienot at Paris. This was followed by the signature of the Franco-Syrian Treaty of Freindship and Alliance, on December 22, which was ratified by the Syrian Parliament on December 26, 1936. On November 13 of the same year Lebanon signed a similar treaty with France, and ratified it on November 17, 1936. [See *The Times*, November 18, 1936, p. 13b]. The provisions of the Franco-Syrian treaty followed the model of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1939. It contained nine articles, a separate Military Convention, and a number of minor portocols and annexes in which the details of application of the treaty were laid down. The first article stipulated that there should be perpetual friendship and alliance between France and Syria. The other articles declared that France recognised the full autonomy of Syria and undertook to support the candidature of Syria for membership of the League of Nations. In foreign affairs, Syria was to consult the French Government and not to enter into such alliances or treaties with foreign powers as would be prejudicial to France. The two parties agreed to come to each other's assistance against any aggression on Syrian territory. By the Military Convention, France reserved, without prejudice to the sovereignty of the Syrian Government, the right to maintain armed forces in the Jeb-el-Druze and in the territory of Latakia. She was also to have the right to use two aerodromes in Syria. Syria was obliged to hold her railways, roads, bridges, ports, etc., at the disposal of the French Forces and war-ships, in case of necessity. The Syrian Army was to be composed of one division of Infantry and one brigade of Cavalry, with necessary auxiliaries—all trained by French instructors and equipped as far as possible with arms and materials of the French pattern. The minorities in Jeb-el-Druze and Latakia were to be given "special form of administration" in conformity with the recommendations of the League of Nations. France and Syria were to give each other most-favoured nations treatment in commerce. French ambassador in Damascus was to have

precedence over other ambassadors, while Syria would be represented in Paris by a Minister Plenipotentiary. The treaty was to last 25 years.

Though the Syrian Parliament had ratified the treaty, the French Government hesitated to do its part. The Franco-Turkish dispute over the Sanjak of Alexandretta was settled by the decision of the League of Nations, dated 16th December, 1936, by which the Sanjak was to be independent in its internal matters ; but Syria was to remain responsible for foreign affairs. Turkish was to be the official language, and the territory was to be demilitarised—a Franco-Syrian treaty guaranteeing its inviolability. But the delay of the French Government in presenting the Franco-Syrian treaty of 1936 led the Syrians to believe that France wanted to kill the Treaty. The extremist elements led by Dr. Shabbendar, chief of the "nationalist bloc," declared that a *Jihad* was necessary to compel France to honour her pledges. Under such circumstances, the Syrian Prime Minister, Jemil Mardam Bey met the French Foreign Minister, M. Bonnet, at Paris in August 1938. On November 14, they issued a joint declaration in which they expressed hope that the Syrian Parliament would ratify the treaty, not later than January 20, 1939, while the French Parliament would do the same thing not later than January 31, 1939 ; and the functions of the mandatory Power would be transferred to the Syrian Government during next February. Syria was to be admitted to the League of Nations before September 30, 1939.

No sooner had the Syrian Prime Minister returned to Damascus than M. Bonnet "under pressure of intrigues in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, declared that for the moment he would not bring the treaty before the Chamber for ratification" (Foreign Affairs—*Ibid*—p. 696). Immediately signs of unrest showed themselves in Syria. Jemil Mardam Bey resigned. Ministerial changes followed in quick succession. The High Commissioner took over the police power and in March occupied Damascus with troops. In July, 1939, he granted further autonomy to the minorities just to set them against the Syrian Moslems. To crown all, the Constitution was suspended, national leaders were arrested and thrown into prisons; and lastly, the High Commissioner declared that the country should harbour "no illusions as to the permanence of French rule in Syria." The Franco-Turkish problem with regard to Sanjak was again raising its head, and France, in order to have a peaceful neighbour to Syria, ceded Alexandretta to Turkey by an agreement of June 1939. Before the end of the year Europe was plunged into another Great War, and Syria declared war against Germany. But with the collapse of France

in June, 1940, General Mittelhauser, in agreement with M. Puaux, the French High Commissioner, and after consultation with General Weygand, who had flown from France to Syria for that purpose, declared cessation of hostilities on June 28, 1940. The British Government, however, declared on July 1, 1940, that H. M.'s Government "could not allow Syria or Lebanon to be occupied by any hostile Power or to be used as a base for attacks upon those countries in the Middle East which they are pledged to defend or to become the scene of such disorder as to constitute a danger to those countries" [*Keessing's Archives*—p. 4125A].

The French administration in Syria is perhaps the blackest in the history of Mandate administrations. France has suspended the constitution of Syria ; suppressed political liberties of the people ; created and fostered communal troubles ; monopolised the Syrian markets quite in violation of the rights of "A" class mandate ; crushed the Syrians by heavy taxation and by increasing the expenses of the huge French Army in Syria ; has done practically nothing to promote national education, and agricultural or industrial development of the country. Out of the total population of Syria, which is 3,630,000, there are 1,514,755 Moslems, 505,419 Christians, including 186,676 Maronites ; 227,930 Alawis ; 86,125 Druzes ; 151,326 of the Orthodox Church, besides several thousands of Greek Catholics, Armenians, etc. There can be no doubt that it is the land of the Arabs, who form one single nation. And Syrian nationalism is not religious or communal. As Toyubee points out, "The Syrian Nationalist Bloc also included Christian (and especially Orthodox Christian) adherents who were as whole-hearted in their nationalism as the Coptic members of the Wafd were in Egypt" [*Survey of Int. Aff.*, 1936, p. 752]. Again as George Antonius pointed out, the whole of Syria is "a remarkably compact geographical unit" [*International Affairs, Ibid.*, p. 524].

THE KHASIS

By Miss Durgabati Saikia M. A.

The origin of the Khasis is still obscure. There are of course conjectures among the Khasis regarding their primitive home, but no definite conclusions have yet been reached. Some localised them in Greece as their primitive home. According to this theory it is argued that the Khasis were a warlike tribe in Greece and they composed one of the best soidiers of Alexander in his Asiatic invasion. According to another theory, the Khasis wandered throughout the whole of Hindustan and came to Burma. There they lived for some years, how long it could not be known. But as the tradition goes, they lived there for a pretty long time, made their houses, erected monoliths and a kind of stone house made of big blocks of rocks, the roof of which was also a big block of rock where they deposited the bones of the dead after the cremation which is known in English as cromlech. Their custom is that the family deposit the bones of the dead in the same charnel house made of stones as described above. But from Burma they were also driven away—the causes were unknown, and at last came to Assam, crossing the Patkoi hills, and the Kupli river, then entering the Khasi and Jaintia hills and in course of time spreading over the whole of the hills where they made their permanent home. According to the custom of the Khasis the chief of the State called “Siem” is nothing but a titular figurehead. He cannot do anything on his own initiative. It is the “Durbar” (Parliament) which manages the affairs of the state. The Durbar is composed of a body of elders. It is binding that every grown up male citizen of the state should attend the Durbar. The females are excluded from attending the Durbar or rather not allowed. It is quite possible that all citizens could attend the Durbar on account of the smallness of the Khasi States. Each state consists of only from 10 to 60 thousand inhabitants. So they are something like the city-states of Greece. The decision of the Durbar is binding on the chief. The chief is assisted in carrying on the Government of the State by a number of ‘myntris’ (ministers). The chief of the State and his myntris must belong to the family which is considered by the Khasi to be respectable from time immemorial. No one who does not belong to the *siem* dynasty and to the *myntri* could compete for these offices.

But one peculiar feature of the Khasis political institution is that the siem (chief) and the myntris are elected by the public. During the election many candidates for the siemship and myntriship would compete and those ones who get the majority of votes become elected and are declared returned to the offices. These office-bearers run the government of the State. They are appointed for life and cannot be removed from their offices as long as they do not ignore the advice of the Durbar. The Durbar is all in all. The Durbar could accuse the siem and the myntris in case of their misconduct and with the approval of the public could dismiss the siem and the myntris from their offices and appoint new ones in their stead—of course those belonging to the siem and the myntri family. The offices of the siem and the myntris are not hereditary but candidates must belong to the siem dynasty and myntri family. The Khasi political institution is therefore a strange mixture of aristocracy on the one hand and democracy on the other.

As has been said above the Khasis burn their deads and each family has its own charnel house made of blocks of stones where they deposit the bones of the dead after the cremation. The chief part that goes to compose the burning ceremony is sacrifice chiefly of cocks, goats, pigs and cows. After the man is dead the first thing they do is to sacrifice a cock, which according to their belief would lead the way of the dead man to the house of God—where there is eternal happiness. Then follows the sacrifices of goats, pigs and cows in case of a rich man, and the flesh serves for a feast to those people who take part in arranging the cremation. The goats, pigs and cows generally are not bought by the relatives of the dead but are given by those who have got affinity with them whether close or distant, and his children as a mark of respect and honour for the dead. His relatives as well as his children, friends and neighbours and the whole village would take part in the ceremony. Wine liquor is the chief factor of the ceremony.

With regard to marriage the man sends a proposal with the approval of his parents and the knowledge of his relatives to a girl he loves. If she agrees and also if her parents and her relatives consent an arrangement will be made for their union. First of all the members of the family of the man together with an elder (man) whom it is called *U Ksiang* will go to the house of a girl for betrothment. The would-be bridegroom after everything is settled will put a ring on the finger of the girl, at the same time uttering words of promise never to break the engagement. The girl would also do likewise minus the ring. And the ring is called a

betrothal ring. When the time for marriage comes the man will go to the house of the girl, accompanied of course by his bestmen, and the girl also together with her bridesmaids will be present and the ceremony will be solemnised. The male members of the bridegroom are allowed to go to the ceremony, but the females are not allowed. Generally the ceremony would take place amidst great pomp and enjoyment. Many animals such as goats, pigs, cows fowls will be killed for the marriage feast. These two ceremonies namely the burning and the wedding ceremonies involve a huge of expenditure.

During the time of childbirth the relatives of the girl together with her husband will be present. If a child is born to-day it will be named to-morrow. If it is a baby boy, at the time of naming him they would make a small bow with three arrows. The three arrows represent three things. The first arrow is to defend himself against his enemies. The second arrow for defending his parents and all his relatives from their enemies. The third arrow for defending the state against any invasions. When he is dead they take the bow and the three arrows will be shot towards the west to signify that all his struggles on Earth have ended. If it is a baby girl they would make a small doa, a thapa (Khoh) and a belt for carrying it. These signify that she is to do domestic duties. The doa represents her activities in cleaning the compound of the house, (fencing the garden with bamboos) and for going to the forest to cut firewoods. The thapa and the belt together represents one thing namely her going to the well, the river or the water-spout for drawing water in a pitcher or a brazen pot which has got to be carried in a thapa by means of a belt (star) according to the Khasi custom. The water is used for cooking food and for her husband in case she is a married girl to bathe or wash himself after coming home tired from his work or if she is still a young girl for her father and her brothers to wash themselves on returning back home from their works. When she dies these things would also be destroyed which means that her activities are over. For selecting the names they fill a pot which is made from a hollow gourd with country liquor made of rice. Then they select three names and would turn the mouth of the gourd downwards and in which name the falling drops of the wine from the gourd last long in its mouth, the child will be called after that name. In this process they invoke the names of the great grandmother and the great grandfather whom they believe to be their only ancestors from whom the family or caste descends to listen to their appeal and show their approval which of the names to be selected. It is believed the name which these approve is that one in which the

falling drops of the wine liquor from the gourd take a long time. Even in going to the charnel-house for depositing the bones of the dead, first of all before opening the door of the dharnal-house, one hired man would crow like a cock three times and after that they would invoke their great grandmother and great grandfather to come in spirit and take and embrace their own sons and daughters. This does not mean that they are ancestor worshippers, but it simply means that they regard them as the first people who are the cause of the existence of their caste and as such they are always anxious for the welfare of their descendants on earth and who are to take care of their own descendants in life after death. The Khasis worship only one God but it is through their great grandfather and mother dicties. They also believe in the existence of evil spirits such as the demons, the presiding of the forests, the fairies the elfs and many others who could do harm to them and bring sickness. But all these evil spirits cannot do anything without the sanction of their great grandmother and great grandfather.

Whenever in difficulties they consult the ancestors through an oracle which they make by the help of eggs, which they break by throwing on a flat piece of wood made. Before breaking the egg they would ask for the signs to appear on the breaking parts of the shell of an egg, which will be scattered on the flat piece of wood. When the egg is broken they would read the meaning of it by looking at the different portions of the shattered pieces of the shell of an egg. Then the man who consults the oracle will interpret the answer of the great grandfather and mother to the family. Is these do not answer at all they would continue breaking many eggs, beseeching and soliciting them through arguments in order to convince them of their ease and to get an answer from them how to take steps to do away with their trouble. They would continue in this away untill they get an answer.

The Family System : The Khasis are a matriarchal people i.e. they trace the family through a mother unlike other people who trace it through a father. If the mother is Das and father Mukherjee, the children will be known as Das not Mukherjee. Why it is like this we cannot say definitely but there is a history behind it : once the Khasis were patriarchal but at one time there was an invasion by some unknown prince or general. The Khasis fought hard but were defeated, At last when there were very few men left to fight and the country was about to be overcome, the women too with them their shields, spears, bows and arrows went to the fore front to fight the enemy. The prince

or the general of the army seeing that the women were coming to fight felt it below the dignity to fight with the women. So he withdrew and left the country, swearing at the same time never to invade the country as it is the country of women. The men in honour of the bravery of the women gave up their patriarchal system and from that time forward the family becomes matriarchal.

There is another theory of their coming to the present hills : the Khasis came somewhere from Burma. They had a literature with them but in the course of the migration they lost it. One tradition says that when they left Burma they met with a great flood. They had no other means of escape but swimming. One man who was in charge of carrying the book by chance dropped it in the water or as some say swallowed it. From that time then the Khasis have no written literature. And many died in that flood disaster. Another reason which is believed to be the cause of the smallness of the Khasis in number is that during their long period of migration from one place to another many died from various diseases, wars and many other disasters. At last they came to these hills through the eastern sides after crossing the Patkoi hill and the Kupli river.

National games : The Khasis are lovers of games and sports. The chiefs of which are competitive arrow shooting in which the winning party gets money as a trophy. The money will be distributed equally among the members of the party. It is generally held once a week during the market days. (2) Long jump, high jump, racing etc. once a year which are also competitive. (3) Sword—playing in which two men at a time took part was an annual and competitive game. It is now no longer practised.

Dancing : It is a national recreation in which men and women take part together. There are two kinds of dance (1) in which men and women dance together each in his or her dancing dress. The women dance in the centre of the field and the men dance round them carrying and moving a turf of thread in their right hands. In ancient times this dance was held before the men went to war or after their returning back from war. At present it appears only as a pleasure dance. (2) War dance in which the men only take part. This dance in ancient times was held either at the time of going to war in which they practised the art of using and handling the shield and sword or after coming from war to celebrate the Victory. In war the Khasis used guns, spears, swords, bows and arrows and two shields one big and another small. The big shield which they carried before them was suspended on their neck and the back by means of a

very strong cord. The spears, the swords which they used by their right hands and the small shield by which they defended themselves with their left hands were used when they came to close quarters. The guns, bows and arrows were used from a distance.

Khasi Folktales : The story of betle nuts demands special attention on account of its bearing on the Khasi Society. Once upon a time there was a rich man and a poor man, who were very intimate friends. Every time the poor man visited the house of the rich friend, that friend used to entertain him with delicious food. The rich man, as he had never visited the house of his poor friend felt very uneasy. So one day he paid a visit to his house. After talking for sometime, the poor man asked his wife to go to some shop and procure some etables on credit to entertain his friend. But his wife came back and told him that she could not get anything on credit. The poor man felt very shy and seeing a knife that was lying near him took it up and plunged it in his heart. The wife seeing this took the same knife and killed herself. The rich man was very sorry that his friend killed himself only because he had nothing to offer him. He also with that very knife killed himself. At night a thief who was passing that side, saw the door open, entered in, in the hope of stealing something. But as he felt very cold, and as there was a fire inside, he sat near it, thinking that after warming himself he would search the house and then come out. But contrary to his expectation the fire lulled him to sleep and when he got up he found that it was morning. Then he saw the three dead bodies in the house and was afraid to come out lest people might see and accuse him as a murderer. So he decided to kill himself and with that same knife ended his life. God, when he saw this thought that it would not be good for people to entertain in this manner ; so he brought up betle-nut on this earth, by which people high and low, rich and poor could afford to entertain one another. The betle leaf represents the poor man, the lime his wife which are taken together at a time the nut the rich man and the tobacco leaf the thief. All these things are taken together by the Khasi people.

The story of Heaven and Earth : According to this story, once Heaven and Earth were connected by a very big tree which we call Deingui. The hill in which this tree grew up is called Lum Diengui (Hill of Diengui tree) which is near Shillong and is quite visible from there. At that time, the story goes on to tell us, there were altogether 16 huts, 9 in Heaven and seven on Earth. God ruled over these 16 huts. As Heaven and Earth were connected by this big tree the people of these 17 huts used to come and go to Earth and Heaven. Sometimes they passed

nights on Earth and Heaven. So they always used to come and go through this tree. But one man from that group of 17 huts did not like to be under the sovereignty of God. So he spread a rumour to the people who were on Earth that in course of time the tree would grow up and spread its branches far and wide. Then the whole world would be covered with complete darkness and a cruel monster would roam over the Earth and eat up the people. So the people on Earth became frightened and at once went to Lum Diengui with their doa and axes to fell down the tree but as it was a big tree they could not fell it down in one day. So when night came they returned to their huts thinking to go back next day to fell it down. But on the next day they found that the tree which was cut became a complete tree again. They were very much surprised but continued their work of cutting. At night they returned to their huts. But on the morrow they found the same thing-the tree became complete again. So they began to solve the mystery but they could not till a tiny bird which we call Phreid told them that it was a tiger who came there at night to lick the cutting part of the tree and the tree became a complete one again. So the people when it was about night before going home put an axe with the edge turned up in that part of the tree. And when the tiger came there to lick it up its tongue was cut down. So it went away. And on the next day when the people came to cut it they found that it was as they left it. So they succeeded in felling down. That time forward the Heaven went up so high the tree that the people could no longer come and go as before. So the people were divided into two, namely nine huts in Heaven and seven huts on Earth. In course of time the Diengui became rotten and in the direction which it fell down we find plenty of coal in Khasi and Jaintia hills so runs the story. These seven huts were the original peoples on Earth.

Khasi and Jaintia hills at present are ruled by a number of chiefs. There are thirty semi-independent chiefs in Khasi hills and twelve Dollois in Jaintia hills. The States in Khasi hills are semi-independent Indian Native States and the Deputy Commissioner is at the same time the political agent of the States. Jaintia hills are under the direct control of the British since its annexation to the British Empire. But the British Government did not completely alter the form of government. It simply abolished the throne and give the chiefs a paltry sum as pension. The pension was abolished in 1937 as there were no more heirs to succeed. The old administration is still retained under the Dollois who enjoy some kind of concession from the British Government. The Dollis could try petty

cases. The Deputy Commissioner is the head. But on the Khasi side the rulers enjoy much freedom as they are Native State rulers.

Marriage restrictions : According to the custom of the Khasis they are not allowed to marry among near relatives. For example a Diengdoh boy cannot marry a Diengdoh girl. If they do so when they die no burning ceremony will be performed for them and their bones will not be deposited in the charnel house of the whole family. It is also considered the greatest sin and it is believed that the thunder will strike them or the tiger and the elephant will kill them. It is also believed that the tiger and the elephant know the people who do this and if they go out for a journey with their friends the tiger or the elephant will pick those only out of the company and kill them. The Khasis put the bones of the dead in an earthen pot then deposit it in the charnel house. But one characteristic of the Khasis is that we cannot know them apart from religion. Their political institutions economic thoughts, marriage custom, childbirth etc. cannot be culled understood apart from religion. Religion is the substance and all these are mere shadows. So if we want to have a comprehensive knowledge of the Khasis we must know their religion. The tradition regarding their coming from Greece says that the Khasis brought no women with them but intermarried with the peoples of India. The women of the defeated tribes and races in India were captured by force and married by the Khasis. This went on for many years during their period of migration before their final settlement in Khasi and Jaintia hills. So they people became mixed up and lost their pure features. That is the reason why it is argued that we find *Dkhar*, *Bordoloi* family etc. in Khasi hills. *Dkhar* (means plain people) *Bordoloi* and many other non-Khasi families came to stay in Khasi hills only when the women of these families were married by the Khasis after taking them captives from war. Female relatives : his sister or mother together with her uncles and all her relatives have a right to burn the dead body. The wife and the children simply assist them. His bones are also deposited not in the charnel-house of his wife but in the charnel-house of his female relatives.

THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION

I. IMPERIAL SPEECH ON THE PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION *

Whereas We make it the joy and glory of Our heart to behold the prosperity of Our country, and the welfare of Our subjects, We do hereby, in virtue of the supreme power We inherit from Our Imperial Ancestors, promulgate the present immutable fundamental law, for the sake of Our present subjects and their descendants.

The Imperial Founder of Our House and Our other Imperial Ancestors by the help and support of the forefathers of Our subjects, laid the foundation of Our Empire upon a basis, which is to last forever. That this brilliant achievement embellishes the annals of Our country, is due to the glorious virtues of Our Sacred Imperial Ancestors, and to the loyalty and bravery of Our subjects, their love of their country and their public spirit. Considering that Our subjects are the descendants of the loyal and good subjects of Our Imperial Ancestors, We doubt not but that Our subjects will be guided by Our views and will sympathize with all Our endeavours, and that, harmoniously co-operating together, they will share with Us Our hope of making manifest the glory of Our country both at home and abroad, and of securing forever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us Our Imperial Ancestors.

II. IMPERIAL OATH AT THE SANCTUARY OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE

We, the Successor to the prosperous Throne of Our Predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of Our House

* On the 50th Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Japanese Constitution we are glad to reproduce some significant extracts from the famous "Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan" by Prince Hirobumi Ito, translated into English by Count Miyoji Ito. The copyright of the English translation of the book was presented by Prince Ito to the English Law College of Tokyo and the third edition (1931) is published by the Central University (Chu-O Daigaku), Tokyo, to which institution we offer our thanks in making the extracts for the benefit of our Indian readers—Ed.

and to Our other Imperial Ancestors that, in pursuance of a great policy co-extensive with the Heavens and with the Earth, We shall maintain and secure from decline the ancient form of government.

In consideration of the progressive tendency of the course of human affairs and in parallel with the advance of civilization, We deem it expedient, in order to give clearness and distinctness to the instructions bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors, to establish fundamental laws formulated into express provision of law, so that, on the one hand, Our Imperial posterity may possess an express guide for the course they are to follow, and that, on the other, Our subjects shall thereby be enabled to enjoy a wider range of the action in giving Us their support, and that the observance of Our laws shall continue to the remotest ages of time. We will thereby to give greater firmness to the stability of Our country and to promote the welfare of all the people within the boundaries of Our dominions now establish the Imperial House Law and the Constitution. These Laws come to only an exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the government, bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by our other Imperial Ancestors. That we have been so fortunate in Our reign, in keeping with the tendency of the times, as to accomplish this work, We owe to the glorious Spirits of the Imperial Founder of Our House and of Our Imperial Ancestors.

We now reverently make Our prayer to Them and to Our Illustrious Father, and implore the help of Their Sacred Spirits, and make to Them Solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to Our subjects in the observance of the Laws hereby established. May the Heavenly Spirits witness this Our solemn Oath.

III PREAMBLE

Having by virtue of the glories of Ancestors ascended the Throne of a lineal SUCCESSION unbroken for ages eternal; desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of our Ancestors; and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in concert with our people and with their support. We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial Rescript of the 12th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Meiji, a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles by which We are to be

guided in our conduct and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their descendants are forever to conform. .

The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither we nor they shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted.

We now declare to respect and protect the security of the rights and of the property of Our people; and to secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same, within the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law. The Imperial Diet shall first be convoked for the 23rd year of Meiji, and the time of its opening shall be the date, when the present Constitution comes into force.

When in the future it may become necessary to amend any of the provisions of the present Constitution, We or Our successors shall assume the initiative right, and submit a project for the same to the Imperial Diet. The Imperial Diet shall pass its vote upon it, according to the conditions imposed by the present Constitution, and in no otherwise shall Our descendants or Our subjects be permitted to attempt any alteration thereof.

Our Ministers of State, on Our behalf, shall be held responsible for the carrying out of the present Constitution, and Our present and future subjects shall forever assume the duty of allegiance to the present Constitution.

[His Imperial Majesty's Sign-Manual]

[Privy Seal]

The 11th day of the 2nd month of the 22nd year of Meiji.

IV PREFACE

The Imperial House Law is an exposition of the instructions bequeathed by the Sacred Imperial Ancestors of Successive ages, and is intended to be a guide to posterity for all time to come. The Constitution of the Empire of Japan is a collection of the fundamental rules of the State, and lays down clear definitions of relations that ought to mutually exist between the Sovereign and His people. These two Laws are precise and definite in their meaning; they may be compared even for brilliancy, to the heavenly luminaries. They are couched in language whose import is deep and comprehensive; indeed there is no word adequate enough to express the praise due to them. They embody profound conceptions

and a farsighted policy, that owe their origin to the wisdom of His Imperial Majesty. I, Hirbumi, while engaged with the officials subordinate to me, in the study of these Laws have made notes of the results of our investigations, and after revision of them, I have given them the name of Commentaries. I do not intend them to be a systematic exposition of these great Laws ; they are meant only as a medium for conveying information. To another generation must be left the composition of an exhaustive elucidation of them, a task that is beyond any aspiration of mine.

The 4th month of the 22nd year of Meiji (1889).

COUNT HIROBUMI ITO.

V COMMENTARIES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

In our country, the relations between Sovereign and subject were established at the time when the State was first founded. The unity of political powers was weakened, during the middle ages, by a succession of civil commotions. Since the Restoration (1868 A. D.), however, the Imperial power has been pleased to issue decrees proclaiming the grand policy of instituting a constitutional form of government, which it is hoped will give precision to the rights and duties of subjects and gradually promote their well-being, by securing unity to the sovereign powers of the Head of the State, by opening a wider field of activity for serving (the Emperor), and by prescribing, with the assistance of the Ministers of State and the advice of the Diet, the whole mode of the working of the machinery of State in a due and proper manner. All this is in strict accordance with the spirit of the noble achievements bequeathed by the Imperial Ancestors, and all that it is proposed to do now, is to open the way for the ultimate accomplishment of the object originally entertained by the said Imperial Ancestors.

CHAPTER 1

THE EMPEROR

The Sacred Throne of Japan is inherited from Imperial Ancestors, and is to be bequeathed to posterity ; in it resides the power to reign

over and govern the State. That express provisions concerning the sovereign power are specially mentioned in the Articles of the Constitution, in no wise implies that any newly settled opinion thereon is set forth by the Constitution ; on the contrary, the original national polity is by no means changed by it, but is more strongly confirmed than ever.

ARTICLE 1.

The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

Since the time when the first Imperial Ancestor opened it, the country has not been free from occasional checks in its prosperity nor from frequent disturbances of its tranquility ; but the splendor of the Sacred Throne transmitted through an unbroken line of one and the same dynasty has always remained as immutable as that of the heavens and of the earth. At the out set, this Article states the great principle of the Constitution of the country, and declares that the Empire of Japan shall to the end of time, identify itself with the Imperial dynasty unbroken in lineage, and that the principle has never changed in the past, and will never change in the future, even to all eternity. It has intended thus to make clear for ever the relations that shall exist between the Emperor and His subjects.

By "reigned over and governed," it is meant that the Emperor on His Throne combines in Himself the sovereignty of the State and the government of the country and of His subjects. An ancient record mentions a decree of the first Emperor in which he says :—"The country of Goodly Grain is a State, over which Our descendants shall become Sovereigns : You, Our descendants, come and govern it." He was also called "Emperor governing the country for the first time" (Hatsu-Kuni-Shirasu Sumera-mikoto). A Prince named Yamato-take-no-Mikoto said :—I am a son of the Emperor Otarashihiko Oshiro-Wake, who resides in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, and who governs the Country of Eight Great Islands. "The Emperor Mommu (697-707 A. D.) declared at the time of his succession to the Throne :—"As long as Emperors shall beget sons, We shall, each in His Succession, govern the Country of Eight Great Islands." The same Emperor also said :—"We shall reduce the Realm to tranquility and bestow Our loving care upon Our beloved subjects." Such in brief has been the principle, by which the Emperors of every age have been guided on succeeding to the Throne. Latterly, the phrase "the Emperor reigning over and governing

the Country of Eight Great Islands" (Oyashima-shi-roshimesu Sumera-mikoto) came to be used as a regular formula in Imperial Rescripts. The word shi-roshimesu means reigning over and governing. It will thus be seen that the Imperial Ancestors regarded their Heaven-bestowed duties with great reverence. They have shown that the purpose of a monarchical government is to reign over the country and govern the people, and not to minister to the private wants of individuals or of families. Such is the fundamental basis of the present Constitution.

According to ancient documents, the dominions of our Empire, which went by the name of Oyashima, was composed of Awajishima (the present one), of Akitsushima, (the main island), of Futanashima in Iyo (Shikoku), of the Island of Tsukushi (Kyushu), of the Island of Iki (the present Tushima), of the Island of Oki and of the Island of Sado. The Emperor Keiko (71-130 A. D.) subjugated the tribe of Ezo in the East, and in the West he subdued that of Kumaso, and the territory under him was brought to a state of tranquility. In the reign of the Empiror Suiko (593-628 A. D.), there were over a hundred and eighty Kunitsuko (Governors of Provinces), and subsequently in the Code of Engi, the division of the country into sixty six Provinces and two islands is mentioned. In the first year of Meiji (1868 A. D.), the two Provinces of Mutsu and Dewa together were subdivided into seven Provinces, and in the second year (1869 A. D.), eleven Provinces were established in the Hokkaido. The number of Provinces in the whole country was thus increased to eighty four. The present dominions consist of the Hokkaido the various islands, of the Okinawa and of the Ogasawara groups, in addition to what was formerly designated by the name of Oyashima or to the sixty-six Provinces and islands mentioned in the Code of Engi. Territory and a people are the two elements out of which a State is constituted. A definite organic laws are found in operation. A State is like an individual and its territories, resembling the limbs and parts of an individual, constitute an integral realm.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

26th CENTENARY OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

The year 1940 is memorable to the Japanese people in many ways and specially because it synchronizes with the celebration of the 26th Centenary of the Imperial House of Japan. The Japanese Government and the nation arranged a series of celebrations opening with the month of February and terminating with the month of November. On the 11th of February, 1940 they celebrated the accession of the first Empire Jimmu Teuno at the Kashihara Shrine which marks the historical sites associated with the memory of the first Emperor of the Land of the Rising Sun.

There was a special ceremony at the Imperial Palace where H. I. M. Emperor Hirohito read and address to the nation.

Actual completion of the 26th Centenary fell on the 31st August, 1940 and the grand celebration was properly conducted. Finally on the 11th November, 1940 there was a clossal public celebration with the military and naval reviews and cremonial dances before the Emperor and the Empress.

The final progame of this nationwide celebration comprises different items which for their completion may take some years : The nation voted 4 million yen towards the extension of the hisioric Kashihara Shrine and Myazaki Shrine and also towards the preservation of the historical spots and relics connected with the Emperor Jimmu. The aproach of the Imperial Mausoleum will be improved. On the site of the former Diet building a grand historical museum *Kokushikan* will be constructed with over 3 million yen. One million yen was voted for the publication of "The Outline of the Japanese Civilization" to show the world the real sprit of Japanese culture with the hope that it may serve in the promotion of racial culture. In the outer garden of the Tokyo Imperial Palace a Piazza will be constructed accomodating 100,000 people costing two and half million yen.

Osaka, the commercial captial of Japan, is completing at the expense of 5½ million yen an Industrial Samples Fair Hall, an imposing seven-storied building. Nara, the religious captail of Japan will build a grand Hall of National History. Kyoto, the former capital, is completing its highly interesting municipal history.

Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (Society for International Cultural Relations) and Nippon Bunka Chuo Remmei (Central League for the promotion of Japanese Culture) are arranging brilliant programmes illustrating various aspects of Japanese cultural life, drama, dancing, music, films, sports etc. All these aspire to present to the world the best specimens of Japanese culture and the development of the new Japanese civilization.

Lastly we note that the K. B. S. are sponsoring the 26th Centennial Annual Essay Contest on the subject of Japanese Culture and its Relations with Foreign culture which has been widely circulated through the press of all important countries.

There is another project of more specialized nature. The K. B. S. is planning to publish a Commemoration Volume on Japanese Culture with articles contributed by a limited number of eminent scholars and interpreters of Japan living abroad. They are invited to submit their papers in English, French and German and these will be translated into Japanese and be published separately for the benefit of the Japanese public.

POSITIVE ON FACTS NEW JAPAN

In this historical year we specially welcome an admirable publication, the Japan Year Book (1939-40) published by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan. It includes in separate envelope a map of Japan and Manchukuo. It gives a valuable appendix of over 100 pages in which many will be specially interested in these days, namely, a full list of Emperors from Jimmu Tenno (660-581 B. C.) to Great Emperor Meiji (1867-1912), Emperor Taisho (1912-1926) and the present Emperor Tenno Showa. We find also the Imperial House Laws; the Constitution; the list of important clubs and societies; list of standard works on Japan; the Customs Tariff Laws amended and revised: financial, political, commercial and cultural matters; treaties and agreements between Japan and Russia (1905), Japan and U. S. A (1911), Japan and Britain (1911), Japan and Germany (1911), Japan and U. S. S. R. (1925), Japan and India (1934), Japan and Siam (1937), Germany, Italy and Japan (1938-39).

We find also some of the events in China and Manchukuo, in Korea, Formosa, Shaghalien and in the South Sea Islands. So far as Japan is concerned nearly 1000 closely printed pages are devoted to an encyclopaedic survey of various aspects of Japanese national life and activity, from public finance and banking to party politics and foreign relations, and from education and social work to medicine, sanitation, sports and amusements. The introductory pages on the outline of Japanese history, geography, government etc. are highly authoritative.

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We regret to announce to our readers that owing to the abnormal economic conditions resulting from the war we are obliged to suspend for the present the publication of New Asia. We extend our best thanks to our freinds who helped us with articles, notes and documents and we wish everybody a happy New Year.

